

COST OF WAR AND WARFARE.

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STATEMENT

BY

EDWARD ATKINSON,

BEING AN APPENDIX TO

SPEECH OF HON. E. W. CARMACK,  
OF TENNESSEE,

IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

March 2, 1904.

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WASHINGTON.

1904.

Mr. CARMACK. I ask leave to have printed in the RECORD as an appendix to my remarks the statement to which I referred. The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Tennessee? The Chair hears none. The statement referred to is as follows:

APPENDIX.

*The cost of war and warfare from 1898 to 1904, seven fiscal years ending June 30, \$1,000,000,000. A continuation of the previous computations made in 1902 and 1903. Statements compiled, computed, and proved from the official reports of the Government, by Edward Atkinson, LL. D., Ph. D., Brookline, Mass., U. S. A., January 26, 1904.*

SECOND COMPUTATION, TO JUNE 30, 1903—PUBLISHED OCTOBER 9, 1903.

[The first computation, to June 30, 1902, printed in that year.]

The cost of war and warfare from 1898 to 1903, inclusive, has been over \$900,000,000. The cost of the war with Spain and of the warfare upon the people of the Philippine Islands to the end of the last fiscal year, June 30, 1903, had been over \$850,000,000, an addition in that fiscal year to the previous charge upon the taxpayers of this country of not less than \$150,000,000. This charge is increasing rather than diminishing. At the end of the present calendar year, December 31, 1903, we shall have expended in war and warfare not less than \$920,000,000, which sum will be slightly in excess of the outstanding bonded debt of the United States bearing interest. Of this sum about \$300,000,000 is commonly assigned to the cost of the war with Spain. There are no exact data outside the Government accounts by which this can be apportioned.

Over \$600,000,000 may be charged by taxpayers to the effort to deprive the people of the Philippine Islands of their liberty. The excess of the expenditures of this country, due to the warfare in the Philippine Islands, with the cost of the increase in the Regular Army and other expenditures engendered by militarism during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903, varied but a fraction from \$2 per head of the population.

By dealing with the official figures for the year ending June 30, 1903, we may find the exact direction of the waste of taxpayers' money in one more year of oppression in the Philippines, of the refusal of liberty, and of futile efforts to redress wrongs previously committed.

The conduct of the work of imposing a form of government upon these people without their consent has been administered by able and upright men, who have used their utmost effort to overcome the evil inherent in the conditions. The pretext of developing commerce by holding dominion over these islands has ceased to impose upon intelligent people. All that we import from the Philippines we may continue to import, whoever holds them—the principal article, hemp, being free of duty. Our insignificant exports have fallen off with the withdrawal of a part of the troops and with the increasing disability on the part of the inhabitants to buy even articles of necessity, such being the poverty and distress which our rule has brought upon them. The proof of those statements is submitted in the subsequent form, all the figures being derived from the official reports of the Government.

For twenty years, from June 30, 1873, to June 30, 1898, covering the Administrations of Hayes, Arthur, Cleveland (first), Harrison, and Cleveland (second), the average annual expenditures on the different branches of the Government service per capita were as follows:

Civil service, including Indians and postal deficiency .....	\$1.48
War Department, including fortifications and other similar works .....	.75
Navy Department, including the construction of what is known as the "New Navy" .....	.35
Interest on the public debt .....	.90
Pensions, including the very heavy increase during the term of President Harrison .....	1.52
Average .....	5.00
The expenditures in five years of war and warfare under Presidents McKinley and Roosevelt were as follows (annual average):	
Civil service .....	\$1.58
War Department .....	1.90
Navy Department .....	.80
Interest .....	.47
Pensions .....	1.85
Average .....	6.61

During the last fiscal year, ending June 30, the expenditures have been as follows (during a year of so-called "peace"):

Civil service.....	\$1.77
War Department.....	1.47
Navy Department.....	1.03
Interest.....	.36
Pensions.....	1.72
Average.....	6.35

An excess over the normal of twenty years of peace, order, and industry of \$1.35 per head.

But this does not show the whole case. During the twenty years prior to the Spanish war the cost of pensions and interest was \$2.52 per head. Had it not been for debts incurred and pensions to so-called "Spanish-war veterans," these charges, which had been reduced to \$2.08 per head, would not have exceeded \$1.88 in the last fiscal year, the falling in of pensions through lapse of time now moving on with accelerating speed.

These differences per head may seem to be of trifling importance, but when computed on the population of June 30, 1903, the customary factor by which expenditures are distributed by the Treasury Department—

The excess of expenditure in the civil service, at 29 cents per head, comes to.....	\$23,316,000
The excess of expenditure on the Army, at 72 cents per head.....	57,888,000
The excess of expenditure on the Navy, at 68 cents per head.....	54,672,000

The total of actual excess of expenditure during the warfare in the Philippine Islands and the tendency to militarism in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903.....

If to this be added 20 cents per head, by which the interest and pension charge would have been diminished, except for war and warfare.....

We find that the waste in war and warfare in the last fiscal year was a fraction less than.....

The present tendency is to increase rather than to diminish, and when the expenditures of the present six months ending December 31, 1903, are audited, the proof will be complete that the cost of the war with Spain, which a strong administration would have avoided, and the "criminal aggression" upon the people of the Philippine Islands, which a weak administration brought upon the country, will have cost the taxpayers \$920,000,000, a sum slightly larger than the entire bonded debt of the United States, bearing interest, now outstanding.

The pretext of expansion of commerce in the East in justification of closing the door to trade in the Philippine Islands to other nations, while strenuously urging the open door in China and other parts of Asia, has been exposed and now excites only derision. In the computation of the cost of war and warfare to June 30, 1902, it proved that we had been paying for five years \$1.05 per head of our population to secure an export which amounted to 6½ cents per head, on which there might have been a profit to some one at the rate of 1 cent per head of the whole population. The figures of the last year are even more grotesque. The cost of criminal aggression in the Philippine Islands during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903, was not less than \$1.25 per head, after making any allowance that any reasonable man could make for the alleged necessity of increasing the Army of the United States and building battle ships to meet other contingencies. The exports from the United States to the Philippine Islands have fallen off to less than 5 cents per head of our population; had there been a profit equal to 1 cent on the 5 cents they would not have fallen off.

We are still wasting the lives and health of American soldiers and continuing to bring poverty and want upon the people of the Philippine Islands under the pretense of "benevolent assimilation."

The effort to suppress the evidence of torture, devastation, and ruin brought upon the people of these islands has failed; the facts of "criminal aggression" have been proved. In this statement the cost in money to the taxpayers of the United States is now submitted.

EDWARD ATKINSON.

BROOKLINE, MASS., October 9, 1903.

#### THIRD COMPUTATION, TO JUNE 30, 1904.

[Extended on Government estimates to June 30, 1905.]

The cost of war and warfare to June 30, 1904, computed from the expenditures for six months, from June 30 to December 31, 1903, and completed by estimate to the end of the fiscal year, June 30, 1904, for seven years—not less than \$1,000,000,000.

Extended by estimates submitted by the Secretary of the Treasury to June 30, 1905.

In my first analysis of the cost of war and warfare, July 4, 1902, it was proved that the average expenditures per head of population for twenty years antecedent to the Spanish war had been \$5 per head, as follows:

President Hayes, 1878 to 1881, average.....	\$5.21
President Arthur, 1882 to 1885, average.....	4.73
President Cleveland, 1886 to 1889, average.....	4.43
President Harrison, 1890 to 1893, average.....	5.36
President Cleveland, 1894 to 1897, average.....	5.13
Average for twenty years of peace.....	5.00

In this period and included in this average is the cost of what was called "the new Navy," which destroyed the Spanish fleets.

In the subsequent five years of war and warfare under McKinley and Roosevelt it was proved that the average expenditures per capita had been \$6.61.

It was proved that the cost of war and warfare up to that date had been at the excess over \$700,000,000.

In October, 1903, I prepared a second statement, extending the figures by estimate to December 31, 1903, in which it was proved that the cost of war and warfare to that date would be over \$900,000,000.

The estimates used in that treatise have been more than justified by the official statements of the Secretary of the Treasury in his computations of the expenditures to June 30, 1904, by which it appears that the average, per head, of the present year will be \$6.29.

It also appears that the estimates presented by the Departments for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1905, if not exceeded, will be \$6.76.

The actual difference between the normal rate previous to the Spanish war and the average of \$6.58 for seven years of active and passive war and warfare would be, per head, \$1.58.

But during the eight years of Harrison and Cleveland the cost of pensions and interest was, per head, \$2.50.

In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903, pensions and interest were less, per head, than \$2. Reduction, 50 cents.

Both charges are now rapidly diminishing, and the normal cost of government, without war and warfare, in 1903 and 1904, estimated at \$5.23, would not have exceeded \$4.29 on a basis of peace, order, industry, and good government, economically administered.

The cost of passive war and warfare is now over \$2 per head now being assessed on nearly 82,000,000 people, or over \$160,000,000.

On the 30th of June, 1904, the cost of war and warfare, active and passive, will have been \$1,000,000,000, and even if the appropriations for the year 1905 are not exceeded at the end of that fiscal year it will have been nearly \$1,200,000,000.

We may take off \$100,000,000 for expenditures now being made of a useful purpose which were not made before the Spanish war, such as irrigation, national parks, the expansion of the Department of Agriculture, and the possibility that the consular service may be reorganized, with suitable compensation to competent men.

At the lowest and most conservative estimates it is therefore proved that we have already spent on the Spanish war, as computed.....	\$300,000,000
On criminal aggression and passive warfare in the Philippine Islands.....	600,000,000

Total..... 900,000,000

And that before June 30, 1904, the total will stand at not less than \$1,000,000,000.

It is also proved that unless the spirit of aggressive militarism can be stopped—which now costs \$2 per head—it will be over \$2.50 in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1905, with a constant tendency to increase as time goes on.

In order to fix the relative increase in these charges, we may compare the different departments under the Administration of President Harrison and those of the last fiscal year under President Roosevelt:

	Harrison.	Roosevelt.
Civil service and Indians.....per head.....	\$1.66	\$1.72
War.....do.....	.76	1.47
Navy.....do.....	.42	1.02
Interest.....do.....	.48	.35
Pensions.....do.....	2.04	1.73
Average.....	5.36	6.23

We may next compare the average in President Cleveland's first term with the expenditures of the present fiscal year ending June 30, 1904.

	Cleveland.	Roosevelt.
Civil service and Indians ----- per head	\$1.43	\$1.73
War ----- do	.66	1.40
Navy ----- do	.24	1.17
Interest ----- do	.80	.29
Pensions ----- do	1.30	1.70
Average -----	4.43	6.29
At the interest and pension rates of 1904, deduct from the Cleveland figures -----	.21	
Average -----	4.22	
Difference wasted -----		2.07

The average expenditures of 1903 and 1904 have been \$6.29. The estimates for 1905 come to \$6.76.

Had these expenditures and estimates been free of the cost of continued aggression in the Philippine Islands, of the proposed defensive works in the harbors of the Pacific, and the waste upon battle ships and other killing instruments which form a necessary part of the policy of imperialism and over-sea expansion, the entire cost of the civil, military, and naval establishments, interest, pensions, irrigation, forest reservations, and support to agricultural science could not exceed \$4.30 in the present fiscal year, and might even be less in the next.

At every point and by every method that these accounts can be analyzed and fairly stated it is proved that the cost of war and warfare has been, is, and will be over \$2 per head on a population now about 82,000,000 and rapidly increasing.

The taxpayers of the United States are now paying the penalty for the feeble Administration that brought us into this condition and the forcible, feeble Administration that as yet fails to get us out, at this rate of \$2 per head, or \$10 per family, or over \$160,000,000 per year, tending to increase.

If it is assumed that the liberation of Cuba from oppression could not have been brought about without the Spanish war, commonly computed at \$300,000,000, then the following estimates may be modified.

If the Spanish war is proved not to have been necessary, then it is proved that with this waste of six years of war and criminal aggression, \$1,000,000,000, the whole bonded debt of the United States might have been paid, with a large premium for the purchase of bonds not yet matured.

It may be estimated that had this money been spent for any useful purpose, many measures now contemplated might have been partially or wholly carried out.

Had we expended in the seven years \$200,000,000 on the improvement of rivers and harbors, how much more would remain to be done?

Had we expended \$200,000,000 on the irrigation of arid lands, how much would remain unproductive?

Had we made up to the Southern States for purposes of common education a sum a little more than equal to that which the Western States have derived from the public lands which Southern States surrendered to the nation, which sum is about \$65,000,000, by assigning aid to them of \$100,000,000, what would be their present condition in the abatement of illiteracy?

Had we appropriated only so much money as may be necessary to construct cruisers for the protection of commerce, such cruisers being necessary so long as predatory nations threaten it, might we not have saved \$100,000,000?

What could we have done with the other \$400,000,000, which we shall have worse than wasted before the end of the present year, except to have remitted useless and oppressive, obstructive taxes?

Or if the war with Spain is deemed one that could not have been avoided, of which the common estimate of cost is \$300,000,000, should we not still have had a surplus of \$100,000,000 to be applied to the reduction of taxation?

When the cost of our National Government is again reduced to the average of twenty years before the Spanish war—of \$5 per head, less at least \$1 per head, or to \$4, for falling in of pensions and interest, as it soon may be when the waste of militarism is stopped—what nation can compete with us in the productive pursuits of peace or in the expansion of our commerce with the world?

If such are the proved conditions, then what does it cost each State or Territory at \$2 per head on the population of the census year 1900, plus \$2 per head on the subsequent increase—the actual cost being more and increasing?

The following table will show, the computation being made in round thousands, disregarding fractions, at the average rate of \$2, it being remarked

that the richer States pay more, the poorer States less, because these indirect taxes fall wholly on consumers in proportion to their consumption.

Every family pays its proportion of this tax, which is imposed on beer, tobacco, spirits, fuel, timber, steel, iron, and other metals, clothing, leather, cord wood, sugar, salt, fish, potatoes, and every other article of necessity, comfort, or luxury that is now subjected to a tax or duty.

Indirect taxes are tolerated because those who pay them are not conscious of the burden. They are the resort of rulers who dare not expose their purposes.

The proportion by States and Territories on the census of 1900 is as follows: <sup>a</sup>

State or Territory.	Population.	Capital.
1. New York.....	7,300,000	\$14,600,000
2. Pennsylvania.....	6,300,000	12,600,000
3. Illinois.....	4,800,000	9,600,000
4. Ohio.....	4,200,000	8,400,000
5. Missouri.....	3,100,000	6,200,000
6. Texas.....	3,000,000	6,000,000
7. Massachusetts.....	2,800,000	5,600,000
8. Indiana.....	2,500,000	5,000,000
9. Michigan.....	2,400,000	4,800,000
10. Kentucky.....	2,200,000	4,400,000
11. Georgia.....	2,200,000	4,400,000
12. Iowa.....	2,200,000	4,400,000
13. Wisconsin.....	2,100,000	4,200,000
14. Tennessee.....	2,000,000	4,000,000
15. North Carolina.....	1,900,000	3,800,000
16. Virginia.....	1,900,000	3,800,000
17. New Jersey.....	1,900,000	3,800,000
18. Alabama.....	1,800,000	3,600,000
19. Minnesota.....	1,800,000	3,600,000
20. Mississippi.....	1,600,000	3,200,000
21. California.....	1,500,000	3,000,000
22. Kansas.....	1,500,000	3,000,000
23. South Carolina.....	1,400,000	2,800,000
24. Louisiana.....	1,400,000	2,800,000
25. Arkansas.....	1,300,000	2,600,000
26. Maryland.....	1,200,000	2,400,000
27. Nebraska.....	1,100,000	2,200,000
28. West Virginia.....	1,000,000	2,000,000
29. Connecticut.....	900,000	1,800,000
30. Maine.....	700,000	1,400,000
31. Washington.....	500,000	1,000,000
32. Florida.....	500,000	1,000,000
33. Colorado.....	500,000	1,000,000
34. New Hampshire.....	400,000	800,000
35. Oregon.....	400,000	800,000
36. Rhode Island.....	400,000	800,000
37. Oklahoma.....	400,000	800,000
38. Indian Territory.....	400,000	800,000
39. Vermont.....	350,000	700,000
40. North Dakota.....	300,000	600,000
41. Utah.....	300,000	600,000
42. Montana.....	250,000	500,000
43. Delaware.....	200,000	400,000
44. Idaho.....	150,000	300,000
45. Wyoming.....	100,000	200,000
46. Nevada.....	50,000	100,000
Total.....	75,200,000	150,400,000
Taxes free.....	1,100,000	2,200,000
In 1900.....	76,300,000	152,600,000
In 1904.....	82,000,000	164,000,000

<sup>a</sup>Increase about 7 per cent on each State to bring the figures to the present population.

The increase in population from 1900 to 1904 would be 7 per cent average, or from 1 per cent in States from which emigrants pass to 50 per cent in Oklahoma, to which they come.

Now, if the tax gatherer went to the door of every house or to the dwelling place of every person demanding \$2 per head in cash or \$10 from each average family, how long would this waste of warfare and militarism last?

If this tax of \$2 per head, or over \$160,000,000 a year, were assessed directly upon the States according to law, to be collected mainly by a direct tax on property or by a poll tax, how soon would it be abated? Before a single Congressional term had ended would not this waste be stopped, or every Member who refused to stop it be relegated to a position where he could abuse a public trust no more?

With these questions soon to be answered at the polls, I submit these computations to an anxious public, now constantly seeking for solution, and to sagacious politicians who are trying to save the nation from further dishonor and reckless waste on over-sea expansion and imperialism.

Respectfully submitted.

EDWARD ATKINSON.

BOSTON, MASS., *January 23, 1904.*  
5890

*You are earnestly asked to hand this after reading to some  
other person who will also give it careful consideration*

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THE  
**COST OF WAR AND WARFARE**

TO JUNE 30, 1903

EXTENDED BY ESTIMATE TO DEC. 31, 1903

BY

EDWARD ATKINSON

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PUBLISHED BY  
THE NEW ENGLAND ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE  
44 KILBY STREET, BOSTON, MASS.

1903



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## The Cost of War and Warfare.

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THE cost of war and warfare from 1898 to 1903 inclusive has been over nine hundred million dollars (\$900,000,000). The cost of the war with Spain and of the warfare upon the people of the Philippine Islands to the end of the last fiscal year, June 30, 1903, had been over eight hundred and fifty million dollars (\$850,000,000),—an addition in that fiscal year to the previous charge upon the taxpayers of this country of not less than one hundred and fifty million dollars (\$150,000,000). This charge is increasing rather than diminishing. At the end of the present calendar year, Dec. 31, 1903, we shall have expended in war and warfare not less than nine hundred and twenty million dollars (\$920,000,000), which sum will be slightly in excess of the outstanding bonded debt of the United States bearing interest. Of this sum about three hundred million dollars (\$300,000,000) is commonly assigned to the cost of the war with Spain. There are no exact data outside the government accounts by which this can be apportioned.

Over six hundred million dollars (\$600,000,000) may be charged by taxpayers to the effort to deprive the people of the Philippine Islands of their liberty. The excess of the expenditures of this country, due to the warfare in the Philippine Islands with the cost of the increase in the

regular army and other expenditures engendered by militarism during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903, varied but a fraction from two dollars (\$2) per head of the population.

By dealing with the official figures for the year ending June 30, 1903, we may find the exact direction of the waste of taxpayers' money in one more year of oppression in the Philippines, of the refusal of liberty, and of futile efforts to redress wrongs previously committed.

The conduct of the work of imposing a form of government upon these people without their consent has been administered by able and upright men who have used their utmost effort to overcome the evil inherent in the conditions. The pretext of developing commerce by holding dominion over these islands has ceased to impose upon intelligent people. All that we import from the Philippines we may continue to import, whoever holds them, — the principal article, hemp, being free of duty. Our insignificant exports have fallen off with the withdrawal of a part of the troops and with the increasing disability on the part of the inhabitants to buy even articles of necessity, such being the poverty and distress which our rule has brought upon them. The proof of those statements is submitted in the subsequent form, all the figures being derived from the official reports of the government.

For twenty years, from June 30, 1878, to June 30, 1898, covering the administrations of Hayes, Arthur, Cleveland (first), Harrison, and Cleveland (second), the average annual expenditures on the different branches of government service per capita were as follows :

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War Department, including fortifications and other similar works . . . . .	.75
Navy Department, including the construction of what was known as the "New Navy" . . . . .	.35
Interest on the public debt . . . . .	.90
Pensions, including the very heavy increase during the term of President Harrison . . . . .	1.52
Average . . . . .	<u>\$5.00</u>

The expenditures in five years of war and warfare under Presidents McKinley and Roosevelt were as follows (annual average) :

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War Department . . . . .	1.90
Navy Department . . . . .	.80
Interest . . . . .	.47
Pensions . . . . .	1.86
Average . . . . .	<u>\$6.61</u>

During the last fiscal year, ending June 30, the expenditures have been as follows (during a year of so-called peace) :

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War Department . . . . .	1.47
Navy Department . . . . .	1.03
Interest . . . . .	.36
Pensions . . . . .	1.72
	<u>\$6.35</u>

An excess over the normal of twenty years of peace, order, and industry of one dollar and thirty-five cents (\$1.35) per head.

But this does not show the whole case. During the twenty years prior to the Spanish war the cost of pensions and interest was two dollars and fifty-two cents (\$2.52) per head. Had it not been for debts incurred and pensions to so-called Spanish war veterans, these charges, which had been reduced to two dollars and eight cents (\$2.08) per head, would not have exceeded one dollar and eighty-eight cents (\$1.88) in the last fiscal year, the falling in of pensions through lapse of time now moving on with accelerating speed.

These differences per head may seem to be of trifling importance, but when computed on the population of June 30, 1903, the customary factor by which expenditures are distributed by the Treasury Department,

The excess of expenditure in the civil service at twenty-nine (29) cents per head comes to . . . . .	\$23,316,000
The excess of expenditure on the army at seventy-two (72) cents per head . . . . .	57,888,000
The excess of expenditure on the navy at sixty-eight (68) cents per head . . . . .	54,672,000
	<hr/>
The total of actual excess of expenditure during the warfare in the Philippine Islands, and the tendency to militarism in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903 . . . . .	135,876,000
If to this be added twenty (20) cents per head, by which the interest and pension charge would have been diminished except for war and warfare . . . . .	16,080,000
	<hr/>
We find that the waste in war and warfare in the last fiscal year was a fraction less than . . . . .	<u>\$152,000,000</u>

The present tendency is to increase rather than to diminish, and when the expenditures of the present six months ending Dec. 31, 1903, are audited, the proof will be complete that the cost of the war with Spain, which a strong administration would have avoided, and the "criminal aggression" upon the people of the Philippine Islands, which a weak administration brought upon the country, will have cost the taxpayers nine hundred and twenty million dollars (\$920,000,000), a sum slightly larger than the entire bonded debt of the United States, bearing interest, now outstanding.

The pretext of expansion of commerce in the East in justification of closing the door to trade in the Philippine Islands to other nations while strenuously urging the open door in China and other parts of Asia has been exposed and now excites only derision. In the computation of the cost of war and warfare to June 30, 1902, it proved that we had been paying for five years one dollar and five cents (\$1.05) per head of our population to secure an export which had amounted to six and one-half ( $6\frac{1}{2}$ ) cents per head, on which there might have been a profit to some one at the rate of one cent per head of the whole population. The figures of the last year are even more grotesque. The cost of criminal aggression in the Philippine Islands during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903, was not less than one dollar and a quarter (\$1.25) per head, after making any allowance that any reasonable man could make for the alleged necessity of increasing the army of the United States and building battle-ships to meet other contingencies. The exports from the United States to the Philippine Islands have fallen off to less than five cents

per head of our population : had there been a profit equal to one cent on the five cents they would not have fallen off.

We are still wasting the lives and health of American soldiers and continuing to bring poverty and want upon the people of the Philippine Islands under the pretence of "benevolent assimilation."

The effort to suppress the evidence of torture, devastation, and ruin brought upon the people of these islands has failed, the facts of "criminal aggression" have been proved. In this statement the cost in money to the taxpayers of the United States is now submitted.

EDWARD ATKINSON.

BOSTON, MASS., Oct. 9, 1903.

# Why Business Men should Promote International Arbitration

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*First*—BECAUSE the industrial, financial and commercial interests of all nations, and of all sellers, buyers and producers, are now so closely interwoven, and the prosperity of each is so dependent on the prosperity and on the producing or purchasing power of others, that the loss or injury of one must necessarily become to some extent the loss or injury of all.

*Second*—BECAUSE peace and good will between the nations are essential for the prosperity of all, and war is as certain to result in disturbance and disaster for business interests as it is in suffering and death for the soldiers who face the horrors of the battlefield. Even the fear of war is sometimes sufficient to check the wheels of industry and commerce, to turn confidence into panic, and to increase greatly the risks and losses as well as the taxes and expenses of business men.

*Third*—BECAUSE there are times when International Arbitration is the only means by which war can be avoided without submission to injustice or dishonor.

*Fourth*—BECAUSE International Arbitration is a proved success and not a mere theory or experiment. As one of the many evidences of this it may be stated that in the last century nearly two hundred cases submitted by thirty-seven nations were settled by arbitration or joint high commissions, and sixty-three of these cases were submitted during the last decade. Since 1898 twenty-six nations, representing more than five-sixths of the territory and population of the globe, have united in establishing at The Hague a permanent court for the pacific settlement of all international disputes that may be submitted to it.

*Fifth*—BECAUSE experience has shown that arbitration is not only a practically infallible means for preventing a war, but that it is also so effective in removing the desire for war and promoting friendship, that there is no need for any form of coercion to enforce the decision. This is the natural result of a full presentation of both sides of the case, the carefully considered opinion of disinterested arbitrators, the modifying effect of time on human passions, and the knowledge that there can be no suspicion of weakness or timidity in accepting an adverse decision.

*Sixth*—BECAUSE business men can do more than any others to convince the people that war should be classed with the duel and the old “trial by battel” as something too absurd, too wicked and too horrible to be tolerated; and that arbitration should be regarded by all men and all governments as a matter of course in every dispute that cannot be settled by friendly negotiations.

*Seventh*—BECAUSE if it should ever be possible to lighten the burdens of Industry and Commerce by checking the increase or securing a reduction in the great armies and navies of the world, it will only be when there shall have been such a general development of public opinion in favor of International Arbitration as a substitute for war, that it will have become the settled policy of all the leading nations.

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## How Business Men can Promote International Arbitration

△ △

*First*—By making use of favorable opportunities to discuss its advantages with others, and especially with editors, officials and men of influence in public affairs.

*Second*—By having copies of this circular sent to all the members of their business associations with, if practicable, an official note or endorsement recommending its careful consideration.

*Third*—By having in each business association a standing committee authorized to endorse and advocate International Arbitration on all suitable occasions, and to urge a reference to The Hague Court, of every dispute that cannot be settled by diplomatic methods.

*Fourth*—By providing that the addresses of such committees shall be sent to the Secretary of the Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration, Mohonk Lake, N. Y., so that he can from time to time submit for their consideration such cases as may seem to call for special action.

NOTE—For copies of this circular and for other publications and information apply to the Secretary, Mohonk Conference, Mohonk Lake, N. Y.



# International Arbitration and the Lake Mohonk Conferences



THE Lake Mohonk Conferences are among the most widely known and influential of the many powerful agencies now striving for the universal recognition and adoption of arbitration, as the only proper means for settling international differences, which cannot be disposed of by negotiations, or otherwise, without resort to war. In the early summer of each year from two to three hundred active workers and leading representatives of the best and most intelligent American citizenship are assembled for conference at Lake Mohonk, N. Y. The invitations are issued by Mr. Albert K. Smiley, the proprietor of that popular resort, and those who can accept, are entertained as his special guests. They include judges of the highest State and National courts, diplomats, congressmen, government officials, members of The Hague Court, educators, lawyers, editors, clergymen, and delegates from business associations.

In 1902 a committee was appointed to make a special presentation of the subject of International Arbitration, to the leading business organizations of the United States. A circular issued by that committee is reprinted on pages three and four of this sheet. Favorable endorsements of that circular have been received from eighty-one prominent organizations in leading cities of thirty-two states and territories.\* It was so generally approved, and its results were so encouraging, that the committee was able to report three years later that enough had already been done "to show that there is no longer any room for doubt in regard to the ability and readiness of American business men to realize that the general adoption of International Arbitration is as essential for the protection and promotion of their material interests, as it is for the moral and spiritual advancement of the whole human race." At the Conference of 1905 the committee was enlarged and directed to continue and extend its work, and this paper is issued in accordance with the direction then given.

The delegates from the business organizations represented in the Conference of 1905, united in the adoption of resolutions which were in part as follows:

"The business men and representatives of business organizations in attendance at the Eleventh Annual Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration, recognizing the supreme importance to the business community of adopting the enlightened

\*Lists of the endorsements of the circular of 1902 will be furnished with copies of this paper.

principles of arbitration as a method of peaceful adjustment of international disputes, recommend that the various business organizations throughout the United States take action to secure this rational method of adjustment.

“Nothing today is of greater importance in its bearing upon the general welfare than the movement for the peaceful adjustment of international differences with the resultant better relations and better conditions of mankind. The success of modern commercial enterprise depends largely upon stable conditions, which can best be secured by maintaining peaceful relations among the nations of the earth; and to this end no greater security is offered than by the universal adoption of international arbitration.

“This meeting of business men, therefore, recommends to their respective organizations and to all the commercial bodies of the United States, the following:

“*First*—The endorsement of the wisdom of the establishment at The Hague of the permanent court for the pacific settlement of all international disputes that may be submitted to it.

“*Second*—The appointment of committees within the respective commercial bodies (where that has not already been done), for the advocacy of the principles of international arbitration.

“*Third*—The education of general public sentiment so as to secure adoption by the United States of arbitration treaties with other nations.”

It is not likely to be very long before the problem of negotiating and ratifying arbitration treaties will again be considered at Washington, and while there has been during the last few years in this and other countries a rapid growth of public sentiment in favor of arbitration, there is still urgent need for a further increase of that sentiment, and for the adoption of methods by which it can be given adequate expression, and the effective and decisive influence to which it is entitled in national affairs. There are no other organizations which can supply these needs as fully and as easily as the bodies representing the great business interests, and it is with entire confidence in their ability to achieve the grand and beneficent results, which would follow their success, that the committee of the Lake Mohonk Conference renews its earnest appeal for immediate action on the lines suggested in the concluding paragraphs on page four of this circular.

CHARLES RICHARDSON, *Chairman*

JOHN CROSBY BROWN

JOEL COOK

MAHLON N. KLINE

W. A. MAHONY

GEORGE FOSTER PEABODY

ELWYN G. PRESTON

CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF

September 1st, 1905

*Committee*

R. E. Spear

# THE SOCIAL PROBLEM

AS SEEN FROM THE VIEW POINT OF

## Trade Unionism Capital *and* Socialism

Last winter Mr. Upton Sinclair, one of the active propagandists in the Socialist field, published in "The Call," the leading Socialist daily in the United States, an open letter to Mr. Vincent Astor. The letter was an invitation to contribute to the funds of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, an invitation based upon a picture of the woes of society as Mr. Sinclair sees them. Mr. Astor answered the letter and his response called forth a rejoinder by Mr. Sinclair. As Mr. Sinclair had attacked the American Federation of Labor, Mr. Samuel Gompers, President of the organization, commented upon Mr. Sinclair's views in the "American Federationist," while another prominent trades unionist sent a communication to "The National Civic Federation Review" on the same subject.

This correspondence and these articles form an interesting discussion of the subject of socialism, and are printed by the Industrial Economics Department of The National Civic Federation as a contribution to the study of social problems.

THE INDUSTRIAL ECONOMICS DEPARTMENT  
OF  
THE NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION  
NEW YORK

1914



A Letter to Mr. Vincent Astor  
from Mr. Upton Sinclair

324 WEST 83D STREET,  
New York City, Dec. 20, 1913.

VINCENT ASTOR, Esq., Rhinebeck, N. Y.:

My Dear Sir—In the *New York Times* for Sunday, December 14, there were two articles which especially held my attention. One of them dealt with yourself, and is my reason for addressing this communication to you.

We live under a social system which has received the condemnation of most of the leading spirits of our time; I mean our poets, moralists and philosophers. But we get used to it, and we do not realize the full horror of it, except now and then, when something especially brings the truth of it home to us. Such an occasion was the reading of those two articles in the *Times*, which put me in a state of mind which John Ruskin somewhere describes: "I can neither write, nor paint, nor enjoy the beauty of Nature—the very light of the morning sun has become hateful to me—because of the suffering which I know is in the world and has no need to be."

The first of the two articles is a description of your country home, with a full page of photographs, and the second is a Christmas appeal from three charity organization societies. I am going to quote simply the headlines of the two articles, sufficiently indicative of their contents. The first:

"Estate To Which Vincent Astor Will Take His Bride: Ferncliff, Which Mr. Astor Inherited From His Father, Col. John Jacob Astor, Is at Rhinebeck, N. Y., and One of the Show Places of the Hudson River Country. It Is Filled with Every Luxury Which Could Be Desired by One of the Wealthiest Young Men in the World. The Owner Will Soon Wed Miss Helen Dinsmore Huntington, Whose Family Estate, Hopeland House, Adjoins Ferncliff, and Who Has Been His Friend Since They Were Childhood Playmates. She Is 20 Years Old and He Is 22.—View From the Front: There Is Nothing Showy About the House's Exterior or the Grounds. Everywhere the Prevailing Note Is One of Solid Comfort and Dignified Spaciousness.—The Breakfast Room.—Lodge at Entrance of the Estate.—Enclosed Tennis Court, With Glass Roof: Where Mr. and Mrs. Astor Can Play Their Favorite Game in Winter or on Rainy Days in Warm Weather.—Entrance to Amusement Hall That Cost a Million Dollars."

And then comes the second—also a full page article, with these headings:

### CHARITY ORGANIZATIONS' 100 NEEDIEST CASES

Selected for the New York "Times" by the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, the Charity Organization Society, and the State Charities Aid Association.

Can't Pay Even the Rent. Privation Devitalizes Children. Old Couple Dread Separation. Young Wife's Cheerless Future. Trouble and Heartache. Deserted Mother Is Ill. Nine Sick in One Home. An Aged Couple's Plight. Found Family Starving. Children Are Undernourished. Widow Needs Helping Hand. Widow Breaks Down. A Boy the Breadwinner. Boy Blind, Mother Crippled. Deserted and Nearly Blind. Mother Ill and Penniless. Wants to Support Himself. Boy's Wages Only Income. Blind, His Family in Want. \$200 Will Save this Family. Family of Seven Helpless. Convict's Family Destitute. Wanted—a Job for Christmas. Father Injured, Mother Ill. A Widow's Plight. Accident Brings Destitution. Father Ill, Food Scarce. Widow Nearly Blind. Children Lacked Food. Helpless and Destitute. Both Parents Afflicted. Widow's Children Underfed. A Widow's Brave Effort. Left Less Than a Dollar. Give this Mother a Chance. Widow Worn Out and Penniless. Three Boys to Grow Sturdy. Little Hoard Now Gone. Father of Seven Ill. A Grief-stricken Widow. Mother's Task Too Great. Every Inch a Mother. Young Father Handicapped. A Year Full of Trouble. Four Children to Bring Up. Weak from Recent Illness. No Place Like Home. A Courageous Mother. Mother of Six Destitute. Hard Fight Almost Won. Devoted to Her Children. Only One of Seven Can Help. Frail Widow Too Ambitious. Office Boy Her Only Help. Aged, Helpless and Poor. Earning Only Half Enough. Man Ill, Wife Overburdened. Must Earn as Well as Spend. Girl Asks Chance to Learn. Plucky Young Mother Ill. Three Boys Fatherless. Cannot Earn Enough. Big Load for a Boy. Two Young Wage Earners. Struggled Single-Handed. Father Ill of Tuberculosis. Loses Husband and Two Boys. Wanted—a Home for Billy. The Case of Strenuous Tessie. A Boy Sick from Neglect. Wanted—a Catholic Home. Alone and in Need at 16. To Save Girl of 15. Father Gone; Mother Insane. A Boy Abused and Neglected. Wanted—a Trade for Christmas. Alone in the World at 5. The Need of a Backward Child. Distrusted at 5. Help for a Motherless Boy. In Need of the Country. Good Food and Care for Xmas. An Old-Fashioned Girl. A Boy Who Needs Everything. Wanted—a Home for Christmas. A Difficult Case. A Little Girl Needs Clothes. The Case of Mody Mojeska. A Scotch Girl and Her Baby. A Mother's Losing Battle. A Baby in Great Need. For a Chance to Get Well. A Woman Near Insanity. A Wife Deserted and Sick. A Widow With Three Children. Starving in Exile. To Help a Girl Grow Strong.

Such is the list. It makes monotonous reading, and yet every one of these cases represents the suffering and degradation of several human beings, men, women and children; and the cases are merely typical of a condition which we know exists

among vast numbers of people in our other great cities. A student of social conditions who is generally recognized as an authority, Mr. Robert Hunter, declares that there are 10,000,000 people in our country living in poverty which he defines to mean the inability to obtain the absolute necessities of life.

These conditions cannot be wholly unknown to you. It may even be that you saw the two articles in the *New York Times*, and realized something of the terrible contrast they make. Judging from the part you took in the recent reform campaign in New York City, you are interested in social welfare. On this account I venture to address you, and I wish that I might be able to speak not merely to you, but to tens of thousands of others who happen to be in possession of great estates, and who may never have had pointed out to them the injustice of our social system.

In the first place, let me set forth one or two simple economic facts. There have been times in the history of the human race when poverty was a necessary evil. Men did not know how to produce more than the bare necessities of life, and if there was to be any leisure or culture at all, it had to be at the expense of the laboring class. But that time is now past. We can produce many times as much of everything as is necessary to maintain all the members of the community in comfort. If you will consult Kropotkin's "Fields, Factories and Workshops," you will see an overwhelming demonstration of this truth.

Assuming that you admit the contention, you cannot but grant that it is a monstrous thing that in a country of such natural resources as our own, 10,000,000 people should have to suffer the horrors of destitution. You cannot but grant it is your duty to do your part, as a citizen, in putting an end to such evils, and still less can you be unconcerned if there is reason to think that you yourself, the privileges which society has granted to you, may have something to do with the existence of this enormous and terrifying mass of human misery. It is of this that I write you; I cannot believe that a man who is young, and has his life before him, can be wholly indifferent to the considerations which I mean to urge.

I assume that you give generously to charity, and that you may even have sent a special check when you read that special appeal. But I wish to point out to you that charity has been tried for a long time, and that the evils of which I speak have gone on increasing in spite of it. They are increasing to-day with terrific rapidity. Wages are lower, in relation to the actual cost of living than they were last year; they are 20 to 30 per cent. lower than they were ten years ago. Industrial accidents are increasing in number; suicide and insanity are increasing; women and children are being driven to work in constantly greater throngs.

If these things are true—and a study of the question must prove to you that they are true—is it not obviously a waste of time to endeavor to remedy them by charity—that is, by giving to the poor after they have been beaten down and broken in body and mind? Is this not saving at the spigot and wasting at the bunghole? Is it not obvious that there must be some funda-

mental wrong in our social system, some great economic force which is causing human misery more rapidly than we are able to remedy it, with all our improved machinery of investigation and relief? I, for one, have become convinced that this is so, and I am devoting my life in trying to bring others to realize it.

We live under certain laws and social conventions, which we have inherited from our ancestors; and it is very easy for us to accept these. It is the way of happiness and peace to take it for granted that things are as they ought to be, and that they must continue to be as they are. You, for instance, are in possession of a great deal of land: perhaps not much in actual acreage, but located at points where it is indispensable to other people. This land was purchased by your great-grandfather, and has come down to you in accordance with the laws which it may seem to you absurd to question. But if it could be shown to you that your ownership of this land is directly responsible for the conditions which the Charity Organization Society reports, then you could hardly be surprised that some would claim that the law of inheritance of land is not in accordance with the law of elemental justice; and you could not blame them for seeking to bring the laws of man into greater harmony with the laws of God.

I do not know if you have ever considered this question, or how the proposition may strike you; but it is an elemental fact that the land is necessary to the life of every human being. Fundamentally, almost everything we use comes from the land. And the land was not created by any individual—it existed before the human race came into being. And now, if any private individual is allowed to lay claim to this land (and by land I mean not merely the surface of the ground, but the mines, the oil wells, the forests and the water power), if any private individual is allowed to say, "These things belong to me, and you can only have access to them by paying to me a certain part of what you produce from them"—then it is obvious that such a person controls the destinies of others, and to some extent makes slaves of them.

This condition, continued through many generations and developed under the sanction of the law, is responsible for the existence of classes in our community; also for the bitter class hatreds which manifest themselves in so many ways that are painful to the sensitive-minded among us. Try, for a moment, to put yourself in the position of any member of the hundred families whose terrible stories are summed up in those brief phrases I quoted. They see in the papers the pictures of your magnificent and luxurious home, and they realize that it is out of the rents which they pay to you in one form or another that all this luxury comes. Can you not realize how this embitters them? How they find it impossible to understand that any one can be happy in such luxury and magnificence, while he knows that his fellow-beings, men, women and children, are suffering the horrors of starvation? Can you blame them for thinking that you must be a heartless man, without any real care about your fellows? Some of them, of course, may be under the sway



of churches, which teach them that this condition was established by God; but every year greater numbers of them are coming to realize that it is not the laws of God, but solely the laws of man, which are responsible for the evils—and these laws have been imposed and are daily maintained by a small group of men who rule the country by means of the privileges which they have inherited or gained by cunning.

This is a terrible frame of mind for the people to be in, a terrible condition to exist in any society. It cannot be a matter of indifference to you, nor to the other members of your class, your friends and associates. The older ones among them who have taken part in the grim battles of industry and finance—they may perhaps be hardened by the conflict; they may content themselves with the philosophy of *laissez faire* and “the devil take the hindmost.” But your generation, which stands upon the shoulders of the past, which has had education and leisure to think—surely it cannot fail to realize that a crisis is coming in this country, and that something must be done about the constantly widening chasm between wealth and poverty. It is for this reason that I, a stranger, am writing to you this urgent letter.

I am aware that you cannot do anything about it alone. You might give up all your land to the State, but it would make very little difference. The evils are social evils, and they require social remedies. One thing only you can do—study them and understand them, and then use the power which you possess to persuade others to study and understand them in turn.

History shows us many cases in which the power of one class has been overthrown, with bloodshed and terrible suffering. History does not as yet show a single case in which a privileged class has had the intelligence to recognize the justice of the demands of a subject class, and to yield without compulsion. But the hope of humanity lies in the possibility that we shall in the end outgrow the failures and follies of the past, and be able to substitute reason for brute force and cunning. I myself am a persistent optimist; I believe in human brotherhood, and I cannot be persuaded that it is impossible it can ever be made to prevail in public life.

So I write to you—the age-long appeal, which has never yet been heard, the cry of the dispossessed and the disinherited of the earth. I tell you that this country is moving to-day with the speed of an avalanche into one of the most terrific cataclysms in the history of mankind. I have seen our society, in the depths and at the heights; I have lived in both, and understand both, and I know why they do not understand each other. At the risk of being called impertinent and a meddler, I implore our leisure classes to take their fingers out of their ears and listen to the rumble of the coming storm.

Your friends and advisers will have their answer ready. They will tell you that I am an agitator, that I myself am making the storm which I invite you to hear. That has always been the answer—it was given before the French revolution, precisely as it is given to-day. But I tell you it is a false view of life which teaches that millions and tens of millions of human beings, in

every part of the civilized world, should begin to behave in a precisely similar way, unless there exists some fundamental and compelling reason for their conduct. And if that way is one involving sacrifice and suffering to them, requiring continuous effort and moral heroism, and if you see that heroism continually displayed by wider and wider groups of men and women, over a period of forty or fifty years, then you may be sure that what you are witnessing is no artificial product of a few evil-minded agitators, but one of the great movements of human history, big with the potentialities of the future.

I am referring to the Socialist movement, which it is my purpose in this letter to ask you to study. You are an educated man; but it does not follow from this that you know anything about the Socialist movement. I myself spent nine years in colleges and universities, and came away hardly knowing that such a thing as the Socialist movement existed. But things are changing now in that respect. We have founded an Intercollegiate Socialist Society, whose fifth annual convention meets in New York December 29 to 31, and which you are cordially invited to attend. We have now over sixty study chapters in American colleges, and we do a little to make up for the intentional deficiency in the education of the young men and women of our leisure classes.

I say intentional deficiency. The Socialist movement is systematically and deliberately lied about in every nation of the world. Its adherents are made the victims of blacklist and intimidation, of persecution and imprisonment by established authority. That is true in the so-called free United States—just as true as it is in Russia or Germany or Japan; it is going on right now, as I will very certainly prove to you if you care to investigate.

There lies my reason for appealing to you, and to others of your privileged class. I do not ask you to give up your wealth for the sake of Socialism; I remember the experience of Jesus when he made that request of the rich young man. But I do ask you to enlighten your own mind, and then to use some portion of your vast income to enlighten the minds of others. You have that enormous power; you could, if you possessed the vision and the courage, almost single-handed dispel the mists of falsehood and slander which the capitalist system of greed and knavery has conjured up about its future destroyer, the international Socialist movement. You could cause to be made investigations which would make clear to every voter in the land precisely what were the causes of social discontent, and precisely what would have to be done about it. And you might send your name down to posterity as one who had in the crucial hour perceived the need and met it; one who, when he might have given himself up to the enjoyment of luxury and selfish pleasure, preferred to labor for the benefit of his fellows; and who had much to do with the fact that the greatest social change of all history was accomplished without bloodshed and destruction, by peaceful and constitutional means.

I have no means of knowing whether or not you have in you the making of such a man. But at least this is now certain, the future will say of you either that you rose to the occasion and made such use of your power; or else, that having had the possibility offered to you, you deliberately turned your back upon it. For this, I would beg your pardon personally; save that the issue is too grave and too terrible to permit of considering the personal feelings of any one man. When you know that so many are suffering ruin and death every day at the hands of the murderous system, the life of any one—even of one's self—becomes a thing of little importance. With all sincerity,

UPTON SINCLAIR.

## Reply of Mr. Astor to Mr. Sinclair

NEW YORK CITY, January 10, 1914.

MR. UPTON SINCLAIR, 324 West Eighty-third Street, New York City.

DEAR SIR: Your open letter of December 20 received, which I have read with interest. This is the first opportunity I have had to reply. You call my attention to a compilation of social and industrial evils, and invite me to make a study of Socialism, with a view to my lending aid to the Socialist Party, through which you hope these evil conditions may be remedied.

Replying, I write to say that I am, fortunately, associated with various organizations which are interested in the study of sociological questions. In one of these are many of the leading officers of the American Federation of Labor and the chiefs of the railway brotherhood, whose lives and energies are devoted to the study and to the solution of the social and industrial problems to which your letter refers. I have had the benefit of their experience and I believe myself somewhat familiar with their views and their general policies.

It is not overstating the matter to say that not one of these members of the labor organizations whom I have met accepts your philosophy as a cure for the evils which we all recognize and deplore. On the contrary, they reject as fallacious and impracticable the program of the Socialist Party in whose interest you speak. This program, boiled down, as I gather it from the Socialist papers, magazines and books that I have had opportunity to read, is contained in a nutshell in a statement of a recognized leader of the Socialist Party, Mr. Morris Hillquit, to wit:

Stated in more concrete terms, the Socialist program requires the public or collective ownership and operation of the principal instruments and agencies for the production and distribution of wealth—the land, mines, railroads, steamboats, telegraph and telephone lines, mills, factories, and modern machinery.

This is the main program, and the ultimate aim of the whole Socialist movement and the political creed of all Socialists. It is the unfailing test of Socialist adherence, and admits of no limitation, extension or variation. Whoever accepts this program is a Socialist; whoever does not, is not.

As the result of my association with the representative labor men referred to I am fully convinced that the serious evils which have attended our industrial development can be and will be in time eradicated without overturning the fundamental basis upon which our Government and social fabric is founded. In saying this I am not unmindful of the fact that far too many evil conditions exist; that there are great wrongs to be righted, and that it is the duty of every man who has the interest of his country at heart to do what he properly can to establish and maintain industrial and social righteousness.

While, from my necessarily limited experience, I do not have the fullest information, and therefore do not pretend to speak with authority, I am obliged to dissent from many of your conclusions, especially that the conditions of the working people are worse now than they have been in the past. On the contrary, I am convinced not alone from a study of official investigations and the views of experienced social workers, but from the testimony of the representatives of labor to whom I have referred—men whom the great mass of the working people of our country have authorized to speak for them—that the condition of the laboring people has greatly improved during the last few generations.

Confirmatory of this, from the standpoint of organized labor, are statements made in the *American Federationist*, the official organ of the American Federation of Labor, for September and October, 1913, and January, 1914. I take pleasure in sending to you herewith copies of these articles, two of which, you will note, contain a symposium, showing in part the actual improvement in the various crafts in 1912. The third shows what are regarded by the workers as the gains in national and State legislation during the year 1912.\* But most impressive of all, it seems to me, is the testimony to the progress of the working people contained in the statement of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to the annual convention at Seattle last November. These are the views of men who speak with knowledge and authority for millions of American wage earners:

Not only has there been progress made in numbers, but for the increasing numbers there have been increases in wages, shortening of the work day, improvement in sanitary and general conditions under which the work is done, better protection for the life and health of the workers. These are fundamental factors in determining the standard of living prevailing among working people—the greater proportion of all the people. The test of the degree of civilization of any nation is the standard of living generally prevailing. There can be no question of the statement that the general standard of living among Americans has been raised year after year. The things which to-day are held to be necessities were deemed luxuries a decade ago.

I am unable to see how any one can read such a statement and consider carefully the material I am sending you and still assert that we are “moving to-day with the speed of an avalanche into one of the most terrific cataclysms in the history of mankind.”

Yours very truly,

VINCENT ASTOR.

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\* The articles from the *American Federationist* are given in the appendix to this correspondence.

## A Second Letter from Mr. Sinclair

SHELLY BAY, BERMUDA, January 19, 1914.

VINCENT ASTOR, ESQ.,

DEAR SIR: Your courteous answer to my letter has been read by me in the New York papers. Owing to the slowness in the mail service here, my reply is delayed until now. To the same cause I must attribute the fact that I have not received the copy of your letter sent personally—which is unfortunate, because I cannot read the enclosures to which you ask my attention. I will reply to the balance of your letter, and when I receive the enclosures I will consider them as you request.

In the first place, permit me to say that I appreciate the significance of your having answered my letter at all. For the most part the attitude of those who happen to be in possession of great worldly power is that of dignified aloofness and reserve. Most men under the circumstances would have considered that the proper thing to do with my letter was to pretend not to know that it was written, or that its author existed. That you have not seen fit to take this easy course—which must have been recommended to you by many of your friends—is, if you will pardon me for saying so, to your credit.

It is a sign that you have realized the gravity of the problem at issue, and the necessity of facing it fairly. I am aware, of course, that in my approval of this action I cannot be entirely free from the suspicion of thinking of my propaganda. The fact that you have seen fit to reply to the letter has been the cause of its being published in many papers which had previously refused to publish it, and of its being read by millions of people who would otherwise never have been allowed to hear of it. I can only plead that we are dealing here with issues which involve the life and death of millions of our suffering fellow mortals; and in the face of such considerations everything else becomes of no importance whatever.

You tell me that your own experience has been necessarily limited, but that you rely for your ideas of the needs and conditions of the working classes upon the opinions of their authorized representatives, the leaders of the American Federation of Labor. I can understand that this is a perfectly natural thing for you to do; that you might even feel that it was absurd for you to recommend something for the working classes which the working classes themselves do not want. But I think that I can point out to you a number of considerations that may modify this seeming truth. In the first place, may it not well be that a class which is oppressed and ignorant may be slow in finding out the sources of its suffering and in working out a method of escape therefrom? And may it not be that disinterested students of social conditions, who have had the advantage of wider culture and intellectual training, may be the first to work out the theory upon which the necessary changes in social organizations are to proceed? Such

men as Garrison, Phillips and Sumner, who made the Abolition movement, were not negro slaves; nor were Voltaire and Diderot French peasants.

It is true that the American Federation of Labor is not at the present time in sympathy with Socialism; but let me point out that there is a very strong Socialist minority in it, and that this minority is certainly increasing in strength. I have not the figures by me, but I believe that the vote in favor of Socialism at the last convention was close to one-third; and that a vote in favor of essential elements of Socialism has been carried by the Miners' Organization, the most powerful single body in the Federation. I would remind you also that in such matters the declarations of officials are not entirely trustworthy as a guide to the feelings of the rank and file. Working men, when they become "leaders," cease to live the lives of working men, and become upper-class personages; that is, they wear evening clothes, and attend banquets, and have their speeches reported in the papers—and all these things tend to make the capitalist system appear much more tolerable to them, and the needs of the every-day toiler less urgent to them. So everywhere the leaders are found to be more conservative than the rank and file. I can assure you that of the union working men I have known—scores and hundreds of them not Socialists—there are very few indeed whose desires and intentions as regards the social system are such as to carry comfort to our orthodox arm-chair economists and exponents of capitalist opinion.

What is actually happening, Mr. Astor, is that every day events are opening the eyes of the working men to the nature of our competitive system, in compelling them to recognize the existence of classes and of the class struggle—in spite of their unwillingness to do so. They have been taught in school that there are no classes in America, and they are taught in church (if they go to church) that they and the capitalists are equally the children of one Father. But then on the working days of the week they find their pay in their envelopes growing less sufficient to buy the necessities of life; and when they go on strike they meet with such treatment as they did in Lawrence, in Paterson, in West Virginia—and such as they are now getting in Colorado and Michigan. And this makes them more bitter and rebellious. But it takes some time for these feelings to produce effects in the whole body of organized labor. The present leaders have grown up in a struggle for more wages under the present wage system. To make them understand and adopt a new program, that of the abolition of the wage system, is a slow process. The leaders of any big organization constitute a machine, and to turn them out means a long struggle.

Let me remind you also that the American Federation of Labor represents but a very small minority of Labor; some two million organized workers, mostly skilled. There are some fifteen million workingmen in the country, besides farm workers and the women and children who are employed in gainful occupations. You will see, therefore, that your statement that the leaders of the American Federation of Labor are those "whom

the great mass of the working people of our country have authorized to speak for them" is entirely incorrect. There is another organization of workmen with a large membership—the Industrial Workers of the World. I notice that you do not quote me the opinions of any of its leaders. Yet it is a fact that the Industrial Workers of the World stand for the interests of a class of workers who are far more numerous than those represented by the American Federation of Labor. The latter represents skilled workers, the former the unskilled; and it is the unskilled for whom in this present emergency our prayers are needed. The American Federation of Labor publishes a review of the conditions of organized labor in 1913, and you send me this evidence. I have not yet seen it, but I shall be much surprised if it deals with any save the crafts organized by the Federation itself. All that I have seen of the arguments and the activities of the American Federation of Labor leads me to think of it as a narrow and selfish organization of men who use their skill, and their ability to make it scarce, to get higher pay for their work, at the expense of unskilled men whose labor is just as necessary and whose claim to a living wage is just as valid as their own. Take the railway engineers and conductors, for example; they occupy a strategic position and they command five dollars a day, and what do they care about the poor devil of a "Hunkie" who walks the tracks or pushes a truck in a repair shop? Nothing.

But I can assure you that the processes of industrial development are breaking down that little aristocracy of skilled labor, and forcing it to look for help to the unskilled man. Sooner or later the skilled man finds that when he goes on strike it is the unskilled man who takes his place; and every day new machines are breaking the monopoly of skill. Take the glass bottle industry, which I studied some six years ago. Bottle blowers were getting seven or eight dollars a day and were in clover. I said, "But suppose some one invents a machine?" They laughed at me. "Invent a machine to blow bottles? Never!" But a year later it was done, and now one small boy tends a machine which does the work of several skilled men—and the boy gets fifty cents a day. I assure you, Mr. Astor, that when Mr. Gompers tells you that organized labor is doing beautifully just now, the old gentleman is whistling to keep his courage up. Deep in his heart he must be disturbed by many things, including the jail sentences which are hanging over his head.

The question as to whether the conditions of the working class are becoming better or worse is one of the greatest questions of our time. Within the Socialist movement there exists a sharp difference of opinion as to whether the condition of the workers is growing absolutely worse, or whether it is merely not improving so rapidly as the condition of the other classes. The latter point of view, which is known as Revisionism, was argued strongly by the German Socialist deputy, Bernstein. His arguments have recently been worked over and presented to Americans by Professor Simkhovitch in a book



entitled "Marxism versus Socialism." This title I think is not quite honest, because Professor Simkhovitch is an opponent of all kinds of Socialism. My reason for referring to his book is because I am going to ask you to read a reply to it which was published in the *New York Call* about two months ago by my friend, Dr. Rubinow, who is a professional statistician and the author of a very learned work on Social Insurance. I myself am not a statistician and I cannot, where I am at present, obtain the necessary figures, but in these articles which I am going to ask Dr. Rubinow to send to you, you will find abundant evidence of the facts which I stated in my earlier letter as to the tendency of wages in relation to the cost of living. You must not let yourself be deceived by the figures brought forward by labor leaders interested in maintaining their own power by showing how wages have increased. It makes no difference how much wages have increased if the cost of commodities has increased faster. The cost of commodities in this country has, according to government figures, increased forty per cent. in the last ten years, and no labor leader can dare to assert that wages have increased anything like as much as this. I would also like to ask you to read a recent exhaustive presentation of this subject as regards England, which was published in the *New Age* (London). The editor will surely send you these articles if you will ask for them.

But after all, these things are merely figures. To me the pressing and desperate urgency of this crisis is not a matter of anybody's statistics, but a matter of actual sights which I have seen with my own eyes, of cries of agony and despair which I have heard with my own ears. Let me talk to you about one aspect of labor which I know. You were very young when my book on the Chicago Stock-yards was published, so possibly you have not read it. I said concerning it that I aimed at the public's heart and by accident I hit it in the stomach. The public thinks that the conditions surrounding its meat supply have been improved. I know that they have not improved. I know of a thorough and exhaustive investigation which proved this—the results of which investigation I have never been able to get published. But, so far as concerns the conditions of the workers, men, women and children in this industrial inferno, nothing has been done and nobody cares whether anything has been done or not. Thirty or forty thousand human beings are living in exactly the same conditions as I portrayed with such agony of soul and heart break.

So far as concerns the American Federation of Labor, whose advice you take in this matter, their conditions never will be improved. The Unions in Packingtown were broken up after the big strike in 1904, and they have never been put together again. Exactly the same thing has been true of the steel industry since the Homestead strike. There are something like two hundred thousand men employed in the steel industry, and the American Federation of Labor has been unable to unionize them in spite of all its efforts. The overworked and underpaid postal employes are forbidden to organize by the

decree of an ardent reformer, ex-President Roosevelt, continued by another ardent reformer, President Wilson. It is proposed to nationalize first the telegraphs and telephones, and then the railways. So all these employes will be taken out of the Union lists. In West Virginia the American Federation of Labor leaders are under indictments for conspiracy in restraint of trade. In Connecticut they have been fined enormous sums for similar offenses. All these things taken together cause me to marvel at the patience of those leaders, the simple faith which enables them to claim that their nostrums are adequate for all the ills under which the working classes of this country are suffering.

Now, Mr. Astor, I have tried in all sincerity to answer your claim that the representatives of the two million organized workers of the country are entitled to be regarded as authorities on the social ills of our time. Let me point out that your letter leaves most of the points in my letter entirely unanswered. You do not say anything about my contentions as to the fundamental moral wrong involved in the private ownership of the natural sources of wealth, the land, the mines, the oil wells, etc., which were created by nature, and which are necessary to the existence of every human being. I assert that the class in the community, which by its ownership of these things is enabled to place a tax upon industry, and so to live without working, is a parasitic class, and whether deliberately or innocently, an immoral class, and you do not tell me whether you consider this to be true. You will perceive that even though statisticians were able to prove that the condition of the working class is improving slightly, this would not be answering my argument. Even if it could be proven that the increase in property coming to the workers was greater than the increase coming to the exploiting classes, this would only be proving that our social conditions were slowly improving. And let me point out that any such claim for improvement is practically the admission of the Socialists' contention that exploitation is wrong. Improvement is found only in its abolishment. My purpose is to ask you why it cannot be abolished deliberately and intelligently with a clear and explicit understanding that it is an evil thing.

You tell me that you believe that these evils "can be in time eradicated without overturning the fundamental basis upon which our government and social fabric is founded." I believe that you are mistaken in this idea. Socialism does not require and does not desire any such overturning. It demands only one thing, the abolishment of private property in the instruments and means of production of the necessities of life. Only fifty years ago we had chattel slavery in this country, private property in human beings. It required a terrible war to abolish this institution, and yet the fundamental basis of our government and social fabric remained very little affected. I believe that today the Interstate Commerce Commission could take charge of our railways and abolish the claim of their bond holders to interest, and of their stock holders to dividends, either reducing the cost of the service or turning over the profits to the government, precisely as in the

case of the post office; and I do not believe that the fundamental basis of our government and social fabric would be destroyed thereby. I believe that the same thing could be done in the case of express companies, the telegraphs and telephones, the steel trust, the oil trust, and the coal trust. I believe that it could be done in our cities for public service corporations and for land and still the fundamental basis of our government and social fabric might endure. All that is needed would be a constitutional amendment abolishing private property in the instruments and means of production, precisely as all that was needed fifty years ago was a constitutional amendment abolishing private property in human beings.

I am on record as having predicted that the economic conditions which will compel such a step would occur in this country by 1913. My prediction has not been verified. But my critics overlook the fact that a number of events which I mentioned as possible causes of delay have actually occurred. There have been several great wars which have delayed the development of over-production. The government has spent the cost of a small war on the Panama Canal, and the governments of the world have spent the cost of an enormous war upon military preparations. The discovery of dry farming and the development of irrigation plans have postponed the closing of our frontier for about ten years, but in spite of all these things the signs of the crisis are clearly manifesting themselves. What these signs are you will find in the book I am referring to, "The Industrial Republic." I am taking the liberty of asking the publishers to send you a copy, and my final request is that you will read this book thoughtfully. When you have read it, I shall be glad to have you tell me what you think of it, and to discuss with you any points with which you may disagree.

You will notice the fact that whereas my letter to you was published only in Socialist papers (and in one non-Socialist newspaper in Chicago), your letter to me was published in full in every important paper in the country. This must make you realize that your opinions are of interest to many millions of people. It puts upon you a very serious responsibility, and I am sure that you will pardon me for urging you to consider carefully the arguments I have presented before coming to a final conclusion. Very sincerely yours,

UPTON SINCLAIR.

## Mr. Sinclair's Distorted Views of Social Conditions

BY A TRADE UNIONIST

To the lugubrious forebodings of Mr. Sinclair, who sees our social order fast progressing on the downward path of destruction, no better reply could be made than to point out, as Mr. Astor has done, that the movement is upward, not downward, and to bring the conclusive proof that such is the case. The record which is cited in the articles from the *American Federationist*, which accompany Mr. Astor's letter, is that of one year only, yet how much progress towards better things is recorded in them.

One of these articles is a synopsis of the reports of twenty-two large international labor bodies representing many hundred thousand wage earners. None of them strikes the despondent note which makes Mr. Sinclair's utterances a dirge. Everywhere the toilers find cheer and encouragement. In these reports there is the constantly recurrent reference to increase of wages, to a shortening of the hours of labor, and to practical working agreements with employers. Nor is the record of this year unique. Year after year it is the same, and it might, for instance, be shown that within ten years the miners in the anthracite coal fields alone had increased their wages more than one hundred per cent. The voices which speak in these reports are not those of the helpless and downtrodden, but those of sturdy, self-reliant men. But the entire record (pages 35-43) should be read to appreciate fully what these organizations are doing year by year for human welfare.

A second article recounts the legislation of the year for the aid and protection of the worker. It represents the seal of popular approval upon legitimate aspirations of the worker. It represents the gain which labor has attained for all workers, whether organized or not. In the field of Federal legislation and practice no less than nineteen separate achievements are listed, while among the States the different contributions to the well-being of the worker are too numerous for mention. The entire record (pages 44-54) is eloquent testimony that society is not unmindful of the needs of its humbler members. And is such progress to be set aside as nothing worth? Is there anything here to plunge us in despair?

Does Mr. Sinclair speak for the wage workers of America when he harks back to the doctrines of the older Socialists and seeks to make them applicable to the conditions of American life?

In all countries the great majority of the wage-workers have rejected the essentials of Marx's Communistic Manifesto and the gospel of his "Capital," as well as the Socialist conceptions thereupon formulated. Yet those abandoned doctrines are the burden of the economics in Mr. Sinclair's letter.

Mr. Sinclair seems not to have yet learned that among the so-styled Socialists, the reformist wing has everywhere, after heated and prolonged controversy, taken the upper hand of the revolutionary wing—the one which advocates and looks forward to a social cataclysm to be followed by a dreamed-of millennium. In Germany, it is indisputable, the Socialist party is today in reality little more than the usual democratic opposition to monarchy and privilege, with every peculiar revolutionary Socialist aim and tenet far in the misty background. In England, Socialism, even in a cunningly attenuated form—the chafing-dish cookery of the intellectual dilettanti—has no coherent organization and precious little representation. In France, the United Socialist party employs its parliamentary power in support of propositions wholly reformistic. But, in all countries, apart from those calling themselves Socialists, millions of sincere, upright and intelligent citizens who have given a conscientious hearing to Socialist advocacy and sympathetically waded the toilsome lengths of Socialist literature have rendered a verdict adverse to the hysterical form of Socialism which Mr. Sinclair undertakes on all occasions so strenuously to obtrude. As to the newer reformist Socialism, or social reform, or advanced progressivism, it may with point and truth be avowed that, being all reformers of some kind nowadays, we don't bother much when men declare off-hand, with indiscriminating terminology, "We are all Socialists now."

Men appreciate facts temperamentally. Ruskin would have abolished the railroad because it marred the landscape. One of the phenomena quite uniformly manifested in the red Socialist literature and by sanguine Socialist missionaries is vicarious writhings in agony over the misery in society, and verbal transports of delight at apparent signs or even vague divinations of the Socialist party success which are to end in achieving an all-inclusive happiness. In neither of these abnormal states can Socialists see cold facts as they are. Mr. Sinclair, for example, is in anguish over an imaginary "ten million people in this country" unable "to obtain the absolute necessities of life," although the figures of his one "authority" shrank to shadows when compared with information better grounded. Indeed, in reading Mr. Sinclair's characteristic letter, we have found ourselves attributing many of his strained interpretations of fact to the throes incident to imaginative production. In that state he is capable of asserting that the churches teach the people who are "suffering the horrors of starvation" that this condition was established by God. Does any church so teach today? In verity, the church forum for the discussion of social problems is an active institution in nearly every community in this country, and the religious press of all denominations gives fair space even to the delusions of the reckless Socialism of the Sinclair type. Mr. Sinclair argues that "history does not show a single case in which a privileged class has had the intelligence to recognize the justice of the demands of a subject class and to yield without compulsion;" yet history records the emancipation of the twenty million serfs of Russia, besides the

twenty million peasants on the Emperor's domains, with the right of assisted purchase of communal lands, a revolution accepted in peace by the millions of Russia's masters. Then, there is Great Britain's act of manumission of the slaves in her colonies at an appropriation of one hundred million dollars, after suppressing the slave trade, in which powerful British wealth was interested. In the last fifteen years our own Government has brought millions of the inhabitants of the Philippines from a state of subjection and profound ignorance up to a level of intelligence and independence long deemed not possible by the rest of the world.

Mr. Sinclair states as facts that "industrial accidents are increasing in number, suicide and insanity are increasing, women and children are being driven to work in constantly increasing throngs." He should have recourse for information as to child labor to the proper Federal Bureau at Washington; he will there learn that legislation, state and national, effectively prohibiting much of the labor formerly performed by children of tender years, has been a remarkable feature of this country's progress in the last decade. With regard to health conditions, the insurance returns will prove to him that the average duration of life among the wage-workers is by several years greater than only half a century ago; in New York City the annual death rate per thousand inhabitants has been reduced nearly 50 per cent. in twenty-five years—from 26 in 1888 to 13.8 in 1913, the latter rate as compared with the former marking an actual decrease on the present population of 65,000 deaths in a single year, besides a decrease of at least a hundred thousand cases of serious illness. If he ascertains the facts relative to industrial accidents in the score of our States that have substituted compensation for the liability laws, he will see where "safety-first" is now the rule, while the injured and their dependents are cared for as never before, the total number of workmen now under compensation numbering more than five millions.

Mr. Sinclair alleges: "Wages are lower, in relation to the actual cost of living, than they were last year; they are twenty to thirty per cent. lower than they were ten years ago." Surely, he should know that, in many occupations, both wages in money and wages measured by purchasing power are relatively at the highest point in history, that never was the economic condition of great masses at a higher level as indicated by the accumulations in the savings banks and by the number of homes and small farms owned by the workers, while the workday for literally millions of wage-earners in this country has been shortened by a fifth or even a fourth within the span of the living generation. As to the cost of subsistence, Layton's "Study of Prices," in three sets of index numbers from the foremost international authorities, (Sauerbeck, Aldrich, British Board of Trade,) gives the average prices of 1871-90 as 20 per cent. or more above those of 1891-1910. In all the decades of the nineteenth century up to 1883, wheat—the staff of human life—was never at so low a price as in the present year. These indubitable and epoch-indicating facts fully give effective refutation to the

gloomy forebodings Mr. Sinclair utters when, assuming the role of prophetic seer, he declares: "I tell you that this country is moving to-day with the speed of an avalanche into one of the most terrific cataclysms in the history of mankind." Theatrical but untrue. The case is one of verifiable facts against the figments of a dyspeptic imagination. In this particular declaration, Mr. Sinclair imitates the heraldic proclamation of the consecrated Erfurt program, which, solemnly affirming the multiplication of the "propertyless proletariat," sees "a growing augmentation of the insecurity of their existence, of misery, oppression, enslavement, debasement, and exploitation." But direct and sweeping contradiction to this gloomy reading of the signs of the times comes from I. N. Rubinow, a regular Socialist statistician, who, in the *Call*, November 9, 1913, avows that "the theory of increasing misery has been gradually abandoned by the Socialist movement." Thus crumbles a big arch in the Socialist bridge to fair Golconda.

As prophets the Socialist high-priests do not shine. Alexander Jonas, half his lifetime editor of the New York *Volkszeitung*, writing thirty years ago about "the gigantic farms developing themselves, of whose dimensions those living in the cities have almost no conception," said: "Whenever a capitalist buys several hundreds of thousands of acres of land for the purpose of modern farming on a grand scale, hundreds of farmers who cannot compete with the gigantic monopolist are doomed." This, today, is one of the "comic woes of yesterday." Marx, ("Communist Manifesto," 1848) in a series of oracularisms, clairvoyantly describes "civil war, raging within existing society, up to the point where that war breaks out into open revolution, and where the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie lays the foundation for the sway of the proletariat." But, on this dread nightmare Isador Ladoff ("Passing of Capitalism," 1901), pronounces the verdict of time: "Advanced Socialist thinkers do not expect any sudden transformation of the present capitalistic state of society into a co-operative commonwealth by the means of a popular revolt or in consequence of a general economic collapse." The Socialist principles officially enunciated in 1891 affirmed: "Hand in hand with this growing monopoly goes the crushing out of existence of these shattered small industries by industries of colossal growth," etc. But already in 1898 Bernstein was writing: "The enormous increase of social wealth is not accompanied by a decreasing number of large capitalists but by an increasing number of capitalists of all degrees." And to-day Bernstein's reformistic Socialism is regular enough to put him in the Reichstag. The difference between these various Socialist prophecies and their fulfilment is as striking as that between the John Burns who in 1886, addressing a Trafalgar Square mass-meeting of Socialists, declared that "the class struggle had begun," waved the red flag, and called for three cheers for the social revolution, and the John Burns of the British cabinet in 1913 "far from the madding crowd."

If, for the moment, as the worst that can be said, we should take the assertion of Mr. Sinclair's single "authority" that

approximately ten million people in the United States are living in distressful poverty (or were ten years ago, when Robert Hunter wrote "Poverty"), would it not be something to the credit account of our present society, and argue somewhat for its solidity, that the other ninety per cent. continue above the line of dependent want? Compare this proportion with that for the world in previous centuries, or for the backward nations today. This ninety per cent. constitutes the insuperable obstacle, one of increasing strength, to the proposed violent revolution intended to introduce the unfathomed problems of a communistic social order, untried, unplanned, uninviting to every citizen now living in security, whether of property, of movement, of initiative, of individual or family integrity or of the exercise of religious faith.

But, judged alone by the Socialist habit of painting misery in doubly dark colors, the estimate of Mr. Sinclair's "authority" may safely be discounted by at least fifty per cent. In fact, an analysis of Mr. Hunter's "Poverty," made by men qualified for the task through their professional knowledge, completely riddled his statements and made of him a laughing-stock among statisticians. Moreover, should there by any possibility be five millions in distress to-day, it is to be kept in mind that in the last decade at least six millions of the poorest laborers of Europe have settled in America, to swell disproportionately the percentage of the population becoming public charges—in hospital, prison, insane asylum, or almshouse. Besides, some, undoubtedly, are poor because either of misfortune or improvidence or other individual fault. There must always be taken into account the human wreckage due to alcohol and the numbers doomed to dependence through physical or mental disability or defectiveness of character, in addition to the unfortunate victims of accident and the many left helpless on the death, natural or otherwise, of the family breadwinner. How these various classes of the poor are ever in this world to be cared for except through aid extended from other human beings is a problem manifestly insoluble even to the co-operative commonwealth. Of the "one hundred neediest cases" to which Mr. Sinclair refers in his letter, nearly fifty were widows, while of the others many were children unable to work and people suffering from illness or accident. High promise for mitigating, if not nullifying, the deplorable effects of the incapacities arising from old age, sickness, invalidity, accidents and unemployment is embodied in the methods of general insurance developing in our present social system, while, incontestably, applied science and a higher general education are better than ever fitting the average individual for self-improvement, self-governance and self-government. As to effective remedies for uncared-for helplessness, the opinion may be cited of one whose opportunities to ascertain the causes and statistics of poverty have been better than those of Mr. Sinclair's "authority": "No revolutionary principle need be invoked to compass these ends." This is the opinion of that foremost expert among social workers, Dr. Edward T. Devine.



By no means, judging from his public acts and expressions, does Mr. Astor seem to "take it for granted that things are just as they ought to be." On the contrary, the public is persuaded that he entertains the hope and belief that the grave social problems arising from man's ignorance and injustice shall be solved, in like manner as other great common tasks for human betterment, through the instrumentality of men of good will and good mind in every social order.

Encouragement in reasonable expectation of what is to come in social betterment arises from what is being done. Man's mastery of the forces of nature, to the general benefit, is proceeding apace; the prevention of disease in various forms and the sanitation of entire regions as realized at present through science would once have seemed miracles of the supernatural; today's organization of industry and transportation the world over, with an accompanying international distribution of ownership, far outstripping the conceptions of any Socialist economist of half a century ago, enriches, educates, and unifies all races. From 1850 (the period of Marx's "Capital") to 1910 wages, measured by purchasing power and allowing for unemployment, rose in typical occupations in England more than 60 per cent. (Bowley, Wood, Board of Trade). The per capita consumption of meat increased 25 per cent. The opportunities for the worker to obtain technical instruction or to store his mind with the knowledge of the day is indicated in the reduction by a half or more in the price of newspapers and educational books, and in the establishment of free libraries, free scholarships, and university and other extension or correspondence schools. It is undeniable that the wage-earners as a mass are enjoying some share in the improvement of social utilities—postal cheapness, electric transit and lighting, the transport of various food supplies from remote sources. A point of observation familiar to every person of middle age is the decrease of illiteracy, borne out by official statistics in America and Europe; another is the high grade of education now frequently obtainable by the children of parents who were forced to go to work from the primary schools thirty to forty years ago. Contemplation of these achievements of the existing social system inspires faith in its final abolition of the sufferings of hopeless and neglected poverty, to be accomplished through the joint and willing efforts of capitalist-laborers and labor-capitalists.

A TRADE UNIONIST.

P. S.—Mr. Sinclair invited Mr. Astor to attend the fifth Annual Meeting of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, which, he says, has chapters organized in sixty colleges, with the idea of his learning what Socialism is. He might with equal propriety have invited Mr. Astor to study Socialism by attending the Socialist Party conventions, because the Intercollegiate Socialist Society is nothing but a propaganda contingent of the Socialist Party, notwithstanding the fact that it pretends to be an organization for the "intelligent study of Socialism." In forming the chapters in the universities it takes great pains to emphasize the statement that it is not a Socialist organization but it never explains why it is that all of its officers and its promoters are avowed Socialists.

(From the *American Federationist*, April, 1914.)

## Upton Sinclair's Mental Marksmanship

By SAMUEL GOMPERS

Some years ago a book was published telling the story of life in the stockyards of Chicago. The book contains accounts of happenings in the lives of stockyards workers—accounts ghastly in their simplicity and directness and terrible because of their truthfulness. The writer had stayed at the University of Chicago settlement and collected fragments of the history of many lives extending over a period of more than fifteen years—these he crowded into a short period of one man's life. The tragedy of the life of that stockyards worker, the nauseating details of his work, the terrible odors that envelop the stockyards, did appeal tremendously to the public. While Upton Sinclair roused the people he failed of his purpose, for, as he himself has said, he "aimed at the brains of the American people and hit their stomachs." He wished to better the lives of the people and bettered only inspection regulations. His aim was bad. Has his mental marksmanship improved? Let us see.

More recently Mr. Sinclair attempted to instruct one of our citizens in regard to the needs of society. His attempt succeeded only in attacking the one organization that has for years pursued a constructive, practical plan for righting social injustice and bringing hope and betterment into the lives of those who bear the world's burdens. This instruction was embodied in a "Christmas letter" addressed to Mr. Vincent Astor and given in print to the public. Nor did its contents, except that they were pointedly directed to the young man, bring anything new to our attention; on the contrary, its vein of assertion, its trend of sentiment, its forms of statistical statement, and its method of political propaganda, are all too familiar. Indeed, its consistent characteristic from beginning to end is the exaggeration of a misdirected and collapsed crusade.

Mr. Sinclair is sadly behind the times. He has, with the stubbornness of a zealot, closed his ears to the mature conclusions formed by a competent majority in all countries relative to the revolutionary program to which, in making the seductive circuit of hot radicalisms, he has recently given support. These conclusions in brief are: The postulates for his socialistic propositions—increasing misery, concentrated monopoly, the passing of power from the many to the few—are errors fully disposed of in all our civilization by rapidly accumulating data; his views of present social conditions arise from recklessly distorting fact through habitually magnifying the evil and minimizing the good; time has exploded the recorded woeful prophecies of his party founders; his pessimistic philosophy, with its teachings of impending violent social upheaval, has been rejected by the normal mind, even among the German Socialists, as a mental poison and social dry-rot, and his proposed co-operative commonwealth has repeatedly been

voted down by the English voluntary co-operators, well aware that its tyranny would be worse than any autocracy ever known to the world, inevitably annihilating the bases of personal independence and character.

To this letter Mr. Astor made serious reply, refuting Mr. Sinclair's assertions and gloomy interpretations. Some weeks later Mr. Sinclair published a rejoinder in which he made another unjustifiable attack upon the American Federation of Labor.

The second letter to Mr. Astor (*New York Call*, January 28) is weaker in many respects than his first. Most worthy of notice, as illustrative of the Socialist mental twist, is the anti-climax, mirth-provoking to the untouched reader, with which he closes his argument. It could be perpetrated only by an over-emotional Socialist, unconscious of the absurdity of his act and unaware of its satire on his fallacies. In order to inspire mankind with confidence in him as a seer and prophet he directs attention to this prophecy, which was the rhetorical culmination of the calamity-freighted introduction to a book he wrote in 1906:

“So it is that I write in all seriousness that the revolution will take place in America within one year after the presidential election of 1912; and, in saying this, I claim to speak, not as a dreamer nor as a child but as a scientist and a prophet.”

As the laugh dies down—we challenge Socialists with a grain of common sense to read that paragraph without a grimace—as the laugh dies down, you, the reader, must ask yourself the place where discredited prophets ought to go to hide. Prophesying is a business in which results must tally with time—else, off to line up with Mother Shipton! As for the apology of Mr. Sinclair for the failure of his scientific prognostication, it is, naturally, puerile.

As a matter of fact, the most important feature in this second letter of Mr. Sinclair is depreciation of the American Federation of Labor and exaltation of the “Industrial Workers of the World.” This is what brings us into the affair.

We paid no attention to the correspondence between Upton Sinclair and Vincent Astor, and probably not a word would have appeared in the columns of the *American Federationist*, for we realize that it is an utter impossibility to set straight all the damphools in the world, had not some Socialist publications intimated that we have had a hand in the preparation of Mr. Astor's reply—a statement as baseless as it is maliciously untrue. Further because of the entirely gratuitous charges which Sinclair, ignorant of facts, lays at the door of the American Federation of Labor and the trade union movement in general, we feel it our duty to show clearly how baseless are Mr. Sinclair's theses, his attack and his sophistry, which with clear asinine conceit he and his associates call philosophy.

Mr. Sinclair, disputing the statement that the American Federation of Labor and the railroad brotherhoods speak for the great mass of the working people of the country, asserts:

“There is another organization of workmen with a large membership—the Industrial Workers of the World.

I notice that you do not quote me the opinions of any of its leaders. Yet it is a fact that the Industrial Workers of the World stand for the interests of a class of workers who are far more numerous than those represented by the American Federation of Labor."

The "large membership" of the "Industrial Workers of the World" is thus described by R. F. Hoxie, Professor of Economics, University of Chicago (*Journal of Political Economy*, November 1913):

"In spite of eight years of organizing effort and unparalleled advertisement, the official roll of the convention (Chicago, September, 1913) indicated that its present paid-up membership entitled to representation does not much exceed 14,000 men, while the actual constitutional representation on the convention floor was less than half that number." . . . "It is admitted by the highest officials of the Industrial Workers that up to the time of the Lawrence strike the membership never reached 10,000, the highest yearly average being but 6,000." . . . "Everywhere the history of the organization has shown this same inability to maintain a stable and growing membership."

Professor Hoxie further says that the "I. W. W." has not been able to organize effectively a body of men equal to 1 per cent. of the American Federation of Labor alone.

Mr. Sinclair ought to have named some of the "I. W. W." representative men whose opinions an investigator might quote. Nearly every one—perhaps every one—of the delegates prominent at the first convention of 1905 is to-day out of the organization. Split after split has scattered the leaders, with or without their respective bands of followers. Its officials, organizers, newspapers, reports, headquarters, national or local, any marks or evidences of the movement—where are they to be found to-day? Yet Mr. Sinclair holds up that fantastic *pot-pourri* concern as a model to the American Federation of Labor, and the New York *Call* aids and abets him in this endeavor to substitute a grotesque and hideous shadow for substantial trade unionism. What quotations of "Industrial Workers of the World" leaders might possibly accommodate Mr. Sinclair? The two giants of the movement, Messrs. Haywood and Ettor, have indeed uttered certain memorable sentiments. From Mr. Haywood has come: "Can you wonder that I despise the law? I understand the class struggle. I am not a law-abiding citizen. More than that, I do not believe you here ought to be law-abiding citizens." And from Mr. Ettor to striking hotel and restaurant waiters: "If you have to go back under unsatisfactory conditions, do it with your minds made up that it is the unsafest proposition in the world for capitalists to eat food prepared by members of your union." Again we ask Mr. Sinclair in which of these two "ideal" I. W. W.'s are America's workers to place their confidence and to which shall they accord the hegemony of mental and physical leadership?

There is no truth in the statement, clamorously reiterated by the combined Industrial Workers of the Worldists and Socialists, that the American Federation of Labor is for the skilled as against the unskilled workers. As a fact, there are few entirely

“unskilled” workers in the whole field of labor. In all occupations there is skill, though of various grades. The American Federation of Labor, through its hundreds of organizers, is continually endeavoring to organize the wage workers of all grades in every calling. All the industrial centers employing mostly grades of less skill in which “Industrial Workers of the World” strikes have taken place—Lawrence, Paterson, Akron—have time and again been organized, in whole or in part, by trade union representatives. Every international organization interested has expended money, in some cases lavishly, to organize such centers. What has been the result in them? First, the “I. W. W.,” pursuing a destructive course, has rushed in and blindly promoted futile strikes among the undisciplined, bringing misery and suffering to thousands and injury to organizations. Secondly, the American Federation of Labor, following its constructive traditions directly and through affiliated organizations, through systematic organization in such centers has added half a million dues-paying members to its various unions in the last five years, thereby promoting peace with employers and improving the condition of the wage workers. There are more so-called “unskilled” workers in the American Federation of Labor to-day—five times over—than were ever included in the “I. W. W.” and all the other mushroom organizations fostered by the various Socialist parties in America. Spargo says (page 36, “Syndicalism”):

**“The claim of the Industrial Workers of the World leaders that they confine their energies to the organization of the unskilled workers neglected by the American Federation of Labor is a brazen falsehood.”**

Did Spargo have Sinclair in mind in anticipation, or the Sinclairs known by other names?

Organization of unskilled workers must first of all aim at the establishment of standards among those of less skill, educate them in the principles and methods of collective bargaining. Those who perform what is known as unskilled labor are hampered by the fact that their places could be filled readily, for the work is soon learned. Yet many of these have strong organizations which secure and maintain many advantages for their members. These organizations accomplish results not because of strategic advantages due to skill in performing certain work but because of their skill in organization.

Those who wish the benefits of organization must found that organization upon correct principles and then be willing to do the often uninteresting, but consistent, unflagging toil necessary to constructive work. But Upton Sinclair, parrot-like, repeats the false statement that the American Federation of Labor consists of skilled workers alone and that it is indifferent to the interests of unskilled toilers. How unfounded is Mr. Sinclair’s charge on this score may be learned when it is shown that among our affiliated organizations are the toilers in the following vocations: Cement workers, freight handlers, hod-carriers, common laborers, laundry workers, railway maintenance of way employes, pavers, rammermen, flag layers, shingle

weavers, sawmill workers, woodsmen, slate workers, switchmen, teamsters, stablemen, quarry workers, street car employes, mine laborers and many others.

Through repetition, partisan, ill-founded, sweeping assertions come to be accepted by Socialists as indisputable facts. This is illustrated by Mr. Sinclair in his passage on the glass bottle blowers. He says:

“Take the glass bottle industry, which I studied some six years ago. Bottle blowers were getting \$7 or \$8 a day and were in cloyer. I said: ‘But suppose some one invents a machine?’ They laughed at me. ‘Invent a machine to blow bottles? Never!’ But a year later it was done, and now one small boy tends a machine which does the work of several skilled men—and the boy gets 50 cents a day.”

Now, what are the facts as to the Glass Bottle Blowers' Association? Have the members lost their situations to boys working for 50 cents a day? Has the union been dissolved or even weakened? Nothing of the kind. In 1907, when Mr. Sinclair studied indications and prophesied disaster, the union had 80 votes in the American Federation of Labor convention, representing 8,000 members; in 1913, six years after, it had 100 votes, representing 10,000 members. Wages in the trade were somewhat affected by the machine, yet remain among the highest in the country. This Socialist cry of alarm over displacement of man by machine, with want in its wake, has done service for fifty years in every trade imaginable. Twenty years ago it was the printers who were to be displaced, degraded, undone, driven into the ranks of the unskilled. The dreaded machine in their trade had arrived. The result to-day? Sixty thousand members in the International Typographical Union as against 27,000 in 1894; the eight-hour instead of the ten-hour day; wages advanced by 30 per cent. More than thirty years ago, it was the cigarmakers who were to be thrown out of the factories, impoverished, starved. Their union was to be disintegrated and their children were to be forced to earn the family living by slaving at the cigarmaking machines a long day for a few dimes. And the actual result? The union membership increased from 32,000 to 56,000; wages increased; the eight-hour day maintained continuously for a generation, with a complete system of fraternal benefits.

Socialists find it to their satisfaction to cry calamity continually, in good times and bad; to prophesy increasing misery by the Marx book, though the decades steadily refute their woeful foretellings; to rail at the men and institutions that are helping the people now, though they themselves in this country have not one constructive act to their credit; to misstate facts, to pervert obvious truths, and to deny the social progress to which they constitute an obstacle.

Take Mr. Sinclair's gibe at us (Samuel Gompers) as being “disturbed over the jail sentences which are hanging over his head.” Mr. Sinclair's habit of misstatement could not permit him to refer correctly even to the facts in this case. The case in

question illustrates clearly the difference between Socialist procedure and trade union procedure in this country in a contest for the rights of the citizen as against encroachments by the courts. The Socialists would have treated the case as a cause for party propaganda, for denouncing existing society, and for demanding revolution. The trade unionists, who believe that all the rights of citizenship, all the rights of human beings, can be gained under our Republic, have conducted the case to protect constitutional rights. The result has been not only a series of victories in the courts themselves but the education of the whole country and the consequent support of a host of non-wage-working Americans for the cause of the American Federation of Labor. Observe the procedure of the courts in this case: A sweeping injunction; a revision of this injunction by a higher court which wiped out all the inhibitions except two; a jail sentence for three union officials; an elimination of the jail sentences of two of these officials, with a reduction of the third from a year to a month; an opinion of one of the three judges that no crime had been committed; a rejection by the United States Supreme Court of the findings of all the lower courts; a retrial with an outcome that leaves hardly anything of the original charges, inhibitions, penalties, or powers of the courts. Meanwhile throughout the country has developed a public opinion which regards the case as the test and criterion for all similar ones, which marks a revolution in the attitude not only of the public at large but of the majority of the bar and bench relative to the powers that had been usurped by courts of equity.

Petulant and childish is Mr. Sinclair's repetition of the Socialist charge that "workingmen, when they become 'leaders,' cease to live the lives of workingmen, and become upper-class personages," etc. It is largely through pestiferous activities in this spirit that the "Industrial Workers of the World" has been wrecked; it was gall and wormwood to the "outs" among them that the "ins" could act as their representatives. Mr. Sinclair no doubt deplores the personalities, squabbles and dissensions, the effect of envy and malice, so much in evidence in his own party or parties.

In the effort to disguise his real antagonism to the American Federation of Labor, Sinclair directs his chief shaft against its President and asserts that he and his associates are not in any sense spokesmen for organized labor of America. To make such a declaration is to repudiate the principles of democracy.

The officers of the American Federation of Labor, a federated body, are chosen annually in convention; those of many international organizations are elected yearly by a referendum vote. The "leaders" may be "recalled" any or every year. No better combination of systems for ascertaining the will of the membership is known to man.

The repudiation of democracy is precisely one of Mr. Sinclair's conspicuous performances in this letter. He finds the American wage workers "oppressed and ignorant," classes them with the negro slaves who were unable to initiate an abolition movement, claims for himself and his fellow-Socialists "the

advantage of wider culture and intellectual training," and finds the organized body of American workers not represented by their chosen representatives. In all of which he exhibits the mental twist which makes of him truly the Socialist seer and prophet which he assumes to be.

Mr. Sinclair speaks of "the pressing and desperate urgency of this crisis" arising from the high cost of living, bringing its "cries of agony and despair." This moves him to refer to his stockyards experiences and to say:

"The public thinks that the conditions surrounding its meat supply have been improved. I know that they have not been improved. I know of a thorough and exhaustive investigation which proves this—the results of which investigation I have never been able to get published."

The reader may choose between these allegations and the following statement by Dr. A. D. Melvin, Chief of the United States Bureau of Animal Industry:

"During the fiscal year 1913, inspection was conducted at a total of 910 establishments in 251 cities and towns. The force employed by the government to administer and perform this inspection is composed of about 2,300 persons, of whom about 750 are graduated and trained veterinarians, the remainder being trained laymen. In the last fiscal year there were inspected under this system more than 56,000,000 cattle, sheep, swine and goats. A total of 250,661 whole carcasses of cattle, sheep, swine and goats, and of more than 504,132 parts of carcasses were condemned and destroyed as unfit for food purposes. The inspections, re-inspections and duplications of inspections of meats and products in the course of their preparation totaled more than 7,000,000,000 pounds. The quantity of meats and products condemned on such inspections because of having become sour, tainted, putrid, unclean, rancid or otherwise unfit for food was more than 18,000,000 pounds."

Here we have Socialist charge versus official statistics. As to how far the two stand for imaginary against actual conditions is for the reader to judge.

Infantile prattle outdoes science in positing huge conceptions. Children ask questions that baffle all adult learning. Schoolboys march armies into China, sail in the air from the North Pole to the South in a day, drain the Atlantic Ocean into the Pacific through an imaginary Nicaraguan Canal, and incidentally refute Darwin, improve on Edison, and dim the deeds of Napoleon. Little does it matter to these prattlers of the gigantic that mountain-like obstacles stand in their way—civilization as it has been developed, the general interest as seen by normal men, the principles of mechanism and mathematics, the laws of physics, the common sense of mankind, the immeasurable mental distance between callow crudeness and trained genius.

This soaring of impracticable pettiness high amid colossal undertakings, this childish, foolish toying with the most serious tasks of humanity, is illustrated in Mr. Sinclair's positive affirmations anent his revolution which he says need not be a revolution. According to his contradictory conjuring, Socialism "does not



require and does not desire" overturning the fundamental basis upon which our government and social fabric are founded. "It demands only one thing, the abolishment of private property in the instruments and means of production and the necessities of life." Only that! A little thing like that is indeed no social revolution—according to Upton Sinclair.

No! No revolution! Nothing but carrying this profession of childlike faith into practice. Mr. Sinclair says:

"I believe that to-day the Interstate Commerce Commission could take charge of our railways and abolish the claim of their bondholders to interest and of their stockholders to dividends, either reducing the cost of the service or turning over the profits to the government, precisely as in the case of the post-office, and I do not believe that the fundamental basis of our government and social fabric would be destroyed thereby. I believe that the same thing could be done in the case of express companies, the telegraphs and telephones, the Steel Trust, the Oil Trust, and the Coal Trust. I believe that it could be done in our cities for public service corporations and for land, and still the fundamental basis of our government and social fabric might endure."

Grown men who can read these propositions and not see that of necessity they blot out the present legal system, the established relations of the citizen to property, the independence of every individual, the liberty of movement, speech, press, assemblage—well, such men can believe black white, storm sunshine, war peace, cold heat, truth error, and insanity sanity. Men of such minds see society as through a mist, the creation of their own mental astigmatism.

It is to be said to the credit of many men calling themselves Socialists, especially in Europe, that they have no concern with Mr. Sinclair's wonder-working.

Too much weight can not be given in the mind of the non-wage-worker to the utter failure of the Socialists to gain any substantial footing among the over two million members of the American Federation of Labor's affiliated organizations and the hundreds of thousands of railway employes of this country. That stubborn fact alone is sufficient to cast doubt on the validity of the claims of Socialism to a large following in America. The men prominent in labor organizations usually testify, with resignation to the inevitable, that generous hearing has been given to the plaint of impassioned Socialists at every city, state and national labor convention for the last twenty-five years, which resulted quite uniformly in deliberate rejection of their views and propositions. The un-American character of Mr. Sinclair's Socialist party is indicated in the fact that considerably more than a quarter of its membership dues come from translator-secretaries, who report for Socialist bodies in America, the proceedings of which take place in various foreign languages.

The organized wage workers of Europe—whose so-called Socialism, it must be observed, is in substance the inevitable world movement toward democracy, equality of rights and self-help through co-operation—have of recent years emphasized their

aloofness from Mr. Sinclair's ideas of explosive revolution and the composition of a new social system from the fragments. Two years ago, when Kautsky, the Marxite leader of Germany, again reiterated the doctrine of increasing misery, and attempted to depreciate the work of the trade unions, the General Secretary of the labor federation of Germany caused to be collected from the various national union offices reports of the ameliorations of their membership in better wages, shortening the workday, and improved working conditions, and published the statements in book form. It was a spirited and scientifically grounded rebuke from the official center of more than two million trade unionists to the exploiter of pessimism and catastrophe.

The tremendous success and growth of the German trade unions since their separation from the Socialist Party are a warning against such affiliations.

In France for years, at every annual meeting of the Confederation du Travail, the revolutionary and revisionist syndicalists have joined in rejecting Guesdism (Marxism) and its exclusive partisan parliamentary action, and in turn within the last year the leader of the non-revolutionary trade unionists—the typographical secretary—has declared that the radical sect in the C. G. T. [the general confederation of labor, before mentioned] had in practice abandoned their hope of a speedy doctrine of revolution through the general strike.

In England, the Socialist endeavors to capture the unions united in the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress have resulted in dissipating the strength of the party; the attempts at the successive annual co-operative congresses to commit the co-operative union to Socialism have every time flatly failed. The great labor organizations of the workers in the leading European countries mentioned have millions of members—five millions at least—whose actual labors are concerned with the present, and not a utopian, social system.

The masses of Germany, after tilting with windmills for thirty years under the banners of Marx and Lassalle, began in earnest only a decade ago to organize trade unions and co-operative societies, with consequences that render their members enthusiastic advocates of continued reform. Historically, and for the lack of another title for the party of opposition to monarchy and privilege, these members may call themselves Socialists; actually, nine-tenths of their work is just the same as that of the American Federation of Labor.

In return for Mr. Sinclair's invitation to study Socialist literature, Vincent Astor might appropriately invite him to read the works of Bernstein, Seligman, Skelton and Simkhovitch. He will learn from them how outworn is the Socialism he advocates. As we have seen, his basic tenets, as mentioned in his letter, of "a social cataclysm," of a "constantly widening chasm between wealth and poverty," and of a "rule of the many by the privileged few," are shown not only to have been disproved in the progress of events but to have been dropped by an influential wing of the Socialists themselves.

Mr. Sinclair's very appeal to the young millionaire to join a Socialist society, if made in good faith, is signal evidence that

he and his faction of the revolutionaries have given up that Socialist war cry, "the class struggle." Mr. Morris Hillquit, general of another brigade of these "sociological Mexicans," sees in the benevolent contributions sought by Mr. Sinclair only disaster to the cause. "It would rob the movement of its virility and self-reliance." Bad, indeed! Very like the moral and mental atrophy of the individual drawing his rations from the commonwealth.

Mr. Sinclair should have directed Mr. Astor's attention to certain very illuminating passages from Socialist writings. For his convenience some are here quoted:

Robert Hunter, in the *New York Call*, April 8, 1910:

"We ought never to have derided the unions, jeered at their every weakness or chuckled over their every mistake. That was the first error, and a terrible one. It was the error the Germans made at first, although they soon squared themselves. And it is a fact that in no other country has this error persisted as it has in America, and it is also a fact that if we continue to persist in this error we shall create a situation which will put Socialism back many years."

Morris Hillquit, hailed by all Socialists as the most brilliant Socialist of to-day, in the *New York Call* of December 12, 1909, said:

"Socialism in the United States to-day is in the anomalous position of being a working class movement, minus the working class, and our main efforts must be to remove that anomaly. Our efforts to enlist the support of the working class must necessarily be directed in the first place to the organized portion of it. And whatever may be said to the contrary, our party has never made sustained and rational efforts to win the friendship of these organized workmen. Much of our time and energies in the past have been wasted in the effort to capture the trade union movement bodily; in a few instances we have been led to the folly of attempting to reorganize it, going to the extent of creating rival organizations, and at times have meddled and interfered with their internal affairs. We have often tried to coax, cajole, and browbeat the trade unions into Socialism, but we have made but little sympathetic effort to educate their members in the Socialist philosophy."

William English Walling, in the *New York Call*, December 11, 1909, says:

"The Socialist party has become a hissing and a by-word with the actual wage-workers of America. It has become a party of two extremes. On the one side are a bunch of intellectuals like myself and Spargo and Hunter and Hillquit; on the other is a bunch of 'never-works,' demagogues, and would-be intellectuals, a veritable lumpen-proletariat. The actual wage-workers, the men who are really fighting the class struggle, are outside. Above all else we must have the union men. No one has denounced the defects of the American Federation of Labor more than I, but I am forced to recognize that it comes much nearer representing the working class than the Socialist party, and unless we are able to so shape our policies and our organization as to meet the demands and incarnate the position of the workers we will have failed of our mission."

Mr. Sinclair needs to come up abreast of the times in America. The truths of the sociology of to-day must lead him to cease pretending to himself that he believes the fantastic profundities of the Don Quixote of political economy. Marx was not only a windmill fighter; he was a phantom windmill fabricator. What astrology was to astronomy, alchemy to chemistry, sorcery to surgery, Marxiology is to the present-day economics and sociology. Since Mr. Sinclair is devoting his life to humanity, he ought to break away from those who talk the nonsense in which he has indulged himself.

Mr. Sinclair should join the true reformers. Men of heart and sound sense are in the majority in all walks of life in this country. Who teaches otherwise blocks the way to progress. Sacrifice for family, for country and humanity, has its exemplars in all circles. Every helpful social movement of the present time, every really modern movement—the history of the Socialist Party itself proves—must take up with society as it is and strive for its improvement, not its destruction. In such work there is opportunity for Mr. Sinclair, with prospect, in his lifetime, of glorious satisfactions.

## APPENDIX

[From the *American Federationist*, September and October, 1913,\*  
—referred to in Mr. Astor's letter]

### Constructive Trade Unionism Its Wonderful Achievements—Told by Those Who Know

**United Mine Workers of America.**—It is gratifying to be able to state that in the spring of 1912, successful wage scales were negotiated in every mining district, bituminous and anthracite, carrying with them an increase in wages and improved conditions of employment. In addition to this, the interstate joint movement was rehabilitated and reorganized along new lines. This comprises Western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, and at the conferences of the interstate movement agreements are reached which form the bases for wage scales throughout the bituminous fields of the country. This movement was dissolved in 1906, and all efforts to rehabilitate it have proved unavailing.

What is regarded as a signal victory for the miners' organization is the settlement in the anthracite coal regions, where for more than ten years the organization had dwindled to an insignificant power and no readjustment of wages and conditions of employment had been secured since the great strike of 1902. The recent settlement negotiated with the operators of the anthracite coal fields carried with it a ten per cent. increase in wages; recognition of the organization; recognition of mine committees; and the rates paid at each colliery to the various classes of labor to be revised, brought down to date and published.

The growth of our union has been phenomenal within the last year, its membership having been increased by more than 100,000 new members. Our membership is now more than 400,000. In the nine months from August, 1912, to May, 1913, the average paid-up membership, exclusive of exonerations, was 369,334. The average number of members exonerated monthly for the period mentioned above was 14,245, making an average membership, including the exonerated members, of 383,579. In the month of February, of the present year, our paid-up membership reached the high-water mark of 399,810. For that same month, there were exonerated from the payment of dues in accordance with our laws, 13,149 members, making a grand total of 412,959 members.

A splendid sentiment prevails among the rank and file; a fine spirit of co-operation is permeating our movement everywhere, which augurs well for the future success of the mine workers.

**Order of Railroad Telegraphers.**—The order held its Ninth Biennial and Nineteenth Regular Session of the Grand Division—in ordinary parlance, its convention—at Baltimore, Md., May 12 to 21, with over seven hundred delegates and visitors in attendance. The president's report to that body indicated one hundred and one revised schedules and wage scales accomplished during the last two years, and new schedules and wage scales established on eighteen other railroads. Each and every one of these negotiations included an increase in wages and improved working conditions, and there was a total absence of strikes during the two-year period.

A feature of the organization of which its officers are justly proud is its Mutual Benefit Department. This is an organized "hatpassing" arrangement for the beneficiaries of deceased members, sometimes called insurance. Certificates in this department are issued in three series calling for \$300, \$500 and \$1,000, respectively, costing \$2.40, \$3.60 and \$7.20 per year. This department was started in 1898. Up to April 30, 1913, it disbursed for death claims \$887,881.47, and still had a surplus on hand amounting to \$378,592.32. This range of figures indicates what can be done in the insurance field and is worthy of some study.

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\*For convenience the two articles are here printed as one.

**United Association Journeymen Plumbers, Gasfitters, Steamfitters and Steamfitters' Helpers.**—We organized since the last convention 190 local unions, 34 of which lapsed, making a net gain of 156 local unions. All our local unions are enjoying the eight-hour day, which is universal, with the exception of very few of those recently organized, and who are now negotiating for the short workday. We have 502 local unions enjoying the half holiday on Saturday, with 115 working the full day on Saturday, and in the majority of cases this is a day of seven hours. The two years previous to our last convention at St. Paul, which was held September, 1910, we only had 210 local unions working the half day Saturday, so you will note the decided progress in the shortening of hours of labor.

Three hundred and nineteen of our local unions are earning between \$4 and \$5 per day; 206 between \$5 and \$6; 39 are receiving \$6 per day; 50 are receiving between \$3 and \$3.50, two local unions are receiving \$7 per day, and one local union is receiving \$8. Our average wage throughout the United States and Canada is \$5 per day.

Last, but not least, we have settled our jurisdictional grievances with the International Association of Steamfitters, and we now have one great union of the pipe trades under the banner of the United Association. Our success in this regard has been mainly due to the aid given us by the American Federation of Labor in its very sensible policy of having all kindred trades in one organization.

**United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.**—It is a source of pardonable pride to us to report that our organization has enjoyed an almost phenomenal growth in the past year. Viewed from any and every angle, we can truthfully say it has flourished and prospered until at the present time we boast of a membership well over the 200,000 mark—to be exact, in April, 1912, we had 186,382 members in good standing, and in April, 1913, our membership numbered 207,382, an increase of 21,000.

With our accomplishments during the past year, we are more than satisfied, and we look forward to still better results in the years to come. Our reported increase of 21,000 members this year is indeed gratifying, but we hope the end of the fiscal year in 1914 will witness an even more substantial gain.

**United Garment Workers of America.**—Beyond question thus far the year 1913 has been the most prolific of good to our international union and its members of any year since its organization in 1891. The many trade movements for improvement in which the United Garment Workers has engaged have been uniformly successful, and are of such a far-reaching character that no one, not even those closely associated with these movements, can predict with safety what the ultimate results will be, yet all are agreed that the men's clothing industry has been placed on a basis, so far as hours and wages are concerned, which is far better than has existed heretofore.

Without doubt the foundation of these conditions was laid by the inauguration and successful termination of the great strike of men's clothing workers in New York City and vicinity, which involved approximately 110,000 people and affected about 4,000 shops of all kinds, and which lasted from January 1 to February 28. A few months previous to the strike order, the membership in New York was less than 10,000, but when the order to cease work was given more than 110,000 people responded to the call, completely tying up the greatest clothing market of the world in all branches.

Thousands of these workers had been forced to labor from fifty-six to more than ninety hours per week, under several systems, many of which were detrimental to their welfare, economically and physically. Yet, after nine weeks, they forced the manufacturers in eight associations to agree to terms, which for the larger associations were as follows:

1. The workers are to return to work immediately.
2. The question of hours to be submitted to a commission, consisting of Robert F. Cutting, Marcus M. Marks, and Dr. J. L. Magnes—their recommendations to be accepted by both sides as final and binding.
3. The findings shall be on the basis of establishing a standard of working hours per week that will maintain the industry in New York on a competitive basis with other markets for the present and for the future.
4. Upon the resumption of work there shall be a general increase in wages to week workers in tailor shops of \$1 per week over wages paid prior to strike, and to piece workers the rate shall be advanced in the same proportion.
5. No reduction in price during dull season. The maintenance of sanitary conditions.
6. The abolition of sub-contracting in contractors' and inside shops.
7. The hours and conditions in contract shops to be identical with those of inside shops.
8. The wages of cutters to be as agreed upon between the firms and their employes.
9. There shall be no discrimination in the re-employment of the workers.

This agreement was further supplemented by a report of the commission on March 10, in which it was recommended that the hours of labor of tailors in the clothing industry of New York City should not exceed fifty-three at the present time, nor fifty-two hours beginning January 1, 1914. Hours of cutters not to exceed fifty at the present time and to be forty-eight hours a week beginning January 1, 1914.

During the strike in New York, general strikes occurred in Rochester, N. Y., and Boston, Mass., which involved practically every worker in the men's clothing industry of those cities. Following the example set by their competitors in New York City, the manufacturers of these cities, after an eight and eleven weeks' struggle respectively, agreed to a fifty-two hour week in Rochester, with other improved conditions, and in Boston to a fifty-hour week, increase in wages, abolition of sub-contracting and improved sanitary conditions. In Philadelphia, Pa., the workers also struck for better conditions, and were successful in securing a reduction in working hours for more than two-thirds of those engaged in the industry.

Baltimore, Syracuse, Utica, Chicago, Buffalo and Cincinnati locals of our International union have since secured the shorter work week for our members, so that as a whole we feel that our members are to be congratulated upon the progress made this year.

Since these changes have occurred in our trade there is a growing tendency on the part of the manufacturers to treat with our union through accredited representatives. This is a complete change from the attitude maintained by them during the past ten years, and leads us to believe that eventually some peaceful method of adjusting differences will be established in the industry.

**Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes of America.**—A review of a year's work in the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes of America presents much for encouragement.

The year ending June 30, 1913, in respect to the progress of the Association is not in itself an unusual one. It is only in line with former years and with the prospects of the Association for future years.

Advances in wage are quoted all the way from 1 per cent. to 100 per cent. Many of the later formed locals have realized increases during the year of from 20 to 40 and 50 per cent. It is only to the old-established locals that the percentage of increase is below 15 per

cent. In every instance of new, thoroughly established locals increases in wages have come.

Within the ranks of the Amalgamated Association, wage increases during the year preceding June 30, 1913, have come to members of local divisions of which the membership totals 21,836. The aggregate annual increase to those 21,836 members amounts to \$1,607,800.

In practically all instances of agreements in the interest of newly formed locals, the hours of labor have been reduced. The common system of employment with unorganized conditions is what is known as the swing system, under which men must work from 10 to 12 and 13 hours per day; one-third of the men require from 16 to 18 hours in which to perform a service day. The Association universally rearranges this system by establishing what is known as a two-shift system or a straight service day of from eight to ten hours. This usually results without any reduction in the service day wage, which makes an actual advance in the hour rate of pay, but which is not included in the above computation as any part of the accrued annual increase in wage. This change in system that is wrought by the Association affords greater opportunity for employment, increasing the number of employes upon the job from 20 to 40 per cent. Thus the Amalgamated Association claims credit for establishing new jobs for hundreds of the unemployed every year. Basing calculation upon the number of employes at the time the organizations were instituted and the number of employes in each of the locals after the lines have been equipped under the agreement arrangement, the Amalgamated Association has opened jobs to over 2,000 men within the last year, who would have been otherwise employed or would have no employment at all.

During the year preceding June 30, 1913, the Amalgamated Association had issued charters for the institution of forty-four locals, the last being Division 636, located at Phoenix, Arizona. Eight thousand four hundred were added to the Amalgamated Association through the effectual organizing of locals affiliated during the year.

A feature of the Amalgamated Association is its death and disability benefit provision. The Association pays death benefits of from \$100 to \$800 in accordance with period of membership. Eight hundred dollars inures to beneficiaries in case the member is of seven or more years of membership. The scale graduates from \$100 for second year of membership. During the year ending June 30, 1913, there were paid 278 benefits from the death and disability benefit fund. The payments aggregated \$134,250. Thirteen were disability benefits aggregating \$7,000. Two hundred and sixty-five were death benefits aggregating \$127,250. The approximate average payment per death claim was \$480. The disability payments for each claim approximate \$540. This fund is maintained at an annual expense of \$3.12 per member.

The experience of the Amalgamated Association is that members of a trade or labor union can run a benefit feature in connection with their organization much more cheaply than they can buy insurance in any insurance company or any other mutual beneficial organization. The accumulation of the fund has far exceeded the payments made in benefits.

**International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America.**—The International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs has had a most successful year. The wonderful improvements in working hours and in the betterment of wages obtained by the membership of the organization throughout the country are too numerous to mention. The organization has never been more successful than since last Labor Day.

**American Flint Glass Workers' Union.**—The season of 1912-1913, commencing August 1, 1912, and ending June 30, 1913, was one of the most successful in the history of our organization. Our membership increased 12 per cent. . . .



The wages of the men admitted to our union were increased from 5 to 40 per cent., their hours of labor considerably reduced, factory conditions materially improved, and equitable rules established for the government of the shops.

We expended \$105,506.61 for strike benefits, and on June 1, 1913, we had a balance in treasury of \$160,102.57.

In addition to the four national officers of our union we have four salaried organizers that are covering the various parts of the country, continually exercising their best efforts to unite with us all eligible persons employed at the various departments represented by our union.

#### **Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.—**

Ever since its inception, the Amalgamated Association has stood for the system of joint agreements. The wages of the men in the iron and steel industries have been made to vary in proportion to the rise and fall of the selling prices of the products manufactured, although the workers insisted upon a minimum wage below which wages must not fall. The system is not only fair, but gives general satisfaction. It is the only equitable way, even under present conditions, of determining the schedule of prices of those for whom we negotiate.

**Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers' Union of North America.—**Our organization in the past year has organized eighteen new locals and has increased its membership 28 per cent. We have been able to secure increased wages for nearly 50 per cent. of our members and have reduced the hours of labor in several cities from fifty-four hours per week to fifty, without any reduction of pay in any instance and with material increases in several. The prospect for the coming year for increased membership and still further reduction in hours and the securing of other material advantages for our members, was never brighter. We should increase this coming year at least 50 per cent.

We pay death benefits up to \$200, strike benefits at \$5 per week while strike continues, and are contemplating the creation of an out-of-work benefit and pensions to widows and orphans of deceased members.

#### **International Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes.—**

During last year and this, 1913, we have secured increases in wages for our people amounting to one and three-quarter millions per annum, and that without a break in the good relations with the managements of the roads on which they are employed.

#### **Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders of America.**

—The greatest achievement we have to record for the year is the complete reorganization of our financial affairs upon a sound and efficient basis, which will, no doubt, prove to be of the utmost benefit to our members in the future. Our income was doubled, being raised from 50 cents to \$1 per member per month. Fifty per cent. of all receipts go into a strike reserve fund. It is confidently expected that this will create a sufficient amount to properly finance our members in case of trouble instead of having to pass the hat as too often has been the case in the past. Since the first of this year, this fund has increased from less than \$7,000 to about \$25,000, showing an average increase of \$2,500 per month, besides caring for the heavy drain caused by maintaining the large number of pickets along the thousands of miles of strike-bound roads. As this fund grows it will inspire increased confidence in our members and respect in the employers, and our members will be able to secure fair treatment and wages without having to resort to the strike.

Other important changes that were made in our laws were to increase the financial benefits to be paid our members. The death benefit was increased from \$100 to \$250 and a total permanent disability benefit of \$800 was created.

**International Hodcarriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America.**—The International Hodcarriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America is one of the organizations which are taking many new men into the fold every day. Thousands and thousands are landing in this country, ready to take their places in the union world, and we are constantly striving to have them become part of the rank and file of organized labor. If we did not have to contend with the independent unions of our craft which steadfastly refuse to affiliate with this international union and a few other organizations which claim some of our members, we would to-day have one of the largest organizations in the labor movement.

**International Union of Elevator Constructors.**—Our membership on September, 1912, was 2,430. Up to the present time it is 2,705, an increase of 275.

Twenty-six of our locals asked for an increase in wages from their respective employers, which was granted, or compromised in some cases. The average increase was at the rate of six cents per hour per member. We are pleased to state that none of our locals had to strike for an increased rate of wages.

**Tobacco Workers' International Union.**—In Cincinnati we have succeeded in getting the eight-hour workday with a 10 per cent. increase; in the city of Detroit, a nine-hour workday with a 10 per cent. increase; a nine-hour workday and a 15 per cent. increase in the factories in West Virginia; and in all factories throughout the United States and Canada we have received increases in pay and reductions in hours. The year of 1912-1913 has been the most successful for the people of our craft working in the tobacco industry.

From July, 1912, to July, 1913, our office issued more labels than in the fifteen years of our existence as a trade union organization. We have issued 25,000,000 more labels than in any other year since our inception, showing that the trade union movement is becoming more enlightened and educated with respect to the label cause.

**Building Trades Department.**—The success of the Building Trades Department during the last few years, has demonstrated beyond doubt that this, the first of the departments of the American Federation of Labor, has passed the experimental stage, and has proved that the basic idea is correct, carrying out as it does the principle of trade unionism, that kindred organizations are best fitted to decide questions pertaining directly to their own welfare in their own way, with, of course, the beneficent supervision of the parent body, the American Federation of Labor.

**Railroad Employes' Department.**—The work of the department has been largely confined to promoting the spirit of federation on all railroad lines and extending our efforts in order to concentrate all system federations under the department for the purpose of establishing uniform shop rules on all railroads, to standardize agreements where like conditions prevail, to stimulate the movement for a standard workday of eight hours, and by unity of action to secure for the worker a just remuneration for his labor. The past six months have witnessed a rapid growth of the federated idea.

The following organizations are now affiliated with the Railroad Employes Department; International Association of Machinists; International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America; International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers; Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance; Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America; United Association of Journeymen Plumbers, Gasfitters, Steamfitters, and Steamfitters' Helpers of the United States and Canada; International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; Brotherhood of Railway Clerks; Switchmen's Union of North America; Associated Union of Steam Shovelmen. The organizations comprise in the aggregate a total of 220,000 members.

**Metal Trades Department.**—New councils have been organized and others reorganized during the year, and internationals are showing a constant and healthy growth in their membership, and a spirit of interest in the affairs of others. This department has also been instrumental in having the Navy officials recognize and discuss conditions of employment in the navy yards and naval stations, with representatives of the men. Both when the Secretary of the Navy and his assistant inspect navy yards, representatives of the men are given the opportunity to accompany these officials through the yards; in this practical way the men can point out the specific defects and objectionable features of efficiency systems and other conditions that are a detriment to the welfare of the workers.

**International Photo-Engravers' Union of North America.**—We realize more fully than ever the necessity of "Internationalism" in the labor movement of this continent, and the grave fallacy of "Nationalism." As we succeed in organizing local labor markets, we find it necessary to organize our national and international labor markets; and as we are beginning to realize our success in this work, we immediately become impressed with the necessity of organizing the world's labor markets. Organization among workmen is therefore the most effective agency to right the wrongs of Labor and to bring Labor into its own.

Judging from our experience of the past, and indications of the present, the International Photo-Engravers' Union has before it the hope of greater progress, prosperity and success in the future.

**Switchmen's Union of North America.**—The Switchmen's Union, in the last two years, between the St. Paul and Houston conventions, has paid out in death and total disability claims \$407,018. In addition to this, there was donated in benevolent claims \$28,000, covering injuries that did not come under the legal provision of our constitution. These amounts do not include the large sums paid out by our local unions in weekly benefits on account of sickness and injury.

The gain in membership in the last year has been 13 per cent., the greatest increase being in the large switching centers. We have also materially increased our members in the Canadian territory.

In the last twelve months we have made a number of new agreements as well as renewing and revising several old contracts. In some localities wages have been increased as much as 14 cents per hour, or \$42 per month. We have also received a number of concessions in working rules, making conditions better to work under than the previous rules. All this has been accomplished through the negotiations of our committees, without resorting to a strike or threatening to strike. Ninety per cent. of the local grievances arising between the men and the railroad officials have been satisfactorily adjusted in favor of the men.

**International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance.**—One of the serious problems that confronts those unions whose jurisdictions include semi-skilled or unskilled workers, is how to meet and overcome the practice by detective and other agencies of herding together newly arrived immigrants in a fashion similar to the gathering of mercenaries in the Middle Ages, and selling them at so much per head, to be used as strike breakers.

Chiefly agricultural laborers in their own country, unfamiliar with our language or customs, these unfortunate men are assembled at a given, convenient center, from which they can be readily transported to the field of an industrial battle, to defeat and destroy the organizations of their fellow workers who are revolting against low wages and bad conditions of labor.

There is also another kind of immigrant that does not intend to remain permanently and make this country his home. This is the most dangerous class against which we have to contend. Intent only on amassing a given sum in the shortest possible time—absolutely indifferent to the welfare of their fellow workers—these workers live

as cheaply as possible, isolated socially from the general mass of our people. These willingly exploited workers readily sell themselves to strike-breaking agencies in order to shorten their stay in our country by securing the temporary increase, the only reward of the strike breaker. As a general rule, this class does not join unions unless compelled, and its influence is ever downward.

A strenuous effort should be made to secure the active co-operation of the labor movements of European countries and through the agency of the unions of the older countries, distribute enlightening literature in the language of each country, thereby to avert the abuses that are incident to our present immigration policy. In other words, let the education of the immigrant begin before he leaves his native soil.

**International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers.**—Mention should be made of the fact that our organization has, during the past few weeks, also by direction of our convention, purchased the necessary land and buildings in the city of Chicago for the establishment of a general headquarters, from which all the future activities of the organization will radiate.

Notwithstanding the special activity of the union baiters directed against our body, it is gratifying to announce to the members of the other organizations, through the columns of the national organ of American union labor, that our membership is steadily increasing, and that each succeeding meeting of our several locals finds more or less of additions made to our membership in every section of the continent, from the Klondike to New Orleans, and from Toronto to Texas.

**International Union of Shingle Weavers, Sawmill Workers and Woodsmen.**—The Shingle Weavers' International Union was organized about ten years ago. It then seemed wise to limit the membership in that organization to the men employed in the skilled departments in the shingle trade. Experience has shown that while a large percentage of the skilled men could protect their interests by organization on even so small a scale as this ten years ago, now a change has occurred. To meet this change the source of the workers' power has also had to change. It is no longer the worker's skill that is the chief element of strength. The leveling processes of machinery have made human skill less and less a factor, have caused the worker to realize that now he must chiefly rely upon strength of numbers. So the members of the Shingle Weavers' Union learned that they must expand in order that they might meet the changes in the lumber industry.

At the Rochester convention of the American Federation of Labor a plan was proposed for taking into the organization all men employed in the lumber industry. The American Federation of Labor not only approved the plan, but has since been actively aiding the work of organization. Several thousand woodsmen have been already organized, and the sawmill workers are also joining in the movement. The future seems assured.

It is generally felt that at last a feasible, workable method has been found for bringing the loggers, the sawmill men, and the shingle weavers together into a union that shall be as broad in its scope as the industry itself.

**Paving Cutters' Union of the United States of America and Canada.**—I may safely say that in most every place where our men have had trouble or have been out on strike, the difficulty has been adjusted in our favor.

**Compressed Air and Foundation Workers' Union of the United States and Canada.**—This local has the distinction of being the first local of this union to initiate a colored man to membership, and since that, the colored men on these jobs are joining as rapidly as possible. It has always been a puzzle to find the reason why the colored men would work on these jobs for such poor wages and under such bad

conditions, when they could get work at the same line with better conditions and better wages just by joining this union. Several of them explained it was the common talk that has been passed around ever since the work on the big New York tunnels that this organization would not accept a colored man in its ranks. The men thinking this to be true, had never tried for membership until they were approached on the different jobs and asked to attend an open meeting in which the benefits they could derive from joining this union would be explained. This was not only a gain for the colored men, but it was one of this union's victories of the year, as I will explain: In the past it was the custom of the contractors and bosses to tell the representatives of this organization that if we were not satisfied with the conditions we were getting outside of New York they would get the colored men to do the work, and similarly the colored men who had a grievance with a contractor were told that if things did not suit them they could stop work, as there were union men who would be only too glad to get the work. So it was a case of one choking the other, but in the future we shall not have to fight each other, but we shall work side by side and fight our battles together.

(From the *American Federationist*, January and February, 1914—referred to in Mr. Astor's letter.)

## President Gompers' Report to the International Secretariat

**National Legislative Gains for 1912.**—It is very gratifying, indeed, to be able to report for historical record the following nineteen important measures of interest to the working people of the United States, upon which the Sixty-second Congress took complete and final action. It is additionally satisfying to say that this record is the best any Congress ever made in behalf of demands made upon it by the organized labor forces of the country.

This national report must not be accepted as the sum total of remedial legislation for humanity secured in the United States, but must only be read as a part of that which follows under the caption "State Legislative Gains."

(1) A national Department of Labor was created, the Secretary of same to be a member of the President's Cabinet. The first secretary to occupy this honorable and responsible position was formerly the national secretary of the United Mine Workers of America, and for six years a member of the House of Representatives; during the last term of two years he was Chairman of the House of Representatives Committee on Labor.

(2) All contractors and sub-contractors doing work for the National Government, as well as on naval contracts and fortification contracts, must hereafter observe the eight-hour day.

(3) Eight hours per day will be the maximum hereafter for all post-office clerks, letter carriers and employes in the railway post-offices.

(4) Workmen employed on levees and water fronts, and dredge operators have had the eight-hour day law extended to such employments.

(5) The Bureau of Mines act was amended and strengthened, thereby tending to conserve the health and safety of coal and metal-liferous mine workers.

(6) The national law granting compensation for injuries to government employes, was extended to employes in the Bureau of Mines, and light-house employes.

(7) The manufacture of white phosphorus matches has been prohibited.

(8) A physical valuation law for steam railroads and express companies was passed.

(9) A parcel post law was passed.

(10) Increased appropriations were obtained to develop rescue work in the Bureau of Mines.

(11) The three watch or eight-hour system in the merchant marine, applicable to masters, mates and pilots, was established.

(12) Wages were increased for all employes in the naval gun factory and for the pressmen in the Government Printing Office.

(13) Public construction in government navy yards of naval vessels, transports and colliers, have been extended in opposition to such construction in private shipyards.

(14) A law was enacted by which a Children's Bureau was established, which will be effective in conserving the best interests of the children by practicable and scientific methods.

(15) Former Presidents Roosevelt and Taft were directly rebuked by Congress because of their arbitrary executive order, depriving government employes of the right of petition, the right of organization, and the right of hearing in the case of a discharged employe of the government. The full rights of citizenship have been restored thereby, to all employes of the national government.

(16) The working conditions of employes in the iron and steel industry were rigidly investigated, and a most comprehensive, helpful report made by the Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics.

(17) After a rigid investigation by Congress, of the high speed, "stop watch" working systems in government establishments, orders have been issued by the War Department and the Navy Department to discontinue such speeding up systems in government establishments.

(18) The amendment to the national Constitution providing for an income tax, has been ratified by three-fourths of the States, and is now effective.

(19) The amendment to the national Constitution providing for the popular election of United States Senators has also been ratified by three-fourths of the States, and is now in active operation. This amendment gives to citizens of a State the right to cast a direct vote for the election of the members of the United States Senate from their State, instead of as before, delegating this power to the State Legislatures.

**State Legislative Gains for 1912.**—I furnish herewith a brief summary of helpful, practical legislation in the workers' interests enacted by seventeen State legislative bodies during 1912, which, as of course must be understood by students of this report, is only supplementary to previous legislation already on the statute books of the several States reported. It must also be understood that all the State Legislatures do not meet each and every year. The following excellent record for seventeen States whose Legislatures met in 1912 is the result of the militant, loyal, intelligent effort made by the men and women in the organized American labor movement in behalf of those who toil.

**ARIZONA:**—The new State of Arizona (until recently a territory) adopted the following fundamental provisions in behalf of Labor, in its Constitution, during 1912:—(1) No limitation upon damages for death or injuries to an employe. (2) A Corporation Commission authorized to make and enforce necessary rules for the convenience, comfort, safety, and preservation of health of employes and patrons of all public service corporations. (3) Eight hours to constitute a legal day's work in all employment by or on behalf of the State, or any of its political subdivisions. (4) Age limit for employment of children, 14 years above ground, 16 years under ground. Eight hours to be the maximum work-day for such children in all employments. (5) Making it illegal for any employer to require employes to waive any rights in order to secure or obtain employment. (6) The old common law of "fellow servant" doctrine forever abrogated. (7) The defenses of "contributory negligence," or of "assumed risk," in all cases to be a question of fact, and must be left to the jury without interference by the judge. (8) Employes' right of action to recover damages for injuries shall never be abrogated. Amount to be recovered shall not be subject to any statutory limitation. (9) An employes' liability law and compulsory compensation for injuries law shall be enacted by the Legislature. (10) Blacklisting of employes to be penalized. (11) Aliens prohibited from employment on public work. (12) Safety mining laws and mining inspectors ordered.

The first Legislature of Arizona enacted laws governing the following subjects during the session of 1912, in harmony with the foregoing clauses of the constitution:

(1) Eighteen years minimum age for telegraph operators. (2) Waiving of employes' legal rights by corporations prohibited. (3) Full crew law for railroad trains enacted. (4) Illegal for foremen to accept fees for employment. (5) An eight-hour day established in all coal and metalliferous mines. (6) Standard headlights to be installed on all locomotives. (7) Fourteen years set as the limit for employment of children; in dangerous occupations 16 years the limit. (8) Eight hours as a maximum workday for children. (9) Comprehensive safety laws for mines enacted. (10) Employers' liability and workmen's compensation for injury laws enacted. (11) Aliens prohibited from employment on public works.

CALIFORNIA:—Constitution amended, authorizing the Legislature to enact laws granting compulsory compensation to injured workmen.

The Legislature enacted the following laws in the interest of workmen:—(1) All accidents on railroads to be promptly reported to the Railroad Commission. (2) All employes (male and female) allowed two hours in which to vote on election day without deduction in pay. (3) Industrial Accident Board established, to which employers in all industries must report all accidents to employes.

KENTUCKY:—(1) Employment of females limited to ten hours a day, sixty hours per week. Seats must also be furnished, wash rooms, etc. (2) Factory inspection law enacted and inspectors provided. (3) Assignments of wages of employes prohibited.

LOUISIANA:—(1) Seats to be provided for employes on street cars. (2) Employment of children prohibited in pool and billiard rooms. (3) Semi-monthly payday established. (4) Factory inspection ordered for city of New Orleans. (5) Employers' Liability Commission created. (6) Railroad crossings to be properly guarded. (7) Employment of children prohibited in dangerous occupations, or questionable entertainments. (8) The old common law defenses of "assumption of risk," and "fellow servant" doctrine, applicable to public service corporations, abrogated. (9) Modern systems of ventilation and sanitation to be installed in all printing offices. (10) An eight-hour day established for certain stationary engineers and firemen; some employments excepted.

MARYLAND:—(1) Ten hours a maximum day's work for working women; eight hours to be a maximum night's work; three inspectors appointed to enforce the law. (2) All occupational diseases to be reported by physicians to State Board of Health. (3) Age limit for working children set at 14 years. (4) Hospital for miners established by the State. (5) Co-operative insurance fund for miners established by the State. (6) Compensation for injury law to all industrial workers enacted.

MASSACHUSETTS:—(1) Employers ordered to furnish seats for all female employes. (2) Employment of illiterate children under 18 years prohibited. (3) Employers' liability law amended. (4) Factory inspection law amended. (5) Railroad liability law amended. (6) Old-age pension law for employes of the State enacted. (7) Accident report law applicable to all employers enacted. (8) A maximum ten-hour day and fifty-four hour week law, applicable to women and children, enacted. (9) Steam boiler inspection law amended. (10) A nine-hour day for employes on street railways enacted. (11) During times of strike, employers must state particulars when advertising for laborers. (12) Bureau of Labor Statistics extended and strengthened. (13) Compensation for injuries law amended and strengthened. (14) Employment of women in core-rooms, foundries, and law made more stringent. (15) A Minimum Wage Commission, to deal with wages of women and children, established. (16) A State Board of Labor and Industries established. (17) State printing law enacted.

MICHIGAN:—Workmen's Compensation for Injuries act passed, including an Industrial Accident Board, a State Accident Fund, and the optional privilege of employers organizing "Mutual Insurance Companies."

MINNESOTA:—(1) Employers prohibited from threatening employes or improperly influencing the political opinions or actions of employes. (2) Child labor law amended and strengthened so that children under 16 shall not be permitted to work more than eight hours a day, forty-eight hours a week, and no night work. Dangerous and questionable employments for children prohibited.

MISSISSIPPI:—(1) Employment and emigration agents prohibited under heavy penalties from operating without a State license. (2) Monthly paydays made mandatory by employers. (3) Equipment of street cars with vestibules for motormen, made mandatory. (4) Sanitary buildings act for car repair employes passed. (5) Locomotives to be equipped with standard headlights. (6) Employers prohibited from working employes over ten hours per day. (7) Child labor laws amended and strengthened—14 years the age limit for employment of girls, 12 years for



boys. Boys under 16 and girls under 18 not permitted to work more than eight hours per day, nor more than forty-eight hours in any one week. Suitable enforcement of this law included. (8) The "contributory negligence" clause of the railroad companies liability act made broader in the interest of employes and passengers.

NEW JERSEY:—(1) Factory inspection act amended, requiring standard "blowers" in grinding and polishing rooms; effective guards to be installed on all dangerous machinery. Additional factory inspectors ordered, must be men with practical shop experience. (2) State Department of Labor act amended and strengthened. Employes of same required to pass civil service test. Power for enforcing factory inspection laws increased. (3) Bakery inspection law enacted, with suitable provisions for enforcement. (4) All industrial accidents must hereafter be reported by employers to Commissioner of Labor. (5) A ten-hour day, or sixty-hour week law for working women enacted. (6) Workmen's compensation for injuries law amended and strengthened. (7) All industrial and occupational diseases hereafter must be reported by physicians to the State Board of Health.

NEW MEXICO:—The new State of New Mexico, until recently a territory, adopted the following fundamental provisions in behalf of Labor in its constitution during 1912:

(1) Railroad Commission charged with the duty to enforce standard safety appliances on all railroad equipment. (2) Office of mine inspector created. (3) Safety mining laws ordered. (4) No children under 14 to be employed in mines. (5) The old common law of "fellow servant" abrogated, and the defense of "contributory negligence" defined. (6) A law was enacted making it illegal for employers to require employes to waive any legal rights in order to secure or retain employment. (7) The effective national employers' liability law was the model for this State law. (8) Establishment of an eight-hour day for all employes of the State, county, or municipality.

The first Legislature of New Mexico enacted laws governing the following subjects, during the session of 1912:

(1) Safety mine regulation law enacted, with inspectors to enforce same. (2) Protection for employes to vote with sufficient time allowed for same by employers. (3) Blacklisting of employes by employers penalized. (4) Maximum workday of sixteen hours for railroad employes was enacted.

NEW YORK:—(1) Additional powers granted Factory Investigating Commission. (2) Number of factory inspectors increased from 85 to 125, and their power to enforce factory laws strengthened. (3) Workers in caissons under compressed air, protected. (4) Private employment office law made more stringent. (5) Women and children prohibited from attending in bar rooms. (6) Factory inspection law strengthened by many amendments for the purpose of affording greater safety, health, and comfort to factory employes. (7) Employers forbidden to employ women within four weeks after childbirth. (8) Child labor law amended by requiring physical examinations. (9) A nine-hour day and a fifty-four-hour week enacted for women. (10) The Bureau of Industries and Immigration laws amended and strengthened in many particulars, thereby affording greater protection to working people. (11) Recommendation by the Legislature to amend the State constitution so as to enable the Legislature to enact a compulsory workmen's compensation for injuries law. This amendment to the New York State Constitution will be voted upon by the people of the entire State November 4, 1913. A majority vote will adopt it as part of the Constitution.

OHIO:—The constitution of Ohio was amended in 1912 by referendum vote of the people of the State, authorizing the Legislature to pass certain specified labor laws as follows: (1) To regulate the hours of labor. (2) To establish a minimum wage. (3) To provide for the comfort, health, safety and the general welfare of all employes. (4) To enact a workmen's compensation for injuries law, including a compulsory insurance system and leaving intact right of action in the courts for employes. (5) To enact an eight-hour day for all employes of the State or any political subdivision, and for employes of contractors for the State.

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS:—(1) By a contract of employment law, employers will be penalized if laborers are defrauded by employers, contractors, or subcontractors. (2) Workmen's compensation for injuries law enacted, covering employes of the insular government and the Provincial Government of the Philippine Islands. (3) Free public employment agencies opened under the supervision of municipal officers.

PORTO RICO:—Bureau of Labor established, the Commissioner of which is charged with the duty of investigating sanitary conditions of factories and workshops.

RHODE ISLAND:—(1) Accident law enacted. All public utility employers must hereafter report all accidents to employes and other persons to the Commissioner of Labor. (2) Child labor law amended and strengthened. (3) Workmen's compensation for injuries law enacted, by which the old common law defenses of "contributory negligence," "fellow servant" doctrine, "assumption of risk," and "waiving of rights" are abrogated. (4) Mutual insurance agreements and agencies may be established by employers or by employer and employes.

SOUTH CAROLINA:—(1) Voluntary relief schemes established by employers for payment of sick and death benefits to be hereafter approved and licensed by the State Department of Insurance. (2) Act passed establishing a State Department of Agriculture, Commerce, Industries and Immigration. (3) Child labor law enacted, by which children under 14 are prohibited from being employed as messengers for telegraph and telephone companies, or in questionable places of amusement. (4) Locomotives hereafter must be equipped with standard headlights.

VIRGINIA:—(1) Factory inspection law amended and strengthened so that more stringent provisions for ventilation and sanitation must be enforced. (2) All employers directed to establish a semi-monthly payday. (3) Department of Mines established, with authorized inspectors to enforce standard safety mining regulations. (4) A ten-hour day law enacted governing employment of women and children. (5) Railroad company's liability law for injuries to employes act amended and strengthened by which most of the old common law defenses are modified or abrogated.

**Digest of State Legislative Gains, 1912.**—In conformity with my report of last year, under the head of "State Legislative Gains," I append herewith a digest of the laws enacted by the several Legislatures during the session of 1912:

#### *Accident Reports*

The States of California, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Jersey and Rhode Island made it obligatory by law during the legislative session of 1912, for public service corporations and other employers to report all accidents to their employes to responsible public officials.

#### *Actions for Personal Injuries or Death*

The Arizona constitution forbids laws limiting damages recoverable for death or injury.

The Ohio constitution was amended to forbid the enactment of laws limiting damages recoverable for injury causing death.

#### *Blacklisting*

Arizona enacted laws forbidding blacklisting, with a fine therefor.

New Mexico forbade the enactment of any measure preventing a discharged employe from obtaining work.

#### *Bureaus of Labor*

A Bureau of Labor was created for the Island of Porto Rico.

The Massachusetts Legislature extended and strengthened the Bureau of Labor Statistics by creating a new board under the title "State Board of Labor Industries," consisting of five members to promote industrial development, improve industrial conditions, enforce labor laws, inspect factories, etc., and report of industrial accidents to be filed with this board.

South Carolina provides for a Department of Agriculture, Commerce and Immigration, under a commissioner, who must have knowledge of agricultural, manufacturing and general industries.

The New York Statute was amended, extending power of the commissioner as to education and training of aliens and their treatment in labor camps by employment agencies, etc.

In New Jersey, the State Department of Labor law was amended and strengthened.

### *Workmen's Compensation for Injuries*

Twenty States now have workmen's compensation laws. Those enacted during 1912 are as follows: Arizona, Maryland, Montana and Nevada. The new State of Arizona has adopted constitutional provisions authorizing such statute.

Louisiana appointed a commission to look into the subject.

### *Employers' Liability*

While the greater attention of the Legislatures of the different States in session last year (1912) was given to the subject of compensation legislation, some important laws were passed relative to that of employers' liability, the two subjects being to some extent considered simultaneously in the same legislation.

ARIZONA:—An employers' liability and workmen's compensation for injuries statute enacted.

LOUISIANA:—The old common law defenses of "assumption of risk" and "fellow servant" doctrine, applicable to public service corporations, was abrogated.

NEW MEXICO:—The old common law of "fellow servant" abrogated and the defense of "contributory negligence" defined.

MASSACHUSETTS:—Employers' liability law amended by making sufficient as a form of notice any signed, written communication giving information as to the fact of the injury, time, place and cause. The statute relative to the liability of railroad companies was amended, making the minimum recovery for damages for death at \$500, and the maximum at \$10,000.

MISSISSIPPI:—Liability of railroads for injury was made broader in the interest of employes and passengers.

VIRGINIA:—Liability for injury law amended and strengthened.

MARYLAND:—A co-operative insurance fund was established for miners, employer to pay at least one-half of the premiums for such insurance.

MICHIGAN:—A workmen's compensation for injuries act was passed, including an Industrial Accident Board, a State Accident Fund, and optional privilege of employes organizing "Mutual Insurance Companies."

RHODE ISLAND:—A workmen's compensation for injuries law was enacted, by which the old common law defenses of "contributory negligence," "fellow servant" doctrine, "assumption of risk" and "waiving of rights," were abrogated. Mutual insurance schemes may be established.

The California constitution provides for compulsory compensation systems, irrespective of fault, and for settling disputes by arbitration, by an industrial accident board or by courts.

The Ohio constitution authorizes compulsory contributions to a State fund for compensation for death, injuries or occupational diseases occasioned in course of employment, and their right of action in the courts for employes is left intact.

New York Legislature authorized the enactment of a compensation or insurance law, which shall be the exclusive remedy in cases of injuries to employes.

The national law granting compensation for injuries to government employes was extended to employes in the Bureau of Mines, and the forestry service of the United States, lighthouse employes, and for employes on the Panama Canal and the Panama railroad.

New York City had its charter amended by an act of the State Legislature, allowing thirty days' leave of absence with pay to employes injured in employment.

Philippine Legislature passed a law to pay injured employes for ninety days during disability, if necessary; also cost of transportation and medical and hospital attendance. If injury proves fatal, burial expenses and ninety days wages to be paid to family of deceased employe.

### *Commissions Appointed*

The following commissions were appointed to investigate specified subjects and report:

A Commission on Industrial Relations (an act by Congress).

An Employers' Liability Commission by the State of Louisiana.

A Commission on Workmen's Compensation provided for by the Federal Congress, completed its report.

A Factory Commission in New York was given added power throughout the State to investigate manufacturing conditions and conditions in mercantile establishments, and make report.

The Massachusetts Homestead Commission was authorized to continue its work and to make report.

NEW JERSEY:—The Legislature provided for two commissions—one to revise and codify mechanics lien laws, and the other to propose plans for the employment of convicts in parks, etc., in competition with free labor.

MARYLAND:—A Commission to investigate the penal system and report to the Legislature.

MISSISSIPPI:—Appointed a joint committee of the Senate and House to investigate a strike at McComb City and Water Valley, and report.

The House of Representatives of the United States Congress requested the Secretary of Commerce and Labor to transmit information in his possession as to the strike in the bituminous coal mines in Westmoreland County, Pa., and directed the Secretary of Commerce and Labor to ascertain and report cost and profit in the "present high price of anthracite coal," and the benefits to miners from recent strike agreement, and why, how much, and by what means, the price of coal was at the same time increased.

The United States Senate passed a resolution requesting the Secretary of Commerce and Labor to obtain through the Bureau of Labor and report information as to wages and conditions of living of mill workers in Lawrence, Mass.

### *Convict Labor*

The Ohio constitution was amended, requiring State employment for convicts and forbidding the farming, contracting, or giving away of any work, product or profit of convict labor. Convict goods to be sold in the State to be marked "prison made."

Louisiana prohibits the use of convict labor for private purposes, and directs the prison officials to fix a code of rules, hours of labor, etc.

Massachusetts amended the existing law to extend the use of convict labor in the manufacture of goods for public use.

Virginia provided for the establishment of kilns for the production of lime from limestone or oyster shells for sale to consumers in the State at such prices as to pay the cost of production; interest on the investment, and a surplus of 10 per cent. to cover wear and tear.

New Jersey provides for the employment of county convicts on highways, and authorizes counties to ask for State convicts for use on such work within their limits.

Kentucky amended the constitution so as to permit the State to employ convicts in improvement of public roads, building bridges, etc.

New Mexico directed that the net earnings of convicts should go to their families for their support, and forbade the leasing of convicts.

### *Contract of Employment*

The Arizona Legislature forbade any one hiring labor to accept fees from workmen for employment and made punishment for false representation as to assets and failure to pay for labor subject to civil suit.

South Carolina required employers who require notice from their employes, to give notice two weeks in advance to employes of intention to shut down, and length of time.

Massachusetts amended the act requiring employers advertising for labor to give notice of strike in existence, "until State Board of Conciliation and Arbitration decides that conditions are normal." Also amended the labor law providing penalties for bribery, etc., of employes by increasing penalties where the offender is charged with the offense in connection with the employment of labor.

Mississippi forbade tipping; the penalty for employers who violate this law is double that of the giver of tips.

Laws were revised regulating bonds of employes of railroads or public utilities corporations by the Legislatures of Arizona, Louisiana and Georgia.

Congress made provisions for payment of rewards to employes of the Ordinance Department for inventions, improvements, economies, etc., that may be devised; and for inventions of employes in the Post-office Department.

### *Employment of Women and Children*

The Legislature of Arizona fixed the age limit of employment of children above ground, at 14 years, underground at 16 years; eight hours as a maximum workday. Children under 18 not to be employed in places dangerous or injurious to health. Seats to be furnished female employes. No female to be employed in or about any mine, quarry or breaker.

Maryland repealed former law and enacted a detailed law, making the age employment limit for children 14 years; employment under 18 years of age forbidden in hazardous work, and under 21 in saloons. No female under 18 to be employed in any work in which she must stand constantly. Messengers and street trades also regulated. Eight inspectors appointed to carry out the law.

Minnesota redrafted its law; principal changes were the requirement of medical examination for all children before employment; exemption permitting employment of poor or dependent children was stricken out. Hours of labor under 16 years reduced to eight per day. The exemption as to prohibited night work at holiday time was stricken out. Messenger service forbidden to girls between the hours of 9 p. m. and 5 a. m.

New York required a physical examination and certificate in all cases, even of legal age, before an employment certificate is issued.

New Jersey forbade employment of children under 16 between 7 p. m. and 7 a. m. in bakeries.

Mississippi fixed the minimum age of employment for girls, 14 years; hours for boys under 16 and girls under 18, eight hours per day.

Louisiana forbade the employment of minors under 17 in pool or billiard rooms, and prohibited the employment of children in questionable entertainments and dangerous occupations.

New Mexico prohibited the employment of children under 14 years in mines.

Rhode Island forbade messengers under 21 to deliver goods or messages between 10 p. m. and 5 a. m.

South Carolina forbade employment of children under 14 as messengers, and children under 18 to act as such between 10 p. m. and 5 a. m.

Arizona forbade employment of children under 16 years during school hours without a written permit from the Board of Trustees, unless such child is being otherwise taught or is excused for designated reasons.

Maryland enacted a law requiring school attendance between the age of 8 and 14, or until 16 years unless lawfully employed.

Massachusetts established a Minimum Wage Commission of three persons to inquire into wages paid females. Wage boards may be appointed representing employers and female employes interested. Law was amended providing against employment of the same person in more than one establishment in such a manner as to evade the fifty-four hour law.

New York established a nine-hour day for males under 18 and females under 21.

New York prohibited the employment of women and children in bar rooms.

Massachusetts ordered seats for female employes.

Kentucky limited employment of females to ten hours per day and required that seats, washrooms, etc., must be furnished.

Maryland established a ten-hour day and eight hours as a maximum night's work. Three inspectors appointed to enforce the law.

New Jersey enacted a ten-hour day for females.

Massachusetts made the law regulating the employment of women in foundry coreroms more stringent.

New York made it unlawful to employ women within four weeks after childbirth. Suit for wages law by female workers in New York City amended by making the additional award of costs formerly provided discretionary with the court instead of mandatory.

### *Inspection and Regulation of Factories*

Massachusetts:—Guards for elevators and movable machinery, belting, shafting, etc., and bringing mechanical establishments, workshops, and mercantile establishments within the scope of the factory law. Improvement of work of inspection and force employed therefor. Fire prevention in factories law provided. Seats for operators of passenger elevators provided.

New Jersey:—Guards on dangerous machinery, ventilation, sanitation, etc. Factory inspectors increased.

New York:—Greater safety, health and comfort to factory employes adopted by the Legislature. Fire prevention laws established. Factory inspectors increased. Ventilation, lights, etc., relative to work in compressed air establishments improved.

Ohio:—Laws providing for the comfort, health, safety and general welfare of all employes.

Virginia:—Statute requiring separate toilets amended, requiring more toilet conveniences where increased numbers are employed.

Louisiana:—Ventilation and sanitation in printing offices.

Kentucky:—Factory inspection law enacted, providing two labor inspectors and two assistants.

Maryland:—Inspection of employment of children and hours of labor for women.

### *Hours of Service*

The constitutions of new States, Arizona and New Mexico, provided for an eight-hour day on public work. New Mexico provided for sixteen hours for railroad employes. Arizona provided for eight hours per day for hoisting engineers at mines and furnacemen at smelters. Certain employments declared injurious to life and limb, and provided an eight-hour day for such work.

Louisiana provided the eight-hour day for stationary firemen.

The Massachusetts Legislature provides that contracts for the State printing shall be awarded to shops that have prescribed an eight-hour day. Nine hours for employment on street railways. Extra pay allowed for over nine hours. Every workman must have at least eight hours uninterrupted rest.

Mississippi made a ten-hour day applicable to all persons.

In New Jersey no employer may work his employes over ten hours per day, except in emergency when there shall be extra pay for overtime. Children under 16 may not be employed between the hours of 7 p. m. and 7 a. m.

The Ohio constitution provides for an eight-hour day.

Ohio authorized the passing of laws fixing and regulating the hours of labor in employment generally.

Congress passed an eight-hour day law to apply to laborers or mechanics doing work under contract with the United States or in any of its territories, or the District of Columbia. Contracts for certain cannon and carriages for the Government only let to those who have established the eight-hour day for all employes. Contracts for construction and repair of ships, machinery, armament, etc., for the navy come

within the eight-hour law. All supplies unless bought in the open market, must be produced under the eight-hour law.

Hours of labor for letter carriers and clerks in post-offices were fixed at eight, with overtime pay in cases of emergency, and, if compelled to work Sunday, with time off on one of the six following days.

### *Mine Regulations*

The new States of Arizona and New Mexico created a mine inspector's office.

The Virginia Legislature created a Department of Mines in charge of a State mine inspector.

The Maryland Legislature appropriated \$25,000 for building a hospital for persons injured in accidents in mines.

### *Occupational Diseases*

Maryland and New Jersey required all occupational diseases to be reported by physicians and penalty of \$10 to be imposed for failure to report.

### *Railroads*

Arizona:—A corporation commission was provided by the new State of Arizona, to make and enforce rules for the convenience, comfort, safety and health of employes of public service corporations, and to investigate accidents. The use of defective locomotives which allow steam to escape so as to obstruct the view of the crew was forbidden. Electric headlights on locomotives were required. A full crew law was enacted. Flagmen must have one year's experience as brakemen. The number of cars in a freight train limited to seventy and the number in a passenger train, to fourteen. Engineers must have had three years' experience as firemen or engineers, and conductors a similar term of experience as brakemen or freight conductors before taking full charge of trains. Telegraph and telephone operators, whose duties relate to trains must be at least 18 years and have had one year's experience.

New Mexico:—A State Corporation Commission was provided to require safety appliances on railways.

Louisiana:—The blocking of angles in frogs and crossings of railroads was required so as to prevent the wedging of the feet.

Mississippi:—The law enacted requires electric headlights on locomotives. The State Railroad Commission was authorized to require shelters over repair tracks, when necessary.

South Carolina:—The use of electric headlights on locomotives was made compulsory.

### *Street Railroads*

Louisiana:—Seats must be provided on platforms for motormen and conductors, for use outside business districts of cities.

Mississippi:—Street railway cars must be equipped with inclosed vestibules.

### *Rights of Employes*

Minnesota and New Mexico:—Employers are prohibited from using any threat intended or calculated to influence the political action of employes. New Mexico allowed two hours off duty for voting, without penalty, intimidation, threat, etc., and provided for absence of railroad employes from home on election day.

California:—Two hours for voting without loss of wages was granted to employes.

Arizona:—Any act to prevent employment of a member of the national guard or to obstruct the business of the employer of such member was forbidden.

Massachusetts:—A similar provision, relating to the members of the militia and naval reserves was provided.

### *Retirement Funds and Benefits*

South Carolina:—The Legislature authorized any corporation doing business in the State, that desires to provide sick, accident or death benefits to do so on paying a license fee graded according to the number of counties in which the corporation desires to do business.

Arizona:—The Legislature forbade and declared void all rules of railroad relief societies which require releases or waivers by employes of their rights under the statutes of the State.

Massachusetts:—The Legislature provided for pensions for laborers employed by cities and towns accepting the act, and for retirement at the age of 60 for employes who have worked for twenty-five years in municipal service and have become incapacitated, or who have worked for fifteen years and have become incapacitated by injury in the performance of duty. Pension rate is one-half the average annual compensation for last two years of service. The statute providing a retirement system for employes of the State was amended by restricting the definition of the word "employes" to permanent and regular employes of the State. . . .

This report does not include the legislative or administrative gains secured in municipalities—gains which in their respective localities affect the working people directly and have an important bearing. It is impossible to include herein these gains, for it would require too large an investigation covering the municipalities, both large and small, throughout the United States, Canada, Porto Rico and Cuba.

Nor does this report include the economic gains of several railroad brotherhoods and the bricklayers which are unaffiliated to the American Federation of Labor. Their gains have been substantial in both organization, hours of labor, wages and improved conditions. This applies also to local unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor which have no other national affiliations.

It is a source of great gratification to be able to report the general progress made in the labor movement of America, in every line of its activity, and yet these advances will prove but the stimulus for more persistent efforts for the greater uplift and advancement of all.







*The New*  
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**LABOR**  
and the **New Social Order**

*A Report on Reconstruction*  
*by the Sub-Committee of*  
*the British Labor Party*



**THE NEW REPUBLIC**  
**421 WEST 21st STREET**  
**NEW YORK CITY**

*THE following document is earnestly recommended to the readers of the New Republic as worthy of patient and painstaking examination. It is the proposed "Reconstruction" programme of the British Labor party. We say "proposed" because it has not yet been officially adopted. It has merely been prepared by a Sub-Committee of the Executive for consideration by the party, and before being adopted it will be discussed in detail both by the membership of the party's constituent organizations and by a general party conference. In its present form, consequently, it is only a draft, and it may be modified in many respects before it is adopted as the official platform of the party. The New Republic is republishing it in the belief that it is worthy of consideration in this country no less general and serious than that which it will receive in Great Britain.*

*Tentative as the document is in its existing form, it is probably the most mature and carefully formulated programme ever put forth by a responsible political party. Its several sections do not consist of war cries or of bait for votes as in the case of ordinary political parties. Neither do they consist of pious aspirations and happy thoughts about political and social reform, as in the case of so many platforms of progressive parties in this country. It is the result of an exhaustive criticism of the whole English experience in social legislation during the past four generations. It is the result of a careful discrimination between what the state can and must do in order to bring about social improvement and what the contribution must be of the workers themselves. It is the result of an adjustment between many opinions and interests, whose conflict in the past have impaired the unity and hampered the growth of the British labor movement. It is, consequently, at once an historical, a scientific and a political document which, although it was worded by a sub-committee, was written as a result of the sufferings, the struggles, the experiments, the failures, the successes, the aspirations and the thinking of the British wage-earning class during its four generations of conscious development.*

*Many American readers who are accustomed to the timidities and tepidity of American progressivism will shrink from the drastic character of much of the proposed social and financial legislation. But they must harden themselves to consider the social problem as a far more grave and unescapable responsibility than it was before the war. If the American people are too limited or too blind to admit a programme of this kind into serious political discussion, they will only provoke and even justify a far more drastic and dangerous kind of agitation. The social reconstruction proposed in this programme is not put forth by some little group of social reformers or of anti-social revolutionists. It is proposed as the platform for one of the most powerful parties in Great Britain—a party which will contest almost every constituency in the coming general election and which, unless it is opposed by a coalition, may elect a majority to the House of Commons. This is no reason why an American should not reject the proposed programme with the utmost good will, but it is a reason for taking care that he does not reject it merely because it clashes with his familiar prejudices and can be condemned by some such opprobrious word as "socialistic." The British Labor party has lifted quantitative socialism of the kind long advocated by the Fabian Society up to the level of immediate practical political discussion. Its proposed programme cannot be applied to this country without many modifications, but it will go ill with us unless a party is formed in America which will formulate and fight for a programme of American reconstruction which, however different from the following document, will at least not fall below it in courageous, scientific and thorough-going radicalism.*

# Labor and the New Social Order

IT behooves the Labor party, in formulating its own programme for reconstruction after the war, and in criticizing the various preparations and plans that are being made by the present government, to look at the problem as a whole. We have to make clear what it is that we wish to construct. It is important to emphasize the fact that, whatever may be the case with regard to other political parties, our detailed practical proposals proceed from definitely held principles.

## The End of a Civilization

We need to beware of patchwork. The view of the Labor party is that what has to be reconstructed after the war is not this or that government department, or this or that piece of social machinery; but, so far as Britain is concerned, society itself. The individual worker, or for that matter the individual statesman, immersed in daily routine—like the individual soldier in a battle—easily fails to understand the magnitude and far-reaching importance of what is taking place around him. How does it fit together as a whole? How does it look from a distance? Count Okuma, one of the oldest, most experienced and ablest of the statesmen of Japan, watching the present conflict from the other side of the globe, declares it to be nothing less than the death of European civilization. Just as in the past the civilization of Babylon, Egypt, Greece, Carthage and the great Roman empire have been successively destroyed, so, in the judgment of this detached observer, the civilization of all Europe is even now receiving its death blow. We of the Labor party can so far agree in this estimate as to recognize, in the present world catastrophe, if not the death, in Europe, of civilization itself, at any rate the culmination and collapse of a distinctive industrial civilization, which the workers will not seek to reconstruct. At such times of crisis it is easier to slip into ruin than to progress into higher forms of organization. That is the problem as it presents itself to the Labor party.

What this war is consuming is not merely the security, the homes, the livelihood and the lives of millions of innocent families, and an enormous proportion of all the accumulated wealth of the world, but also the very basis of the peculiar social order in which it has arisen. The individualist system of capitalist production, based on the private ownership and competitive administration of land and capital, with its reckless "profiteering" and wage-slavery; with its glorification of the unhampered

struggle for the means of life and its hypocritical pretense of the "survival of the fittest"; with the monstrous inequality of circumstances which it produces and the degradation and brutalization, both moral and spiritual, resulting therefrom, may, we hope, indeed have received a death blow. With it must go the political system and ideas in which it naturally found expression. We of the Labor party, whether in opposition or in due time called upon to form an administration, will certainly lend no hand to its revival. On the contrary, we shall do our utmost to see that it is buried with the millions whom it has done to death. If we in Britain are to escape from the decay of civilization itself, which the Japanese statesman foresees, we must ensure that what is presently to be built up is a new social order, based not on fighting but on fraternity—not on the competitive struggle for the means of bare life, but on a deliberately planned co-operation in production and distribution for the benefit of all who participate by hand or by brain—not on the utmost possible inequality of riches, but on a systematic approach towards a healthy equality of material circumstances for every person born into the world—not on an enforced dominion over subject nations, subject races, subject colonies, subject classes, or a subject sex, but, in industry as well as in government, on that equal freedom, that general consciousness of consent, and that widest possible participation in power, both economic and political, which is characteristic of democracy. We do not, of course, pretend that it is possible, even after the drastic clearing away that is now going on, to build society anew in a year or two of feverish "reconstruction." What the Labor party intends to satisfy itself about is that each brick that it helps to lay shall go to erect the structure that it intends, and no other.

## The Pillars of the House

We need not here recapitulate, one by one, the different items in the Labor party's programme, which successive party conferences have adopted. These proposals, some of them in various publications worked out in practical detail, are often carelessly derided as impracticable, even by the politicians who steal them piecemeal from us! The members of the Labor party, themselves actually working by hand or by brain, in close contact with the facts, have perhaps at all times a more accurate appreciation of what is practicable, in industry as in politics, than those who depend solely

on academic instruction or are biased by great possessions. But today no man dares to say that anything is impracticable. The war which has scared the old political parties right out of their dogmas, has taught every statesman and every government official, to his enduring surprise, how very much more can be done along the lines that we have laid down than he had ever before thought possible. What we now promulgate as our policy, whether for opposition or for office, is not merely this or that specific reform, but a deliberately thought out, systematic, and comprehensive plan for that immediate social rebuilding which any ministry, whether or not it desires to grapple with the problem, will be driven to undertake. The four pillars of the house that we propose to erect, resting upon the common foundation of the democratic control of society in all its activities, may be termed:

- (a) The Universal Enforcement of the National Minimum;
- (b) The Democratic Control of Industry;
- (c) The Revolution in National Finance; and
- (d) The Surplus Wealth for the Common Good.

### The Universal Enforcement of a National Minimum

The first principle of the Labor party—in significant contrast with those of the capitalist system, whether expressed by the Liberal or by the Conservative party—is the securing to every member of the community, in good times and bad alike (and not only to the strong and able, the well born or the fortunate), of all the requisites of healthy life and worthy citizenship. This is in no sense a "class" proposal. Such an amount of social protection of the individual, however poor and lowly, from birth to death, is, as the economist now knows, as indispensable to fruitful cooperation as it is to successful combination; and it affords the only complete safeguard against that insidious degradation of the standard of life which is the worst economic and social calamity to which any community can be subjected. We are members one of another. No man liveth to himself alone. If any, even the humblest, is made to suffer, the whole community and every one of us, whether or not we recognize the fact, is thereby injured. Generation after generation this has been the corner-stone of the faith of Labor. It will be the guiding principle of any Labor government.

#### *The Legislative Regulation of Employment*

Thus it is that the Labor party today stands for the universal application of the policy of the national minimum, to which (as embodied in the successive elaborations of the Factory, Mines, Rail-

ways, Shops, Merchant Shipping, and Truck acts, the Public Health, Housing, and Education acts and the Minimum Wage act—all of them aiming at the enforcement of at least the prescribed minimum of leisure, health, education, and subsistence) the spokesmen of Labor have already gained the support of the enlightened statesmen and economists of the world. All these laws purporting to protect against extreme degradation of the standard of life need considerable improvement and extension, whilst their administration leaves much to be desired. For instance, the Workmen's Compensation act fails shamefully, not merely to secure proper provision for all the victims of accident and industrial disease, but what is much more important, does not succeed in preventing their continual increase. The amendment and consolidation of the Factory and Workshops acts, with their extension to all employed persons, is long overdue, and it will be the policy of Labor greatly to strengthen the staff of inspectors, especially by the addition of more men and women of actual experience of the workshop and the mine. The Coal Mines (Minimum Wage) act must certainly be maintained in force, and suitably amended, so as both to ensure greater uniformity of conditions among the several districts, and to make the district minimum in all cases an effective reality. The same policy will, in the interests of the agricultural laborers, dictate the perpetuation of the Legal Wage clauses of the new Corn law just passed for a term of five years, and the prompt amendment of any defects that may be revealed in their working. And, in view of the fact that many millions of wage-earners, notably women and the less skilled workmen in various occupations, are unable by combination to obtain wages adequate for decent maintenance in health, the Labor party intends to see to it that the Trade Boards act is suitably amended and made to apply to all industrial employments in which any considerable number of those employed obtain less than 30s. per week. This minimum of not less than 30s. per week (which will need revision according to the level of prices) ought to be the very lowest statutory base line for the least skilled adult workers, men or women, in any occupation, in all parts of the United Kingdom.

#### *The Organization of Demobilization*

But the coming industrial dislocation, which will inevitably follow the discharge from war service of half of all the working population, imposes new obligations upon the community. The demobilization and discharge of the eight million wage-earners now being paid from public funds, either for service with the colors or in munition work and other war trades, will bring to the whole wage-

earning class grave peril of unemployment, reduction of wages, and a lasting degradation of the standard of life, which can be prevented only by deliberate national organization. The Labor party has repeatedly called upon the present government to formulate its plan, and to make in advance all arrangements necessary for coping with so unparalleled a dislocation. The policy to which the Labor party commits itself is unhesitating and uncompromising. It is plain that regard should be had, in stopping government orders, reducing the staff of the national factories and demobilizing the army, to the actual state of employment in particular industries and in different districts, so as both to release first the kinds of labor most urgently required for the revival of peace production, and to prevent any congestion of the market. It is no less imperative that suitable provision against being turned suddenly adrift without resources should be made, not only for the soldiers, but also for the three million operatives in munition work and other war trades, who will be discharged long before most of the army can be disbanded. On this important point, which is the most urgent of all, the present government has, we believe, down to the present hour, formulated no plan, and come to no decision, and neither the Liberal nor the Conservative party has apparently deemed the matter worthy of agitation. Any government which should allow the discharged soldier or munition worker to fall into the clutches of charity or the Poor law would have to be instantly driven from office by an outburst of popular indignation. What every one of them will look for is a situation in accordance with his capacity.

#### *Securing Employment for All*

The Labor party insists—as no other political party has thought fit to do—that the obligation to find suitable employment in productive work for all these men and women rests upon the government for the time being. The work of re-settling the disbanded soldiers and discharged munition workers into new situations is a national obligation; and the Labor party emphatically protests against its being regarded as a matter for private charity. It strongly objects to this public duty being handed over either to committees of philanthropists or benevolent societies, or to any of the military or recruiting authorities. The policy of the Labor party in this matter is to make the utmost use of the trade unions, and, equally for the brainworkers, of the various professional associations. In view of the fact that, in any trade, the best organization for placing men in situations is a national trade union having local branches throughout the kingdom, every soldier should be allowed, if he chooses,

to have a duplicate of his industrial discharge notice sent, one month before the date fixed for his discharge, to the secretary of the trade union to which he belongs or wishes to belong. Apart from this use of the trade union (and a corresponding use of the professional association) the government must, of course, avail itself of some such public machinery as that of the employment exchanges; but before the existing exchanges (which will need to be greatly extended) can receive the cooperation and support of the organized Labor movement, without which their operations can never be fully successful, it is imperative that they should be drastically reformed, on the lines laid down in the Demobilization Report of the "Labor After the War" Joint Committee; and, in particular, that each exchange should be placed under the supervision and control of a joint committee of employers and trade unionists in equal numbers.

The responsibility of the government, for the time being, in the grave industrial crisis that demobilization will produce, goes, however, far beyond the eight million men and women whom the various departments will suddenly discharge from their own service. The effect of this peremptory discharge on all the other workers has also to be taken into account. To the Labor party it will seem the supreme concern of the government of the day to see to it that there shall be, as a result of the gigantic "General Post" which it will itself have deliberately set going, nowhere any degradation of the standard of life. The government has pledged itself to restore the trade union conditions and "pre-war practices" of the workshop, which the trade unions patriotically gave up at the direct request of the government itself; and this solemn pledge must be fulfilled, of course, in the spirit as well as in the letter. The Labor party, moreover, holds it to be the duty of the government of the day to take all necessary steps to prevent the standard rates of wages, in any trade or occupation whatsoever, from suffering any reduction, relatively to the contemporary cost of living. Unfortunately, the present government, like the Liberal and Conservative parties, so far refuses to speak on this important matter with any clear voice. We claim that it should be a cardinal point of government policy to make it plain to every capitalist employer that any attempt to reduce the customary rates of wages when peace comes, or to take advantage of the dislocation of demobilization to worsen the conditions of employment in any grade whatsoever, will certainly lead to embittered industrial strife, which will be in the highest degree detrimental to the national interests; and that the government of the day will not hesi-

tate to take all necessary steps to avert such a calamity. In the great impending crisis the government of the day should not only, as the greatest employer of both brainworkers and manual workers, set a good example in this respect, but should also actively seek to influence private employers by proclaiming in advance that it will not itself attempt to lower the standard rates of conditions in public employment; by announcing that it will insist on the most rigorous observance of the fair wages clause in all public contracts, and by explicitly recommending every local authority to adopt the same policy.

But nothing is more dangerous to the standard of life, or so destructive of those minimum conditions of healthy existence, which must in the interests of the community be assured to every worker, than any widespread or continued unemployment. It has always been a fundamental principle of the Labor party (a point on which, significantly enough, it has not been followed by either of the other political parties) that, in a modern industrial community, it is one of the foremost obligations of the government to find, for every willing worker, whether by hand or by brain, productive work at standard rates.

It is accordingly the duty of the government to adopt a policy of deliberately and systematically preventing the occurrence of unemployment, instead of, as heretofore, letting unemployment occur, and then seeking, vainly and expensively, to relieve the unemployed. It is now known that the government can, if it chooses, arrange the public works and the orders of national departments and local authorities in such a way as to maintain the aggregate demand for labor in the whole kingdom (including that of capitalist employers) approximately at a uniform level from year to year; and it is therefore a primary obligation of the government to prevent any considerable or widespread fluctuations in the total numbers employed in times of good or bad trade. But this is not all. In order to prepare for the possibility of there being any unemployment, either in the course of demobilization or in the first years of peace, it is essential that the government should make all necessary preparations for putting instantly in hand, directly or through the local authorities, such urgently needed public works as (a) the rehousing of the population alike in rural districts, mining villages, and town slums, to the extent, possibly, of a million new cottages and an outlay of three hundred millions sterling; (b) the immediate making good of the shortage of schools, training colleges, technical colleges, etc., and the engagement of the necessary additional teaching, clerical, and administrative staffs; (c) new roads; (d) light railways; (e) the unification

and reorganization of the railway and canal system; (f) afforestation; (g) the reclamation of land; (h) the development and better equipment of our ports and harbors; (i) the opening up of access to land by cooperative small holdings and in other practicable ways. Moreover, in order to relieve any pressure of an overstocked labor market, the opportunity should be taken, if unemployment should threaten to become widespread, (a) immediately to raise the school-leaving age to sixteen; (b) greatly to increase the number of scholarships and bursaries for secondary and higher education; and (c) substantially to shorten the hours of labor of all young persons, even to a greater extent than the eight hours per week contemplated in the new Education bill, in order to enable them to attend technical and other classes in the daytime. Finally, wherever practicable, the hours of adult labor should be reduced to not more than forty-eight per week, without reduction of the standard rates of wages. There can be no economic or other justification for keeping any man or woman to work for long hours, or at overtime, whilst others are unemployed.

#### *Social Insurance against Unemployment*

In so far as the government fails to prevent unemployment—whenever it finds it impossible to discover for any willing worker, man or woman, a suitable situation at the standard rate—the Labor party holds that the government must, in the interest of the community as a whole, provide him or her with adequate maintenance, either with such arrangements for honorable employment or with such useful training as may be found practicable, according to age, health and previous occupation. In many ways the best form of provision for those who must be unemployed, because the industrial organization of the community so far breaks down as to be temporarily unable to set them to work, is the Out of Work Benefit afforded by a well administered trade union. This is a special tax on the trade unionists themselves which they have voluntarily undertaken, but towards which they have a right to claim a public subvention—a subvention which was actually granted by Parliament (though only to the extent of a couple of shillings or so per week) under Part II of the Insurance act.

The arbitrary withdrawal by the government in 1915 of this statutory right of the trade unions was one of the least excusable of the war economies; and the Labor party must insist on the resumption of this subvention immediately the war ceases, and on its increase to at least half the amount spent in Out of Work Benefit. The extension of state unemployment insurance to other occupations may afford a convenient method of providing for such of the unemployed, especially in the



case of badly paid women workers and the less skilled men, whom it is difficult to organize in trade unions. But the weekly rate of the state unemployment benefit needs, in these days of high prices, to be considerably raised; whilst no industry ought to be compulsorily brought within its scope against the declared will of the workers concerned, and especially of their trade unions. In the twentieth century, there must be no question of driving the unemployed to anything so obsolete and discredited as either private charity, with its haphazard and ill considered doles, or the Poor law, with the futilities and barbarities of its "Stone Yard," or its "Able-bodied Test Workhouse." Only on the basis of a universal application of the Policy of the National Minimum, affording complete security against destitution, in sickness and health, in good times and bad alike, to every member of the community can any worthy social order be built up.

### The Democratic Control of Industry

The universal application of the policy of the national minimum is, of course, only the first of the pillars of the house that the Labor party intends to see built. What marks off this party most distinctly from any of the other political parties is its demand for the full and genuine adoption of the principle of democracy. The first condition of democracy is effective personal freedom. This has suffered so many encroachments during the war that it is necessary to state with clearness that the complete removal of all the war time restrictions on freedom of speech, freedom of publication, freedom of the press, freedom of travel and freedom of choice of place of residence and kind of employment must take place the day after peace is declared. The Labor party declares emphatically against any continuance of the Military Service acts a moment longer than the imperative requirements of the war excuse. But individual freedom is of little use without complete political rights. The Labor party sees its repeated demands largely conceded in the present Representation of the People act, but not yet wholly satisfied. The party stands, as heretofore, for complete adult suffrage, with not more than a three months' residential qualification, for effective provision for absent electors to vote, for absolutely equal rights for both sexes, for the same freedom to exercise civic rights for the "common soldier" as for the officer, for shorter Parliaments, for the complete abolition of the House of Lords, and for a most strenuous opposition to any new Second Chamber, whether elected or not, having in it any element of heredity or privilege, or of the control of the House of Commons by any party or class. But unlike the Conservative and Liberal parties, the Labor party in-

sists on democracy in industry as well as in government. It demands the progressive elimination from the control of industry of the private capitalist, individual or joint-stock; and the setting free of all who work, whether by hand or by brain, for the service of the community, and of the community only. And the Labor party refuses absolutely to believe that the British people will permanently tolerate any reconstruction or perpetuation of the disorganization, waste and inefficiency involved in the abandonment of British industry to a jostling crowd of separate private employers, with their minds bent, not on the service of the community, but—by the very law of their being—only on the utmost possible profiteering. What the nation needs is undoubtedly a great bound onward in its aggregate productivity. But this cannot be secured merely by pressing the manual workers to more strenuous toil, or even by encouraging the "Captains of Industry" to a less wasteful organization of their several enterprises on a profit-making basis. What the Labor party looks to is a genuinely scientific reorganization of the nation's industry, no longer deflected by individual profiteering, on the basis of the common ownership of the means of production; the equitable sharing of the proceeds among all who participate in any capacity and only among these, and the adoption, in particular services and occupations, of those systems and methods of administration and control that may be found, in practice, best to promote the public interest.

#### *Immediate Nationalization*

The Labor party stands not merely for the principle of the common ownership of the nation's land, to be applied as suitable opportunities occur, but also, specifically, for the immediate nationalization of railways, mines and the production of electrical power. We hold that the very foundation of any successful reorganization of British industry must necessarily be found in the provision of the utmost facilities for transport and communication, the production of power at the cheapest possible rate and the most economical supply of both electrical energy and coal to every corner of the kingdom. Hence the Labor party stands, unhesitatingly, for the national ownership and administration of the railways and canals, and their union, along with harbors and roads, and the posts and telegraphs—not to say also the great lines of steamers which could at once be owned, if not immediately directly managed in detail, by the government—in a united national service of communication and transport; to be worked, unhampered by capitalist, private or purely local interests (and with a steadily increasing participation of the organized workers in the management, both central and local), exclusively

for the common good. If any government should be so misguided as to propose, when peace comes, to hand the railways back to the shareholders; or should show itself so spendthrift of the nation's property as to give these shareholders any enlarged franchise by presenting them with the economies of unification or the profits of increased railway rates; or so extravagant as to bestow public funds on the re-equipment of privately owned lines—all of which things are now being privately intrigued for by the railway interests—the Labor party will offer any such project the most strenuous opposition. The railways and canals, like the roads, must henceforth belong to the public.

In the production of electricity, for cheap power, light, and heating, this country has so far failed, because of hampering private interests, to take advantage of science. Even in the largest cities we still "peddle" our electricity on a contemptibly small scale. What is called for immediately after the war, is the erection of a score of gigantic "super-power stations," which could generate, at incredibly cheap rates, enough electricity for the use of every industrial establishment and every private household in Great Britain; the present municipal and joint-stock electrical plants being universally linked up and used for local distribution. This is inevitably the future of electricity. It is plain that so great and so powerful an enterprise, affecting every industrial enterprise and, eventually, every household, must not be allowed to pass into the hands of private capitalists. They are already pressing the government for the concession, and neither the Liberal nor the Conservative party has yet made up its mind to a refusal of such a new endowment of profiteering in what will presently be the life blood of modern productive industry. The Labor party demands that the production of electricity on the necessary gigantic scale shall be made, from the start (with suitable arrangements for municipal cooperation in local distribution) a national enterprise, to be worked exclusively with the object of supplying the whole kingdom with the cheapest possible power, light and heat.

But with railways and the generation of electricity in the hands of the public, it would be criminal folly to leave to the present one thousand five hundred colliery companies the power of "holding up" the coal supply. These are now all working under public control, on terms that virtually afford to their shareholders a statutory guarantee of their swollen incomes. The Labor party demands the immediate nationalization of mines, the extraction of coal and iron being worked as a public service (with a steadily increasing participation in the management, both central and local, of the various

grades of persons employed); and the whole business of the retail distribution of household coal being undertaken, as a local public service, by the elected municipal or county councils. And there is no reason why coal should fluctuate in price any more than railway fares, or why the consumer should be made to pay more in winter than in summer, or in one town than another. What the Labor party would aim at is, for household coal of standard quality, a fixed and uniform price for the whole kingdom, payable by rich and poor alike, as unalterable as the penny postage stamp.

But the sphere of immediate nationalization is not restricted to these great industries. We shall never succeed in putting the gigantic system of health insurance on a proper footing, or secure a clear field for the beneficent work of the Friendly Societies, or gain a free hand for the necessary development of the urgently called for Ministry of Health and the Local Public Health Service, until the nation expropriates the profit-making industrial insurance companies, which now so tyrannously exploit the people with their wasteful household-to-house industrial life assurance. Only by such an expropriation of life assurance companies can we secure the universal provision, free from the burdensome toll of weekly pence, of the indispensable funeral benefit. Nor is it in any sense a "class" measure. Only by the assumption by a state department of the whole business of life assurance can the millions of policy-holders of all classes be completely protected against the possibly calamitous results of the depreciation of securities and suspension of bonuses which the war is causing. Only by this means can the great staff of insurance agents find their proper place as civil servants, with equitable conditions of employment, compensation for any disturbance and security of tenure, in a nationally organized public service for the discharge of the steadily increasing functions of the government in vital statistics and social insurance.

In quite another sphere the Labor party sees the key to temperance reform in taking the entire manufacture and retailing of alcoholic drink out of the hands of those who find profit in promoting the utmost possible consumption. This is essentially a case in which the people, as a whole, must deal with the licensing question in accordance with local opinion. For this purpose, localities should have conferred upon them facilities: (a) To prohibit the sale of liquor within their boundaries; (b) To reduce the number of licenses and regulate the conditions under which they may be held; and (c) If a locality decides that licenses are to be granted, to determine whether such licenses shall be under private or any form of public control.

Other main industries, especially those now becoming monopolized, should be nationalized as opportunity offers. Moreover, the Labor party holds that the municipalities should not confine their activities to the necessarily costly services of education, sanitation and police; nor yet rest content with acquiring control of the local water, gas, electricity and tramways; but that every facility should be afforded to them to acquire (easily, quickly and cheaply) all the land they require, and to extend their enterprises in housing and town planning, parks, and public libraries, the provision of music and the organization of recreation; and also to undertake, besides the retailing of coal, other services of common utility, particularly the local supply of milk, wherever this is not already fully organized by a cooperative society.

#### *Control of Capitalist Industry*

Meanwhile, however, we ought not to throw away the valuable experience now gained by the government in its assumption of the importation of wheat, wool, metals, and other commodities, and in its control of the shipping, woollen, leather, clothing, boot and shoe, milling, baking, butchering, and other industries. The Labor party holds that, whatever may have been the shortcomings of this government importation and control, it has demonstrably prevented a lot of "profiteering." Nor can it end immediately on the declaration of peace. The people will be extremely foolish if they ever allow their indispensable industries to slip back into the unfettered control of private capitalists, who are, actually at the instance of the government itself, now rapidly combining, trade by trade, into monopolist trusts, which may presently become as ruthless in their extortion as the worst American examples. Standing as it does for the democratic control of industry, the Labor party would think twice before it sanctioned any abandonment of the present profitable centralization of purchase of raw material; of the present carefully organized "rationing," by joint committees of the trades concerned, of the several establishments with the materials they require; of the present elaborate system of "costing" and public audit of manufacturers' accounts, so as to stop the waste heretofore caused by the mechanical inefficiency of the more backward firms; of the present salutary publicity of manufacturing processes and expenses thereby ensured; and, on the information thus obtained (in order never again to revert to the old-time profiteering) of the present rigid fixing, for standardized products, of maximum prices at the factory, at the warehouse of the wholesale trader and in the retail shop. This question of the retail prices of household commodities is emphatically the most practical of all political

issues to the women elector. The male politicians have too long neglected the grievances of the small household, which is the prey of every profiteering combination; and neither the Liberal nor the Conservative party promises in this respect any amendment. This, too, is in no sense a "class" measure. It is, so the Labor party holds, just as much the function of government, and just as necessary a part of the democratic regulation of industry, to safeguard the interests of the community as a whole, and those of all grades and sections of private consumers, in the matter of prices, as it is, by the Factory and Trade Boards acts, to protect the rights of the wage-earning producers in the matter of wages, hours of labor and sanitation.

#### A Revolution in National Finance

In taxation, also, the interests of the professional and house-keeping classes are at one with those of the manual workers. Too long has our national finance been regulated, contrary to the teaching of political economy, according to the wishes of the possessing classes and the profits of the financiers. The colossal expenditure involved in the present war (of which, against the protest of the Labor party, only a quarter has been raised by taxation, whilst three-quarters have been borrowed at onerous rates of interest, to be a burden on the nation's future) brings things to a crisis. When peace comes, capital will be needed for all sorts of social enterprises, and the resources of government will necessarily have to be vastly greater than they were before the war. Meanwhile innumerable new private fortunes are being heaped up by those who have taken advantage of the nation's needs; and the one-tenth of the population which owns nine-tenths of the riches of the United Kingdom, far from being made poorer, will find itself, in the aggregate, as a result of the war, drawing in rent and interest and dividends a larger nominal income than ever before. Such a position demands a revolution in national finance. How are we to discharge a public debt that may well reach the almost incredible figure of seven thousand million pounds sterling, and at the same time raise an annual revenue which, for local as well as central government, must probably reach one thousand millions a year? It is over this problem of taxation that the various political parties will be found to be most sharply divided.

The Labor party stands for such a system of taxation as will yield all the necessary revenue to the government without encroaching on the prescribed national minimum standard of life of any family whatsoever; without hampering production or discouraging any useful personal effort, and with the nearest possible approximation to equality of

sacrifice. We definitely repudiate all proposals for a protective tariff, in whatever specious guise they may be cloaked, as a device for burdening the consumer with unnecessarily enhanced prices, to the profit of the capitalist employer or landed proprietor, who avowedly expects his profit or rent to be increased thereby. We shall strenuously oppose any taxation, of whatever kind, which would increase the price of food or of any other necessary of life. We hold that indirect taxation on commodities, whether by customs or excise, should be strictly limited to luxuries; and concentrated principally on those of which it is socially desirable that the consumption should be actually discouraged. We are at one with the manufacturer, the farmer, and the trader in objecting to taxes interfering with production or commerce, or hampering transport and communications. In all these matters—once more in contrast with the other political parties, and by no means in the interests of the wage-earners alone—the Labor party demands that the very definite teachings of economic science should no longer be disregarded as they have been in the past.

For the raising of the greater part of the revenue now required the Labor party looks to the direct taxation of the incomes above the necessary cost of family maintenance; and, for the requisite effort to pay off the national debt, to the direct taxation of private fortunes both during life and at death. The income tax and super-tax ought at once to be thoroughly reformed in assessment and collection, in abatements and allowances and in graduation and differentiation, so as to levy the required total sum in such a way as to make the real sacrifice of all the tax-payers as nearly as possible equal. This would involve assessment by families instead of by individual persons, so that the burden is alleviated in proportion to the number of persons to be maintained. It would involve the raising of the present unduly low minimum income assessable to the tax, and the lightening of the present unfair burden on the great mass of professional and small trading classes by a new scale of graduation, rising from a penny in the pound on the smallest assessable income up to sixteen or even nineteen shillings in the pound on the highest income of the millionaires. It would involve bringing into assessment the numerous windfalls of profit that now escape, and a further differentiation between essentially different kinds of income. The excess profits tax might well be retained in an appropriate form; whilst, so long as mining royalties exist, the mineral rights duty ought to be increased. The steadily rising unearned increment of urban and mineral land ought, by an appropriate direct taxation of

land values, to be wholly brought into the public exchequer. At the same time, for the service and redemption of the national debt, the death duties ought to be regraduated, much more strictly collected, and greatly increased. In this matter we need, in fact, completely to reverse our point of view, and to rearrange the whole taxation of inheritance from the standpoint of asking what is the maximum amount that any rich man should be permitted at death to divert, by his will, from the national exchequer, which should normally be the heir to all private riches in excess of a quite moderate amount by way of family provision. But all this will not suffice. It will be imperative at the earliest possible moment to free the nation from at any rate the greater part of its new load of interest bearing debt for loans which ought to have been levied as taxation; and the Labor party stands for a special capital levy to pay off, if not the whole, a very substantial part of the entire national debt—a capital levy chargeable like the death duties on all property, but (in order to secure approximate equality of sacrifice) with exemption of the smallest savings, and for the rest at rates very steeply graduated, so as to take only a small contribution from the little people and a very much larger percentage from the millionaires.

Over this issue of how the financial burden of the war is to be borne, and how the necessary revenue is to be raised, the greatest political battles will be fought. In this matter the Labor party claims the support of four-fifths of the whole nation, for the interests of the clerk, the teacher, the doctor, the minister of religion, the average retail shopkeeper and trader, and all the mass of those living on small incomes are identical with those of the artisan. The landlords, the financial magnates, the possessors of great fortunes will not, as a class, willingly forego the relative immunity that they have hitherto enjoyed. The present unfair subjection of the cooperative society to an excess profits tax on the "profits" which it has never made—specially dangerous as "the thin end of the wedge" of penal taxation of this laudable form of democratic enterprise—will not be abandoned without a struggle. Every possible effort will be made to juggle with the taxes, so as to place upon the shoulders of the mass of laboring folk and upon the struggling households of the professional men and small traders (as was done after every previous war)—whether by customs or excise duties, by industrial monopolies, by unnecessarily high rates of postage and railway fares, or by a thousand and one other ingenious devices—an unfair share of the national burden. Against these efforts the Labor party will take the firmest stand.

## The Surplus for the Common Good

In the disposal of the surplus above the standard of life society has hitherto gone as far wrong as in its neglect to secure the necessary basis of any genuine industrial efficiency or decent social order. We have allowed the riches of our mines, the rental value of the lands superior to the margin of cultivation, the extra profits of the fortunate capitalists, even the material outcome of scientific discoveries—which ought by now to have made this Britain of ours immune from class poverty or from any widespread destitution—to be absorbed by individual proprietors; and then devoted very largely to the senseless luxury of an idle rich class. Against this misappropriation of the wealth of the community, the Labor party—speaking in the interests not of the wage-earners alone, but of every grade and section of producers by hand or by brain, not to mention also those of the generations that are to succeed us, and of the permanent welfare of the community—emphatically protests. One main pillar of the house that the Labor party intends to build is the future appropriation of the surplus, not to the enlargement of any individual fortune, but to the common good. It is from this constantly arising surplus (to be secured, on the one hand, by nationalization and municipalization and, on the other, by the steeply graduated taxation of private income and riches) that will have to be found the new capital which the community day by day needs for the perpetual improvement and increase of its various enterprises, for which we shall decline to be dependent on the usury exacting financiers. It is from the same source that has to be defrayed the public provision for the sick and infirm of all kinds (including that for maternity and infancy) which is still so scandalously insufficient; for the aged and those prematurely incapacitated by accident or disease, now in many ways so imperfectly cared for; for the education alike of children, of adolescents and of adults, in which the Labor party demands a genuine equality of opportunity, overcoming all differences of material circumstances; and for the organization of public improvements of all kinds, including the brightening of the lives of those now condemned to almost ceaseless toil, and a great development of the means of recreation. From the same source must come the greatly increased public provision that the Labor party will insist on being made for scientific investigation and original research, in every branch of knowledge, not to say also for the promotion of music, literature and fine art, which have been under capitalism so greatly neglected, and upon which, so the Labor party holds, any real development of civilization fundamentally depends. Society, like the individual, does

not live by bread alone—does not exist only for perpetual wealth production. It is in the proposal for this appropriation of every surplus for the common good—in the vision of its resolute use for the building up of the community as a whole instead of for the magnification of individual fortunes—that the Labor party, as the party of the producers by hand or by brain, most distinctively marks itself off from the older political parties, standing, as these do, essentially for the maintenance, unimpaired, of the perpetual private mortgage upon the annual product of the nation that is involved in the individual ownership of land and capital.

## The Street of Tomorrow

The house which the Labor party intends to build, the four pillars of which have now been described, does not stand alone in the world. Where will it be in the street of tomorrow? If we repudiate, on the one hand, the imperialism that seeks to dominate other races, or to impose our own will on other parts of the British empire, so we disclaim equally any conception of a selfish and insular “non-interventionism,” unregarding of our special obligations to our fellow-citizens overseas; of the corporate duties of one nation to another; of the moral claims upon us of the non-adult races, and of our own indebtedness to the world of which we are part. We look for an ever-increasing intercourse, a constantly developing exchange of commodities, a continually expanding friendly cooperation among all the peoples of the world. With regard to that great commonwealth of all races, all colors, all religions and all degrees of civilization, that we call the British empire, the Labor party stands for its maintenance and its progressive development on the lines of local autonomy and “Home Rule All Round”; the fullest respect for the rights of each people, whatever its color, to all the democratic self-government of which it is capable, and to the proceeds of its own toil upon the resources of its own territorial home; and the closest possible cooperation among all the various members of what has become essentially not an empire in the old sense, but a Britannic alliance.

We desire to maintain the most intimate relations with the Labor parties overseas. Like them, we have no sympathy with the projects of “Imperial Federation,” in so far as these imply the subjection to a common imperial legislature wielding coercive power (including dangerous facilities for coercive imperial taxation and for enforced military service), either of the existing self-governing Dominions, whose autonomy would be thereby invaded; or of the United Kingdom, whose freedom of democratic self-development would be thereby hampered; or of India and the

colonial dependencies, which would thereby run the risk of being further exploited for the benefit of a "White Empire." We do not intend, by any such "Imperial Senate," either to bring the plutocracy of Canada and South Africa to the aid of the British aristocracy, or to enable the landlords and financiers of the mother country to unite in controlling the growing popular democracies overseas. The autonomy of each self-governing part of the empire must be intact.

What we look for, besides a constant progress in democratic self-government of every part of the Britannic alliance, and especially in India, is a continuous participation of the ministers of the Dominions, of India, and eventually of other dependencies (perhaps by means of their own ministers specially resident in London for this purpose) in the most confidential deliberations of the Cabinet, so far as foreign policy and imperial affairs are concerned; and the annual assembly of an Imperial Council, representing all constituents of the Britannic alliance and all parties in their local legislatures, which should discuss all matters of common interest, but only in order to make recommendations for the simultaneous consideration of the various autonomous local legislatures of what should increasingly take the constitutional form of an alliance of free nations. And we carry the idea further. As regards our relations to foreign countries, we disavow and disclaim any desire or intention to dispossess or to impoverish any other state or nation. We seek no increase of territory. We disclaim all idea of "economic war." We ourselves object to all protective customs tariffs; but we hold that each nation must be left free to do what it thinks best for its own economic development, without thought of injuring others. We believe that nations are in no way damaged by each other's economic prosperity or commercial progress; but, on the contrary, that they are actually themselves mutually enriched thereby. We would therefore put an end to the old entanglements and mystifications of secret diplomacy and the formation of leagues against leagues. We stand for the immediate establishment, actually as a part of the treaty of peace with which the present war will end, of a universal league or society of nations, a supernational authority, with an international high court to try all justiciable issues between nations; an international legislature to enact such common laws as can be mutually agreed upon, and an international council of mediation to endeavor to settle without ultimate conflict even those disputes which are not justiciable. We would have all the nations of the world most solemnly undertake and promise to make common

cause against any one of them that broke away from this fundamental agreement. The world has suffered too much from war for the Labor party to have any other policy than that of lasting peace.

### More Light—but also More Warmth!

The Labor party is far from assuming that it possesses a key to open all locks; or that any policy which it can formulate will solve all the problems that beset us. But we deem it important to ourselves as well as to those who may, on the one hand, wish to join the party, or, on the other, to take up arms against it, to make quite clear and definite our aim and purpose. The Labor party wants that aim and purpose, as set forth in the preceding pages, with all its might. It calls for more warmth in politics, for much less apathetic acquiescence in the miseries that exist, for none of the cynicism that saps the life of leisure. On the other hand, the Labor party has no belief in any of the problems of the world being solved by good will alone. Good will without knowledge is warmth without light. Especially in all the complexities of politics, in the still undeveloped science of society, the Labor party stands for increased study, for the scientific investigation of each succeeding problem, for the deliberate organization of research, and for a much more rapid dissemination among the whole people of all the science that exists. And it is perhaps specially the Labor party that has the duty of placing this advancement of science in the forefront of its political programme. What the Labor party stands for in all fields of life is, essentially, democratic cooperation; and cooperation involves a common purpose which can be agreed to; a common plan which can be explained and discussed, and such a measure of success in the adaptation of means to ends as will ensure a common satisfaction. An autocratic sultan may govern without science if his whim is law. A plutocratic party may choose to ignore science, if it is heedless whether its pretended solutions of social problems that may win political triumphs ultimately succeed or fail. But no Labor party can hope to maintain its position unless its proposals are, in fact, the outcome of the best political science of its time; or to fulfil its purpose unless that science is continually wresting new fields from human ignorance. Hence, although the purpose of the Labor party must, by the law of its being, remain for all time unchanged, its policy and its programme will, we hope, undergo a perpetual development, as knowledge grows, and as new phases of the social problem present themselves, in a continually finer adjustment of our measures to our ends. If law is the mother of freedom, science, to the Labor party, must be the parent of law.

*The New*  
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# Labor War Aims

*Full text of the agreement  
on war aims just adopted  
by the Inter-Allied  
Labor and Socialist  
Conference in  
London*



## F O R E W O R D

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*THE following statement of war aims or peace conditions which was formulated by the Inter-Allied Labor Conference in London is reprinted from the London Times of February 25th last. It differs from similar statements which have preceded it in one important respect. All the factions in the pro-war labor and socialist parties in the Western European democracies endorse it. They had been unable to reach any such complete agreement at their previous conferences and their new unanimity has given to their programme a vastly increased weight. When the Stockholm Conference was proposed last summer the socialist and labor parties were embarrassed by internal divisions. Now they are united, and if they are joined, as they hope to be, by the American labor organizations, they should be powerful enough to secure from their governments consent to the gathering of the proposed inter-belligerent conference. Just as the labor and socialist parties of the western Allies have succeeded, where their governments have failed, in reaching a common statement of war aims, so the labor and socialist parties of the whole world may reach a similar agreement in spite of the chasm which still divides the belligerent governments. If they can, its effect is certain to be important and may be decisive. As Mr. Arthur Henderson has recently declared: "Peace will come when the working class movement has discovered by interchange of views the conditions of an honorable and democratic peace, worthy of the unimaginable sacrifices the people have made, and has pressed these terms upon the several governments with the resolute declaration that peace must be made on these terms and no other."*

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# Inter-Allied Labor War Aims

THE following is the full text of the "Memorandum on War Aims" adopted by the Inter-Allied Labor and Socialist Conference in London:

## The War

I.—The Inter-Allied Conference declares that whatever may have been the causes of the outbreak of war it is clear that the peoples of Europe, who are necessarily the chief sufferers from its horrors, had themselves no hand in it. Their common interest is now so to conduct the terrible struggle in which they find themselves engaged as to bring it, as soon as may be possible, to an issue in a secure and lasting peace for the world.

The Conference sees no reason to depart from the following declaration unanimously agreed to at the Conference of the Socialist and Labor Parties of the Allied Nations on February 14, 1915:

"This Conference cannot ignore the profound general causes of the European conflict, itself a monstrous product of the antagonisms which tear asunder capitalist society and of the policy of colonial dependencies and aggressive imperialism, against which International Socialism has never ceased to fight, and in which every government has its share of responsibility.

"The invasion of Belgium and France by the German armies threatens the very existence of independent nationalities and strikes a blow at all faith in treaties. In these circumstances a victory for German imperialism would be the defeat and the destruction of democracy and liberty in Europe. The Socialists of Great Britain, Belgium, France and Russia do not pursue the political and economic crushing of Germany; they are not at war with the peoples of Germany and Austria, but only with the governments of those countries by which they are oppressed. They demand that Belgium shall be liberated and compensated. They desire that the question of Poland shall be settled in accordance with the wishes of the Polish people, either in the sense of autonomy in the midst of another state, or in that of complete independence. They wish that throughout all Europe, from Alsace-Lorraine to the Balkans, those populations that have been annexed by force shall receive the right freely to dispose of themselves.

"While inflexibly resolved to fight until victory is achieved to accomplish this task of liberation, the Socialists are none the less resolved to resist any attempt to transform this defensive war into a war of conquest, which would only prepare fresh con-

flicts, create new grievances and subject various peoples more than ever to the double plague of armaments and war.

"Satisfied that they are remaining true to the principles of the International, the members of the Conference express the hope that the working classes of all the different countries will before long find themselves united again in their struggle against militarism and capitalist imperialism. The victory of the Allied Powers must be a victory for popular liberty, for unity, independence and autonomy of the nations in the peaceful federation of the United States of Europe and the world."

## Making the World Safe for Democracy

II.—Whatever may have been the objects for which the war was begun the fundamental purpose of the Inter-Allied Conference in supporting the continuance of the struggle is that the world may henceforth be made safe for democracy.

Of all the conditions of peace none is so important to the peoples of the world as that there should be henceforth on earth no more war.

Whoever triumphs, the peoples will have lost unless an international system is established which will prevent war. What would it mean to declare the right of peoples to self-determination if this right were left at the mercy of new violations, and was not protected by a super-national authority? That authority can be no other than the League of Nations, in which not only all the present belligerents, but every other independent state, should be pressed to join.

The constitution of such a League of Nations implies the immediate establishment of an International High Court, not only for the settlement of all disputes between states that are of justiciable nature, but also for prompt and effective mediation between states in other issues that vitally interest the power or honor of such states. It is also under the control of the League of Nations that the consultation of peoples for purposes of self-determination must be organized. This popular right can be vindicated only by popular vote. The League of Nations shall establish the procedure of international jurisdiction, fix the methods which will maintain the freedom and security of the election, restore the political rights of individuals which violence and conquest may have injured, repress any attempt to use pressure or corruption, and prevent any subsequent reprisals. It will be also necessary to form an International Legislature, in which the representatives of every civilized state would have their al-

lotted share and energetically to push forward, step by step, the development of international legislation agreed to by, and definitely binding upon, the several states.

By a solemn agreement all the states and peoples consulted shall pledge themselves to submit every issue between two or more of them for settlement as aforesaid. Refusal to accept arbitration or to submit to the settlement will imply deliberate aggression, and all the nations will necessarily have to make common cause, by using any and every means at their disposal, either economical or military, against any state or states refusing to submit to the arbitration award, or attempting to break the world's covenant of peace.

But the sincere acceptance of the rules and decisions of the super-national authority implies complete democratization in all countries; the removal of all the arbitrary powers who, until now, have assumed the right of choosing between peace and war; the maintenance or creation of legislatures elected by and on behalf of the sovereign right of the people; the suppression of secret diplomacy, to be replaced by the conduct of foreign policy under the control of popular legislatures, and the publication of all treaties, which must never be in contravention of the stipulation of the League of Nations, with the absolute responsibility of the government, and more particularly of the foreign minister of each country to its legislature.

Only such a policy will enforce the frank abandonment of every form of imperialism. When based on universal democracy, in a world in which effective international guarantees against aggression have been secured, the League of Nations will achieve the complete suppression of force as the means of settling international differences.

The League of Nations, in order to prepare for the concerted abolition of compulsory military service in all countries, must first take steps for the prohibition of fresh armaments on land and sea and for the common limitation of the existing armaments by which all the peoples are burdened; as well as the control of war manufactures and the enforcement of such agreements as may be agreed to thereupon. The states must undertake such manufactures themselves, so as entirely to abolish profit-making armament firms, whose pecuniary interest lies always in the war scares and progressive competition in the preparation for war.

The nations, being armed solely for self-defense and for such action as the League of Nations may ask them to take in defense of international right, will be left free, under international control either to create a voluntarily recruited force or to organize the nation for defense without professional armies for long terms of military service.

To give effect to the above principles, the Inter-Allied Conference declares that the rules upon which the League of Nations will be founded must be included in the treaty of peace, and will henceforth become the basis of the settlement of differences. In that spirit the Conference expresses its agreement with the propositions put forward by President Wilson in his last message:

(1) That each part of the final settlement must be based upon the essential justice of that particular case, and upon such adjustments as are most likely to bring a peace that will be permanent.

(2) That peoples and provinces are not to be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were mere chattels and pawns in a game, even the great game now forever discredited of the balance of power; but that

(3) Every territorial settlement involved in this war must be made in the interest and for the benefit of the populations concerned, and not as a part of any mere adjustments of compromise of claims amongst rival states.

(4) That all well-defined national aspirations shall be accorded the utmost satisfaction that can be accorded them without introducing new or perpetuating old elements of discord and antagonism that would be likely in time to break the peace of Europe, and, consequently, of the world.

### Territorial Questions

III.—The Inter-Allied Conference considers that the proclamation of principles of international law accepted by all nations, and the substitution of a regular procedure for the forceful acts by which states calling themselves sovereign have hitherto adjusted their differences—in short, the establishment of a League of Nations—gives an entirely new aspect to territorial problems.

The old diplomacy and the yearnings after domination by states, or even by peoples, which during the whole of the nineteenth century have taken advantage of and corrupted the aspirations of nationalities, have brought Europe to a condition of anarchy and disorder which have led inevitably to the present catastrophe.

The Conference declares it to be the duty of the Labor and Socialist movement to suppress without hesitation the imperialist designs in the various states which have led one government after another to seek, by the triumph of military force, to acquire either new territories or economic advantage.

The establishment of a system of international law and the guarantees afforded by a League of Nations, ought to remove the last excuse for those strategic protections which nations have hitherto felt bound to require.

It is the supreme principle of the right of each

people to determine its own destiny that must now decide what steps should be taken by way of restitution or reparation, and whatever territorial readjustments may be found to be necessary at the close of the present war.

The Conference accordingly emphasizes the importance to the labor and Socialist movement of a clear and exact definition of what is meant by the right of each people to determine its own destiny. Neither destiny of race nor identity of language can be regarded as affording more than a presumption in favor of federation or unification. During the nineteenth century the theories of this kind have so often served as a cloak for aggression that the International cannot but seek to prevent any recurrence of such an evil. Any adjustments of boundaries that become necessary must be based exclusively upon the desire of the people concerned.

It is true that it is impossible for the necessary consultation of the desires of the people concerned to be made in any fixed and invariable way for all the cases in which it is required, and that the problems of nationality and territory are not the same for the inhabitants of all countries. Nevertheless, what is necessary in all cases is that the procedure to be adopted should be decided, not by one of the parties to the dispute, but by the super-national authority.

Upon the basis of the general principles herein formulated the Conference proposes the following solutions of particular problems:

#### (a) Belgium

The Conference emphatically insists that a foremost condition of peace must be the reparation by the German government, under the direction of an International Commission, of the wrong admittedly done to Belgium; payment by that government for all the damage that has resulted from this wrong; and the restoration of Belgium as an independent sovereign state, leaving to the decision of the Belgian people the determination of their own future policy in all respects.

#### (b) Alsace and Lorraine

The Conference declares that the problem of Alsace and Lorraine is not one of territorial adjustment, but one of right, and thus an international problem, the solution of which is indispensable if peace is to be either just or lasting.

The Treaty of Frankfort at one and the same time mutilated France and violated the right of the inhabitants of Alsace and Lorraine to dispose of their own destinies, a right which they have repeatedly claimed.

The new treaty of peace, in recognizing that Germany, by her declaration of war of 1914, has herself broken the Treaty of Frankfort, will make null and void the gains of a brutal conquest and of the violence committed against the people.

France, having secured this recognition, can properly agree to a fresh consultation of the population of Alsace and Lorraine as to its own desires.

The treaty of peace will bear the signatures of every

nation in the world. It will be guaranteed by the League of Nations. To this League of Nations France is prepared to remit, with the freedom and sincerity of a popular vote, of which the details can be subsequently settled, the organization of such a consultation as shall settle forever, as a matter of right, the future destiny of Alsace and Lorraine, and as shall finally remove from the common life of all Europe a quarrel which has imposed so heavy a burden upon it.

#### (c) The Balkans

The Conference lays down the principle that all the violations and perversions of the rights of the people which have taken place, or are still taking place, in the Balkans must be made the subject of redress or reparation.

Serbia, Montenegro, Rumania, Albania and all the territories occupied by military forces should be evacuated by the hostile forces. Wherever any population of the same race and tongue demands to be united this must be done. Each such people must be accorded full liberty to settle its own destiny, without regard to the imperialistic pretensions of Austria, Hungary, Turkey or other state.

Accepting this principle, the Conference proposes that the whole problem of the administrative reorganization of the Balkan peoples should be dealt with by a special conference of their representatives or in case of disagreement by an authoritative international commission on the basis of (a) the concession within each independent sovereignty of local autonomy and security for the development of its particular civilization of every racial minority; (b) the universal guarantee of freedom of religion and political equality for all races; (c) a Customs and Postal Union embracing the whole of the Balkan states with free access for each to its natural seaport; (d) the entry of all the Balkan states into a federation for the concerted arrangement by mutual agreement among themselves of all matters of common interest.

#### (d) Italy

The conference declares its warmest sympathy with the people of Italian blood and speech who have been left outside the boundaries that have, as a result of the diplomatic agreements of the past, and for strategic reasons, been assigned to the Kingdom of Italy, and supports their claim to be united with those of their own race and tongue. It realizes that arrangements may be necessary for securing the legitimate interests of the people of Italy in the adjacent seas, but it condemns the aims of conquest of Italian Imperialism and believes that all legitimate needs can be safeguarded, without precluding a like recognition of the deeds of others or annexation of other people's territories.

Regarding the Italian population dispersed on the eastern shores of the Adriatic, the relations between Italy and the Yugo-Slav populations must be based on principles of equity and conciliation, so as to prevent any cause of future quarrel.

If there are found to be groups of Slavonian race within the newly defined Kingdom of Italy or groups of Italian race in Slavonian territory, mutual guarantees must be given for the assurance of all of them, on one side or the other, full liberty of local self-government and of the natural development of their several activities.

#### (e) Poland and the Baltic Provinces

In accordance with the right of every people to determine its own destinies, Poland must be reconstituted in unity and independence with free access to the sea.

The Conference declares further, that any annexation by Germany, whether open or disguised, of Livonia, Courland or Lithuania would be a flagrant and wholly inadmissible violation of international law.

#### (f) The Jews and Palestine

The Conference demands for the Jews in all countries the same elementary rights of freedom of religion, education, residence and trade and equal citizenship that ought to be extended to all the inhabitants of every nation. It further expresses the opinion that Palestine should be set free from the hard and oppressive government of the Turk, in order that this country may form a Free State, under international guarantee, to which such of the Jewish people as desire to do so may return and may work out their own salvation free from interference by those of alien race or religion.

#### (g) The Problem of the Turkish Empire

The Conference condemns the handing back to the systematically cruel domination of the Turkish government any subject people. Thus, whatever may be proposed with regard to Armenia, Mesopotamia and Arabia, they cannot be restored to the tyranny of the Sultan and his Pashas. The Conference condemns the imperialist aims of governments and capitalists who would make of these and other territories now dominated by the Turkish hordes merely instruments either of exploitation or militarism. If the peoples of these territories do not feel themselves able to settle their own destinies, the Conference insists that, conformably with the policy of "no annexations," they should be placed for administration in the hands of a Commission acting under the Super-National Authority or League of Nations. It is further suggested that the peace of the world requires that the Dardanelles should be permanently and effectively neutralized and opened like all the main lines of marine communication, under the control of the League of Nations, freely to all nations, without hindrance or customs duties.

#### (h) Austria-Hungary

The Conference does not propose as a war aim dismemberment of Austria-Hungary or its deprivation of economic access to the sea. On the other hand, the Conference cannot admit that the claims to independence made by the Czecho-Slovaks and the Yugo-Slavs must be regarded merely as questions for internal decision. National independence ought to be accorded, according to rules to be laid down by the League of Nations, to such peoples as demand it, and these communities ought to have the opportunity of determining their own groupings and federations according to their affinities and interests. If they think fit they are free to substitute a free federation of Danubian states for the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

#### (i) The Colonies and Dependencies

The International has always condemned the colonial policy of capitalist governments. Without ceasing to condemn it, the Inter-Allied Conference nevertheless recognizes the existence of a state of things which it is obliged to take into account.

The Conference considers that the treaty of peace ought to secure to the natives in all colonies and dependencies effective protection against the excesses of capitalist colonialism. The Conference demands the concession of administrative autonomy for all groups of people that attain

a certain degree of civilization, and for all the others a progressive participation in local government.

The Conference is of opinion that the return of the colonies to those who possessed them before the war, or the exchange or compensations which might be effected, ought not to be an obstacle to the making of peace.

Those colonies that have been taken by conquest from any belligerent must be made the subject of special consideration at the Peace Conference, as to which the communities in their neighborhood will be entitled to take part. But the clause in the treaty of peace on this point must secure economic equality in such territories for the peoples of all nations, and thereby guarantee that none are shut out from legitimate access to raw materials; prevented from disposing of their own products, or deprived of their proper share of economic development.

As regards more especially the colonies of all the belligerents in Tropical Africa, from sea to sea, including the whole of the region north of the Zambesi and south of the Sahara, the Conference condemns any imperialist idea which would make these countries the booty of one or several nations, exploit them for the profit of the capitalist or use them for the promotion of the militarist aims of the governments.

With respect to these colonies the Conference declares in favor of a system of control, established by international agreement, under the League of Nations and maintained by its guarantee, which, whilst respecting national sovereignty, would be alike inspired by broad conceptions of economic freedom and concerned to safeguard the rights of the natives under the best conditions possible for them, and in particular:

(1) It would take account in each locality of the wishes of the people, expressed in the form which is possible for them.

(2) The interests of the native tribes as regards the ownership of the soil would be maintained.

(3) The whole of the revenues would be devoted to the well-being and development of the colonies themselves.

### Economic Relations

IV. The Inter-Allied Conference declares against all the projects now being prepared by imperialists and capitalists, not in any one country only, but in most countries, for an economic war, after peace has been secured, either against one or other foreign nation or against all foreign nations, as such an economic war, if begun by any country, would inevitably lead to reprisals, to which each nation in turn might in self-defense be driven. The main lines of marine communication should be open without hindrance to vessels of all nations under the protection of the League of Nations. The Conference realizes that all attempts at economic aggression, whether by protective tariffs or capitalist trusts or monopolies, inevitably result in the spoliation of the working classes of the several countries for the profit of the capitalists; and the working class see in the alliance between the military imperialists and the fiscal protectionists in any country whatsoever not only a serious danger to the prosperity of the masses of the people, but also a grave menace

to peace. On the other hand, the right of each nation to the defense of its own economic interests, and in face of the world-shortage hereinafter mentioned, to the conservation for its own people of a sufficiency of its own supplies of foodstuffs and raw materials, cannot be denied. The Conference accordingly urges upon the labor and Socialist parties of all countries the importance of insisting, in the attitude of the government towards commercial enterprise, along with the necessary control of supplies for its own people, on the principle of the open door, and without hostile discrimination against foreign countries. But it urges equally the importance, not merely of conservation, but also of the utmost possible development, by appropriate government action, of the resources of every country for the benefit not only of its own people, but also of the world, and the need for an international agreement for the enforcement in all countries of the legislation on factory conditions, a maximum eight-hour day, the prevention of "sweating" and unhealthy trades necessary to protect the workers against exploitation and oppression, and the prohibition of night work by women and children.

### The Problems of Peace

V. To make the world safe for democracy involves much more than the prevention of war, either military or economic. It will be a device of the capitalist interests to pretend that the treaty of peace need concern itself only with the cessation of the struggles of the armed forces and with any necessary territorial readjustments. The Inter-Allied Conference insists that in view of the probable world-wide shortage, after the war, of exportable foodstuffs and raw materials, and of merchant shipping, it is imperative, in order to prevent the most serious hardships, and even possible famine, in one country or another, that systematic arrangements should be made on an international basis for the allocation and conveyance of the available exportable surpluses of these commodities to the different countries, in proportion, not to their purchasing powers, but to their several pressing needs; and that, within each country, the government must for some time maintain its control of the most indispensable commodities, in order to secure their appropriation, not in a competitive market mainly to the richer classes in proportion to their means, but, systematically, to meet the most urgent needs of the whole community on the principle of "no cake for anyone until all have bread."

Moreover, it cannot but be anticipated that, in all countries, the dislocation of industry attendant on peace, the instant discharge of millions of munition makers and workers in war trades, and the demobilization of millions of soldiers—in face of the

scarcity of industrial capital, the shortage of raw materials, and the insecurity of commercial enterprise—will, unless prompt and energetic action be taken by the several governments, plunge a large part of the wage-earning population into all the miseries of unemployment more or less prolonged. In view of the fact that widespread unemployment in any country, like a famine, is an injury not to that country alone, but impoverishes also the rest of the world, the Conference holds that it is the duty of every government to take immediate action, not merely to relieve the unemployed, when unemployment has set in, but actually, so far as may be practicable, to prevent the occurrence of unemployment. It therefore urges upon the labor parties of every country the necessity of their pressing upon their governments the preparation of plans for the execution of all the innumerable public works (such as the making and repairing of roads, railways and waterways, the erection of schools and public buildings, the provision of working-class dwellings and the reclamation and afforestation of land) that will be required in the near future, not for the sake of finding measures of relief for the unemployed, but with a view to these works being undertaken at such a rate in each locality as will suffice, together with the various capitalist enterprises that may be in progress, to maintain at a fairly uniform level year by year, and throughout each year, the aggregate demand for labor; and thus prevent there being any unemployed. It is now known that in this way it is quite possible for any government to prevent, if it chooses, the occurrence of any widespread or prolonged involuntary unemployment; which if it is now in any country allowed to occur, is as much the result of government neglect as is any epidemic disease.

### Restoration of the Devastated Areas and Reparation of Wrongdoing

VI. The Inter-Allied Conference holds that one of the most imperative duties of all countries immediately peace is declared will be the restoration, so far as may be possible, of the homes, farms, factories, public buildings and means of communication whatever destroyed by war operations; that the restoration should not be limited to compensation for public buildings, capitalist undertakings and material property proved to be destroyed or damaged, but should be extended to setting up the wage-earners and peasants themselves in homes and employment; and that to insure the full and impartial application of these principles the assessment and distribution of the compensation, so far as the cost is contributed by any international fund, should be made under the direction of an international Commission.

The Conference will not be satisfied unless there is a full and free judicial investigation into the accusations made on all sides that particular governments have ordered, and particular officers have exercised, acts of cruelty, oppression, violence and theft against individual victims, for which no justification can be found in the ordinary usages of war. It draws attention in particular to the loss of life and property of merchant seamen and other non-combatants (including women and children) resulting from this inhuman and ruthless conduct. It should be part of the conditions of peace that there should be forthwith set up a Court of Claims and Accusations, which should investigate all such allegations as may be brought before it, summon the accused person or government to answer the complaint, to pronounce judgment, and award compensation or damages, payable by the individual or government condemned, to the persons who had suffered wrong, or to their dependents. The several governments must be responsible, financially and otherwise, for the presentation of the cases of their respective nationals to such a Court of Claims and Accusations, and for the payment of the compensation awarded.

## International Conference

VII. The Inter-Allied Conference is of opinion that an International Conference of Labor and Socialist organizations, held under proper conditions, would at this stage render useful service to world democracy by assisting to remove misunderstandings, as well as the obstacles which stand in the way of world peace.

Awaiting the resumption of the normal activities of the International Socialist Bureau, we consider that an International Conference, held during the period of hostilities, should be organized by a committee whose impartiality cannot be questioned. It should be held in a neutral country, under such conditions as would inspire confidence; and the Conference should be fully representative of all the labor and Socialist movement in all the belligerent countries accepting the conditions under which the Conference is convoked.

As an essential condition to an International Conference the Commission is of opinion that the organizers of the Conference should satisfy themselves that all the organizations to be represented put in precise form, by a public declaration, their peace terms in conformity with the principles "no annexations or punitive indemnities, and the right of all peoples to self-determination," and that they are working with all their power to obtain from

their governments the necessary guarantees to apply those principles honestly and unreservedly to all questions to be dealt with at any official peace conference.

In view of the vital differences between the Allied countries and the Central Powers, the Commission is of opinion that it is highly advisable that the Conference should be used to provide an opportunity for the delegates from the respective countries now in a state of war to make a full and frank statement of their present position and future intentions, and to endeavor by mutual agreement to arrange a programme of action for a speedy and democratic peace.

The Conference is of opinion that the working classes, having made such sacrifices during the war, are entitled to take part in securing a democratic world peace, and that M. Albert Thomas (France), M. Emile Vandervelde (Belgium) and Mr. Arthur Henderson (Great Britain) be appointed as a commission to secure from all the governments a promise that at least one representative of Labor and Socialism will be included in the official representation at any government conference, and to organize a Labor and Socialist representation to sit concurrently with the official conference; further, that no country be entitled to more than four representatives at such conference.

The Conference regrets the absence of representatives of American labor and Socialism from the Inter-Allied Conference, and urges the importance of securing their approval of the decisions reached. With this object in view, the Conference agrees that a deputation, consisting of one representative from France, Belgium, Italy and Great Britain, together with Camille Huysmans (Secretary of the International Socialist Bureau), proceed to the United States at once, in order to confer with representatives of the American democracy on the whole situation of the war.

The Conference resolves to transmit to the Socialists of the Central Empires and of the nations allied with them the memorandum in which the Conference has defined the conditions of peace, conformably with the principles of Socialist and international justice. The Conference is convinced that these conditions will commend themselves on reflection to the mind of every Socialist, and the Conference asks for the answer of the Socialists of the Central Empires, in the hope that these will join without delay in a joint effort of the International, which has now become more than ever the best and the most certain instrument of democracy and peace.

[THE END]

Please return to E. B. G.

# With a Presbyterian Chaplain at the Front

Rev. John S. Zelig, D.D., pastor of the Crescent Avenue Presbyterian Church of Plainfield, New Jersey, is a representative of the National Service Commission as a Red Cross chaplain in France. We publish below a letter from Dr. Zelig, recounting his experiences in the field hospitals under fire, where he ministered to men just brought from the line and buried our dead in ground that shook with the recoil of the heavy guns. The story deals with incidents of the great drive which began July 15th and is rich in the pathos and glory of the magnificent advance. We wonder what manner of man he can be who will read this report without deep joy that the Church has a part in such a ministry. The National Service Commission is our Church's agency which directly sustains some of its Red Cross chaplains.

It is two weeks today since I have been able to write to anybody. On that day I left Luzancy on the Marne, which had been my home for six weeks, and now that I have left it, I can divulge its name. Major Davis, Bob Davis, of Englewood, New Jersey, came in on me at 5 o'clock Monday night and said that as our hospital was now drying up through being so far back of the line he wanted to send me with two other men up to —, which the Germans had vacated that day, to take with us a traveling kitchen and a big motor truck of supplies and follow the troops who were pressing up into that region and feed them on the road where necessary. I had longed to go to — and I packed up my roomful of supplies and next morning motored through all the devastated villages to —, where we found an unoccupied city—with every house damaged or demolished and troops and trains of every description pressing in. If you saw any house you wanted all you had to do was to take it and move in. We took an ordinary dwelling and moved our stuff into it as a depot from which to move on. Every pane of glass was broken, the furniture in unbelievable confusion, the stairways choked with dirt. The Germans had spoiled every room in town, but it was the Allies' gun fire which demolished the buildings. It was a fine city in its best estate. We camped down without water or anything. And I have most forgotten what it was to be clean. There Mr. Powell and Mr. Woodruff and Mowry Rynman, the chauffeur, and I slept as we could with the Germans flying over the place every night and dropping their bombs. An unexploded shell landed in the garden and lies there yet. I set to work to build an oven in the back yard out of bricks from the wall, on which to heat up our great tanks of chocolate which we were to carry out to the troops. Just then the divisional surgeon poked his head in the window and asked what we were going to do about the great hospital a mile away which the Americans had taken and which would soon be full of wounded. We didn't know. So I left the chocolate, rode down to the hospital and never came back. Already they were pouring in. It wasn't what I was sent out for but it had to be done and the next two weeks were the most exciting of my life. The hospital is an immense and modern French hospital which the Germans had occupied and from which they had been driven. Before going they turned the place into a mountain of rubbish, beds eight feet deep in the courtyard and park, bedsteads everywhere, every pane of glass broken, water pipes destroyed, and on that mountain of filth and waste the field hospital moved in to run a hospital at once. I can never describe what these two weeks have been. The Major wanted me and I stopped. He hadn't a bed to offer me so I took one of two little closets

which are in the corners of a wooden shack out in the yard in front of the hospital. The floor of the shack is filled with the wounded on their stretchers all the time. The other corner, three feet away, is where the morgue is and the dead soldiers were put in there when there were only two or three, and also the amputated limbs. Every stretcher was brought to my door all night, but as I was not there much it didn't matter. So I plunged in, as did everybody, and night and day, without let-up, I was at it. After a few days the Major looked into my room and said, "You don't sleep there any more," and said he had found a bed for me in the big building and would take me up to see it. It was forty-eight hours before I could get time even to go and look at the bed and even then I simply could not get time to move up to it. And it did not trouble me that a few feet away these splendid men were lying there in their last sleep. So far as any nervousness was concerned, one soon loses all sense of repugnance.

In they came all night and all day. Such wounds I never saw. And all this time we were trying to clean up the place as well. Then I had to begin to bury them and go away down into the city where one or two Americans had been laid in a rear garden. But the deaths came so swiftly that we could not go there and so I went out and selected a field close by and we began. I have officiated at the burial of nearly seventy men in the two weeks. We just had to lay them down in the ground in their blankets. Sometimes the men would die faster than we could possibly bury them and we had no sufficient place to put them. The Major was more than overwhelmed and so I took it all over, and attended to it all with Swearman, a soldier who was a miner in the Pennsylvania coal mines, has a face like a cameo, works like a Titan and is about as near pure gold as anybody ever saw. At every grave I have to have the blanket lifted from the face, take one of the man's tags from his neck and have it nailed to the cross. The other rests with his body. Not a coffin or anything to be had in all the city. It is rough work, but when it is done and their poor bodies are all laid in their graves, then I have a soldier stand at the head of every one of them for the service and cast the earth when I do. The men are so splendid when it comes to the service and I can't help making an address then.

The other day while we were burying, the graves registration officers came into the field and when it was over came and told me all about the regulations and laws of burial and said that the one they had just witnessed was the finest they had seen in any of the fields. One day while I was reading the service a bomb dropped two fields away, killing and wounding many. Three nights in succession I went out after supper and each time buried thirteen men. Then the — division sent for me to go up and bury their dead.

Last week I found, just at the entrance of the surgical ward, as I was about to go into the operating room, a stretcher with a fine-looking lad on it, and I stopped to talk with him. He had quite a bad abdominal wound and that is what we dread. He was a schoolboy at the — and — schools, the son of a Brooklyn lawyer. I talked with him until he was moved into the surgery, and watched for him to come out. One of the surgeons told me there was hardly a chance, and so I had taken down a letter from the boy at his dictation to send home. Then I came and went until the boy had come out of the ether. I talked with the night surgeon, who is a prince, and he said he wouldn't let this boy die if there was a chance in the world. The next day he rallied a good deal and the nurses did everything for him, and we really hoped—he was so dear, and I gave

him the Communion as he asked, and he said all the responses and thanked me so. Then he slept and I was in and out all day—the third day—but about fifteen minutes after I left him last, at five in the evening, he went. How I hated to lay the boy away the way I had to do it. So I made up my mind I would try to make a coffin, but in the awful rush I was afraid it was impossible and that they would not permit it. I got up early, searched the attics and separated some frames that were there and brought the boards down the back stairs to see what I could do. Then a captain found out what I was about and said he had a carpenter in his ambulance train in the city and would send for him at once. Then I went to the quartermaster, Sergeant —, and asked him if he could give me a new uniform. He gave me everything. Then an orderly who had been an undertaker came and offered to do anything he could and together we dressed the boy. The boards were too short and the carpenter and I made another search and found some strong thick boards. The boy's body was in that awful place and no one to bring him out, and I asked a soldier to help me and he said, "Oh, sir, I would like to help you but I just can't stand it to do that," so I found another and we brought — out and put him in a little room where Lather and I prepared his body. I did so want to tell his family that I had done all I could. Then a truck captain came and offered any transportation I wanted and after we had put this schoolboy's body in the strong, plain coffin, with his head on a pillow, and some white linen from the nunnery over his face, and wrapped him in his blanket, and put a rubber blanket all around him, I ordered the truck and took it down to the city to bury him in the little garden where we had begun first, because there was room for one or two more graves and it was walled and quiet. But the grave had not even been dug and I just went to the ambulance men near by and asked them if they would dig a grave for me. These men of the — division are the finest I have ever seen. They made the grave willingly and all stood by and joined with me through the service and told me that if there was anything I ever wanted they would do it. It was about noon and we stood under the fruit trees in the sunlight, and it was a joy to be able to write to —'s father that everybody had so willingly done all they could.

I could not begin to tell you what a splendid set these —th division men are. To live with them has been a delight. I never knew anything about — before, but if they are all like these there isn't much more to ask.

I never worked so hard in my life as in these two weeks. One of the lieutenants told me that he overheard Major H—, the commanding officer, telling some visiting colonels and majors that "he did not know how he possibly could have done without me and that I had taken more off his shoulders than he could ever thank me for." So I know I am all right here, and I just love the men.

This great new hospital is built adjoining a very old religious house of Augustinian nuns; it is five or six hundred years old and has a fine church. The nuns had forsaken it during the siege and when I came the halls and rooms and sacristy were a foot deep with tapestries and vestments and linen and lace and ornaments and every kind of beautiful work, which the Germans had tumbled out in every kind of way, taking what they wanted and leaving the rest. Anybody could tramp through and take what he pleased. It would have made your mouth water to see these things. But the church was not molested and I asked the privilege of holding services there on the Sabbath, and in the evening, with all the candles lighted, we had a Protestant service. Last Sabbath the vicar of the city came back and celebrated mass and

1420 Mrs. J. J. J.

he was a grand, courtly specimen of French priesthood. After mass I went to confer with him about our service at four o'clock, and while it must have been extremely distasteful to him he was so fine and gracious about it and we had a splendid service. One of the cooks played the organ, and a French priest attended the service.

How I wish I could tell you a tenth part of all that happens, what it means to have an ambulance drive in when the hospital has quite quieted down, and then another ambulance, and then all night long a procession of ambulances until everything is full and the men lying in rows of stretchers and the surgeons working all night. And so many beautiful things that just fill you with delight. When I get tired, I just say to myself, "Every man you know at home would give anything to have your part in this work," and then I go at it all afresh. I never had happier days in my life in spite of all the misery around; one feels sure at least that he is of some use.

It is too bad not to be able to tell all the things that happen, but for two weeks I have not been able to write even in my "line a day" book. Everybody helps everybody else, the wounded men ask for so little, they suffer terribly but they bear it wonderfully and they are so grateful for anything you do for them. You get attached to them, interested in them, and then in an hour or two perhaps their stretchers are whisked away into the ambulance and you never see them again. How your heart goes out to them. Nobody knows what America is until he has seen these men, what they go through, how they take it.

The other day I found a nineteen-year-old boy on the floor in his stretcher crying his eyes out, the tears dropping down as he half sat up, and I went to him and he said, "Oh, won't you please do something for me?" And I said, "Of course I will, what can I do?" And he said, "Won't you please go to the doctors and make them let me go back to my company. There isn't anything the matter with me except I'm a little excited, and I've got to go back. I'm fit for it. Please do it." And another older fellow with a slight wound but enough to disable him simply would not give up and argued and pleaded and cried and said his lieutenant was back there and nearly all his company had gone and he wanted to be back with him, they were going over the top and it was the greatest action of the war. He was put in the ambulance at last and I never saw a man so distressed and disappointed.

The other day another youth came in or was brought in and when he found I was the chaplain he wanted to explain it all to me. He was in a good deal of pain but he was just as bright and wholesome and friendly as he could be and wanted me to come back as often as I could, so I did. While I was on some other business, for there was a rush, one of the orderlies hunted me out and said, "Will you come out here at the back as quick as you can, the captain wants to get this ambulance away and there's a chap won't go until he has seen you again." So out I rushed and there he was holding up the whole movement just to wring my hand and say good-bye and express the wish that the Germans were all "in the bottomless pit"—which he did in such a funny earnest way that we all burst out laughing.

Life at the hospital was pretty sleepless for a week. Every night a bombing aeroplane came around and we all had to take to the downstairs in the darkness. It got pretty bad and came pretty near. I don't know anything more malignant and mysterious than this bombing and the suspense that goes with it.

One night about half past nine when I was about tired out and was going to bed, when the hospital had quieted down and grown empty, when I had really gotten into bed, Powell, of San Francisco, and Woodruff, of Chicago, the other two Red Cross men with whom I had come up, came to my door and told me that they were just starting to go up to the line and carry a load of things to the dress-

ing stations and wanted me to go. Out we went, over that great highway that leads to the front, great lines of ghostly trucks looming up beside us on the road, companies of soldiers "going in" and others coming out, autos flashing past us, the guns booming and lighting up the horizon. I never felt anything to be so wonderful and mysterious before. We had heard, to be sure, of men fighting in the past against Philip of Spain or Bonaparte or other ambitious monsters, but here we were moving among men who were fighting the greatest monster of all. I almost had to pinch myself to realize that I was there. At last we came to a little hamlet and turned in at a barnyard and found a group of men in the darkness. Inside the house was a dressing station but no wounded men there. This was the hamlet of Bezu-St. Germain, now so far behind that it is safe to mention its name. From there we rode on farther, and miles farther on we realized that we were under fire. We passed under a great wood where the roar of great guns only a few hundred feet away made us realize that a powerful battery was at work. On we rode until we reached the village of E—, and there the racket was terrific and constant. The shells were going over our heads all the time, bursting in the air. The concussion was incessant. A little, ordinary farmhouse on a little slope above the road was the dressing station where the wounded came in from the line. Not a light anywhere, but we moved around and found silent, miserable, wounded men everywhere. As fast as they could they were passed in to the farmhouse kitchen where the surgeons were. Any minute one of those shells might have put us all out of commission and blown up the dressing station. And it was all so silent and dark and mysterious, as if speaking in whispers did any good when the air was full of explosions. There they lay on the slope up to the farmhouse, waiting their turn. Then it came on to rain and the slopes became slippery with mud and we had to hustle to get the wounded under cover. I took a manure fork and helped level a manure heap in a cellar so that the litters could rest evenly on the floor. We carried in for the Red Cross great thermos bottles of hot chocolate holding gallons and keeping warm eight hours, cigarettes, chocolate to eat; and lifting the stretchers and getting this weary crowd on its way toward the back and treatment. Groans all around but no grumble. The din overhead was terrific but somehow you do not feel scared. I do not know what a headache is—hardly—but I did that night, because the concussion and the steel helmet together make it a pretty pressing thing. We stayed there four hours. These were my sensations, but what does it matter what my sensations were? Nothing! What were the sensations of the men on those stretchers? That is what matters.

What does one think of under such circumstances? I guess we were all thinking of God and that somehow he knew "just how it was;" knew it better than any of us, even the wounded; felt it more than the most wounded, too.

And clearly in every heart grows the hatred of the spirit and the pride and the ambition and the fiend that brought all this terrible thing to pass. It may not always be conscious and it is not always or perhaps often expressed, but it is there, and daily there grows in all those men's hearts a hatred, deep and silent, and appreciative of the infamy of those who chose and designed and determined to have this war.

I have seen a great many German captives. And when it comes to that I will go as far as anybody, and I have washed their hands when they were caked with blood and mud and nobody else would do it, and I have brought them all I could to make them comfortable, and I would do it again gladly, but I will say for all that, that I have not seen one ray of what was noble or manly in any one of them. The soul of that people has pretty nearly perished. This is no time to be "studying the psychology" of the Ger-

mans. The "sin of the Germans" is the only question "before the house." Our men are silently angry, through and through.

Tonight I am in Paris, just for a night. Two weeks ago we were almost the advance guard in the way of hospitals. Yesterday the line had advanced so far that we were "back country" and had orders to move. I had a chance to motor to Paris and get my Red Cross orders as to whether I should go too. I have them and I am going on with the hospital. In college or university or seminary or parish I never met a finer crowd than these —s, these —s. I have been with three divisions now but I would give the palm to the —s. Every man a gentleman—and God bless "old Swearman" (about 23 years old) a coal miner, with the face of a Greek god and a heart of pure gold and the kind that you might tie up to forever. He digs the soldiers' graves for us, and I was glad when the Red Cross Major, Davis, said today, "Go along with the —th field hospital. That means "go along with 'old Swearman' and all the rest," Major H— and the others.

Sabbath night I had just finished the burial of three of our splendid men. The bugler had blown the taps and we had come home to the hospital when "Swearman" said there was one more burial, a German, but they would bury him in the hospital grounds in a grave which the Germans had dug when they were here and "probably I wouldn't want to have a service." But I told him I would and so Sabbath night they brought the German out to the grave in front of the hospital in the ruined garden and the men came in a rush and crowded the place, wondering how I would do it and what I could possibly say. I admit I hardly knew what to say, but I stick by St. Paul, that we are "all of one blood" after all, and when it was all over the hospital cook said, "The fellows will never forget the service as long as they live."

And now after all the labor they have put on this hospital they have to move. It is far behind and I hope it will become a "base" where the wounded can stop and rest.

I am awfully tired tonight but I must write a little of all I have seen, and so good-night. John Sheridan Zelic.

#### RED CROSS HOME SERVICE.

To equip more workers with fundamentals for Red Cross Home Service, another series of Home Service Institutes, or "Plattsburgs," have been planned by the Department of Civilian Relief, Lake Division, American Red Cross. Need for the new series of institutes may be seen in a recent report of this department, in which it was shown that the number of Ohio, Indiana and Kentucky families of soldiers and sailors assisted by chapter Home Service workers had grown to more than thirteen thousand a month. This number, it is pointed out, will greatly increase as more and more men are selected for military service.

Institutes are to be opened at Columbus, Sept. 23d; at Cleveland, Oct. 15th, and at Cincinnati, Nov. 5th. A few days ago, Sept. 19th, the first of the new series was opened at Indianapolis. All are made possible by the joint co-operation of universities and social agencies, in the cities in which they are held, with the Red Cross. Each course consumes six weeks, and includes twenty-four lectures, with collateral reading and weekly conferences, together with one hundred and fifty hours of field work supervised by social agencies. Enrollment is limited, varying from twenty to twenty-five pupils to each institute.

Facts about war-risk insurance, about allotments and allowances, about conducting an information service, about industrial problems due to the pressure of the war, about juvenile delinquency and about home dietetics are among the important subjects taught at these institutes, as part of the American Red Cross pledge to sustain the soldiers' morale in camps and overseas by helping their families at home.



*Broadly Central Y. M. C. A.  
Bulletin Dec. 13, 1918*

## From Vantage Points in America Pro-Germanism Shoots in the Back with Poisoned Bullets Our Boys "Over There"

GERMAN language papers, the teaching of German in public schools, the singing, in any school of German songs, should be vigorously suppressed. The very thought of Germany and of Germany's past and future must be made so odious and hateful to all decent human beings that the word German will for generations to come carry the meaning of all that is vile and inhuman wherever heard.

The world's civilization and the strength of our moral forces demand that all that is German in name or thought or deed must be regarded from the cradle to the grave as we now think of lustful, brutish beasts, of murderers, of treacherous scoundrels, of all the vilest criminals who have sunk to the lowest depth of human rottenness.

Not to think of Germany in this way would be to prove our own moral flabbiness and our own readiness to count as a bosom friend the unrepentant outrager of womanhood and the murderer of helpless infants.

The criminal, who standing by the side of the cradle murders in cold blood the helpless infant whom God had sent to bless the earth, is not more to be despised than Germany.

The lecherous scoundrel who betrays and outrages the innocent is not more deeply sunk in sin than Germany.

The murderer, who, in order to enrich himself, kills the sleeping family, and burns the dwelling, has as his equals in foul depravity and devil-guided work millions and millions of Germans.

Germany, the accursed, is possessed of the devil and by the devil, and for its own financial aggrandizement, murders, outrages, burns, starves, blisters unto death with its hell-fire, and smothers with hell-devised deadly gases, millions of the very flower of our civilization.

Your boy and your neighbor's boy must stand between the women of this land and these brutish beasts—all because Germany for half a century has been training its armies and teaching its people to take whatever they wanted wherever and whenever they had the power, regardless of morality or of right and wrong.

Therefore Germany must be made odious to all the world, and no honest-hearted, pure-minded man or woman should during the life of this generation ever deal with a pro-German, ever buy or sell a German-made product, ever associate with a pro-German.

Ostracism in business and in private life should be the penalty of pro-Germanism, and he who fails to pursue this policy, will show that he regards business or social ties more highly than morality and honor, and that he has no hatred of murder or lust or all the other vile crimes which have brought to the world the greatest sorrow and anguish ever known.

Let the nation therefore move with energy and unswerving determination to crush the reptile propaganda, which has wormed its way into our nation and which now seeks to sink its poisoned venom into the breast that has warmed it into life.

"Locate, eliminate and exterminate" all that is pro-German in language, in thought or in deed, wherever found and under whatever guise.

We fight the most desperate, hell-devised power, which humanity has ever faced, and if we show mercy, it will be counted as weakness, and if we should punish not the guilty without any sentimental, neurotic ideas of morality such as those of degenerate women who write scented notes to murderers and bedeck the cells of rapists, we would cease to have any individual or national morality.

War, accursed war, war of murder, is being made against us, and we must fight to live.

We must fight Germany and pro-Germanism in whatever form they appear and utterly destroy their power for evil now in evidence throughout our country. Our beloved boys from "over there" call us to heroic work here to stand behind them and destroy those who are stabbing them in the back from vantage points in America.

**Richard H. Edmonds, Editor**

Manufacturers' Record, Baltimore, Md.

**EDWIN B. STIMPSON COMPANY**

**Serious Accidents Show Significant Falling Off**

For the same periods of comparison in 1917 and 1918, the Secretary of the Police Department, also compiled a statement with respect to accidents with the following results:

During the dry months of 1918, as compared with the same wet months of 1917, minor automobile accidents decreased 18 per cent; serious automobile accidents decreased 43 per cent; and fatal automobile accidents decreased 19 per cent.

Minor street car accidents decreased 18 per cent; serious street car accidents decreased 58 per cent, and fatal street accidents decreased 35 per cent.

Minor motor cycle accidents decreased 54 per cent; serious motor cycle accidents decreased 72 per cent; and fatal motor cycle accidents decreased 100 per cent.

Minor accidents due to horse-drawn vehicles decreased 50 per cent; serious accidents decreased 90 per cent; and fatal accidents of this sort decreased 100 per cent.

Minor railroad accidents decreased 10 per cent; serious accidents decreased 63 per cent; fatal railroad accidents decreased 80 per cent.

These things, of course, present only the negative side of the matter. They show only the decrease in undesirable things. What the increase of desirable things has been, however, one can picture on the basis of these very telling facts.

**A Call to Service**

To the men in our Army and in our Naval Stations and in the armies of our allies the Y. M. C. A. offers organized friendship. In camp and cantonment, on troop train and transport, on the march and in billets, in hut and dugout and in field, it stays with the men who are training, the men who are moving, the

men who are fighting. It affords comfort, warmth, a gathering place, books and papers, writing material, classes, talks, music, entertainments, non-sectarian religious meetings, indoor games, outdoor sports, counsel, companionship, good cheer. It is the immediate representative of home. It helps greatly in the maintenance of morale.



President Wilson has given his most cordial support to the Y. M. C. A. work with the A. E. F.

The Government of the United States and the Allied Governments have given the fullest recognition and the heartiest welcome to the work of the Association, and have challenged it to multiply its service to meet the increasing needs and opportunities.

More than 4,000 men have been selected, trained and placed up to September 30, 1918, as Army and Navy Association Secretaries in the camps within the United States, and 3,611 have been appointed for overseas service.

It will be necessary to recruit and place at the rate of at least two thousand men per month until the war ends to keep pace with urgent needs at home and overseas.

Will you take your place among these men?

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Patronize Our Advertisers  
Say you saw it  
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*My United Hospital Grand Grand. 1918*

H O S P I T A L S   I N   T H E   N E W   A G E

I

THE WAR'S LESSONS IN  
LIFE SAVING

Every great medical and surgical lesson learned in the war hospitals of Europe will now save lives in the hospitals of New York.

\* \* \*

**The war has taught how to save more lives than the war has cost.**

But we can save them only IF the service can be made cheap. This must be done by hospitals. Modern equipment cannot be carried around from house to house.

\* \* \*

When we think of war we think of shot and shell, torn bodies and lost limbs. But typhoid fever, typhus, pneumonia, gangrene, meningitis, lockjaw, and the like, have cost far more lives in war than shot and shell.

The death roll of the United States forces in the war, from all causes, was under 60,000. The epidemic of influenza cost this country more than 400,000.

\* \* \*

Industrial accidents of about 300,000 a year in America cause about 30,000 deaths a year, and a great many cripples. The new surgery will save many of these lives and restore to usefulness many who otherwise would have remained helpless.

HOSPITALS IN THE NEW AGE

Every time a man is injured by a boiler explosion, or a railroad accident, the same "infected wound" problem faces the surgeon as if his patient had been shot. **It is not the shot, it is the disease germ that does the most damage.** It is as important to arrest a microbe as it is to arrest a murderer.



New York Eye and Ear Infirmary  
218 Second Avenue



St. Luke's, Amsterdam Avenue and 113th Street

V

**THE MOST EXPENSIVE THING  
IN THE WORLD**

Disease is the most expensive thing in the world. It is estimated that under ordinary conditions about three per cent. of the people are sick. Applied to the United States and to New York this gives us in round numbers:

Area	Population	Sick
United States . . . . .	100,000,000	3,000,000
New York City . . . . .	6,000,000	180,000

The loss in wages—to say nothing of doctors' bills—is enormous. Counting only one-third of the sick as workers, and the average wage \$3 a day, and the average annual illness 9 days, the loss is as follows:

Area	Loss in Wages
United States . . . . .	\$900,000,000
New York . . . . .	54,000,000

**The Loss of Brains**

But what of losses more important—greater than loss of wages—the loss of human values? How much genius and talent are lost? How much leadership? How many Washingtons, Emersons, Longfellows, Edisons or Schwabs?

How many people who do not die are working at half or quarter efficiency?

HOSPITALS IN THE NEW AGE



Where  
sunshine  
and  
fresh air  
do  
their work



Roof  
scenes  
on New York  
Hospitals

### III

## WHY HOSPITAL SERVICE IS BEST

“The campaign, begun in war, to insure the military fitness of men for fighting, is quite as necessary to save men for civil efficiency.”

Josephus Daniels  
Secretary of the Navy

Only in the hospital can all the needs of the patient be met under the best conditions. Here are a few important things the hospital has all ready for use:

Chemical Laboratories	Electrical Apparatus
Bacteriological Laboratories	Complete Operating Equipment
Sterilization Plant	Special Diagnostic Facilities
The Microscope	Perfect Lighting
The Ophthalmoscope	Thorough Ventilation
The Laryngoscope	Sun Parlors
X-ray Apparatus	Medical Library
Blood Pressure Apparatus	Special Diet Kitchens
Anaesthetics	Well Trained Nurses

Above all, in the hospitals the best surgeons and the best physicians stand ready with combined wisdom for instant consultation and team work.

Even the very rich could hardly have this sort of service in a home. It should be made available for everybody through increasing hospital facilities.

**We have cut the death rate in two since 1870.** In those days about twenty-eight persons out of every thousand died each year. Now the death rate is about fourteen to the thousand. This is saving New York about 80,000 lives a year.

If all who need it—especially babies and mothers—received good medical and hospital care, the death rate could be cut in two again.



In such places disease does its foulest work  
But the disease does not stay there  
It spreads peril to the whole city



RECEIVED

Letter from Rev. Dr. John Sheridan Zelig

MAR 25 1919

Representative of the National Service Commission in France.

Mr. Spear

Souilly, France.  
February 26, 1919.

My dear Dr. Ottman:-

It has been long since I wrote to you except briefly on some matter that arose. I found it almost impossible to write the long letters which I tried to write at the first, and one of your own letters suggested that it might be difficult and that you would not demand it. The publication of some of the letters brought me a host of letters which I was glad to answer, but of course, I have not yet gotten caught up.

I think when I wrote you last I was at Buxerulles near North Sec on the road to Metz. Then the armistice found us camped in a metched village and running a Hospital. The general poverty and squalor of the French peasant villages is almost unbelievable after those centuries of occupation and effort. It would no doubt seem a very thrilling thing to receive news of the armistice a few miles from the Front Best L'seleon, that was really the least thrilling place in the world. It was one of the least hilarious days. All was as quiet along our road as on any day. Not a shout went up from anywhere. A few fellows got hold of some ammunition out in the field and shot it off, but aside from that we were all very quiet and ordinary, and could not take in the magnitude of what had come to pass. Nobody knew what to do next. Before that there was action every day and all the time. Now, when everybody is used to action and it stops, they seem duller than usual and our Commanding Officer said that the ten days after the armistice were the dullest ten days he had known in the war.

But there was tragedy to the last and almost the most terrible thing in the war to me was the men who were killed on the very morning of the Armistice, who had been sent over the top right up to the last minute, although everyone knew virtually that the Armistice was to go into effect.

Just at Thanksgiving Bishop Perry sent for me to go to England and take up some work there, and I was about to leave for Paris when there was brought in to our hospital, terribly wounded from the accidental discharge of his own pistol, a young Lieutenant of the 28th Division, a Massachusetts man and member of the Harvard crew and foot-ball team. I went with him up into the woods some miles away, where a Mobile Hospital was operating, and stayed with him, getting his messages for home. He did not recover from the operation, and I brought him back in the same ambulance which carried him there. It was a terrible thing. The doctor and I sat there opposite him in the ambulance, and there was nothing that could be done short of the operation. He suffered terribly and was such a fine handsome fellow, and his life went out just when all the dangers were over. So I waited two days to care for his body and conduct his service and have him laid to rest in a way that might comfort them at home to know about.

When I got to Paris the work in England was all closed and the Bishop sent me to be Chaplain at Base Hospital 30 in the famous mineral springs resort called Royat, in the Auvergne Mountains about a mile and a half above the fine city of Clermont-Ferrand where Pascal was born. This resort is in a very ancient village in a great ravine and the hotels rise up tier after tier on the sides. These were taken for a Base Hospital, and when I went there they had about 1500 patients. This was a new experience and a very wonderful one where I became personally acquainted with hundreds of men and of course they stopped for some time, so that I could get to know them. The Red Cross had, for a hut a wonderful glass pavilion, a hundred and fifty feet long, where the walking patients came and went all the time. I have never seen a more enheartening sight than that room full of men and I have never been in happier or better company. I held preaching services each Sunday in the theatre or in the hut and on Christmas morning I held a full regular church service in the theatre with a good congregation. At 8 o'clock on Christmas morning I held an early com-

munions-service in the beautiful church of England with the Bishop's permission and using the English service. I shall never forget that wonderful Christmas Day. The Red Cross is magnificent in its generosity and interest in the men and cannot do too much for them and does not clog its work for them by too many conditions. I think one element of its good repute among the men is that it is not run by hard and fast rules, but makes all kinds of exceptions where exceptions are necessary and so it has been very flexible, and you always hear a good word for it. I cannot speak too cordially of what it has done.

People are writing oceans of matter about the religion of the soldier. For myself I think of it all the time, but I don't profess to know quite as much as some about it. There is a great deep mystery about these men, and I feel that as much as anything. They are very unconscious about everything and perfectly natural, but my own feeling about them is that in a great many respects they are better than they were at home. There is an evil side of things, but on the whole I have been immensely less conscious of that than I have of the surprising better side of them. Their language is often neither Scriptural nor Elizabethan, but I think they are an upstanding, great, generous, true lot of men and that the whole world can be confident about them. Generalizations about their religion are easy to make, but I would say that as a Christian worker I feel more sure of a cordial welcome and generous interest and a predisposition toward one than I would feel in an average neighborhood at home. I do not fear about their religion. But I have seen more frank and bold manifestations of it in the army than I have seen in civil life. A soldier whips out his Pocket Testament in all kinds of situations without show or pretense, and just reads it, before anybody. But their cordiality and generosity and cheerfulness, the absence of 'grouch', the general pleasantness and good temper, make this Army easier to live with, I believe, than the average good neighborhood at home. Certainly there never was an Army which had more done for it and they appreciate it.

At Royan I went to the trains that carried the men off to the coast. Sometimes the loading of them would take all the afternoon and so I would see a great deal of them at the last. Sometimes I got up at midnight to go down, because the trains came at all hours. And every train that left carried off men I can never forget and whom I had come to be deeply attached to. Already I am full of letters from the men from all over France and at home.

At last the great place closed down. I was there nearly two months, and then I came away to Paris for reassignment by Bishop Perry, who assigned me to work with the Red Cross and Chaplains of the 79th Division, National Army, Maryland, Virginia, Pennsylvania—situated at Souilly 25 miles from Bar-le-Duc. We are practically living in an immense freight yard in sheds and oceans of mud. Before coming here I was laid up in bed in a Paris Hospital for ten days with a severe attack of lumbago, my first hospital experience. When I got out I came here at once. My duties will be to preach all over the Division which is located on an area of ten miles square. Last Sunday morning I walked over to the 304th Ammunition Train and held service. Then I am to go about to the different organizations and receive the requests and hear the needs of the men for home communication and also have a large region to locate graves. I shall be occupied in this way all the rest of my time.

In Paris, three weeks ago, I was invited to preach in the American Church of the Holy Trinity, Episcopal, and did so at the Military Service.

I received your request forwarded from Mr. Jack, and have already started the inquiries which I hope will yield the information he wishes to have. You cannot imagine the extent to which this searching is carried on. I rather suspect that the Aero Squadron to which belonged the friend Mr. Jack inquired for, may have returned home and if so the answer will be somewhat delayed, but I will let him know all that I can discern as early as possible.

This Division will be one of the last to go home, and knowing it that they are reconciled to it and have ceased to talk about it. They are a splendid lot of men. They long for home, France is mostly surprisingly dreary and cold. The people themselves live very miserably and without comfort.

One of the good things in the religious work has been the throwing

together of all denominations and Catholics and Protestants. There is hardly a trace of trouble that I can see between the two latter, and we are mixed together very amiably all the time. I believe it has been a good thing for both of us. One morning in my old attic in Buxerulles, I woke about daylight and there was an altar all lighted and a young priest saying Mass. I had taken him in the night before on his way to his regiment. Afterward we were speaking about the kindly way things were going and he said, "Yes, it would go hard with anybody who tried to start anything on either side."

Some day I want to write an article on the services I have held and the places in which I have held them, but writing any such matter now is out of the question. I seem to be writing every spare moment, but it is mainly in correspondence which has sprung up with the men and their families.

It seems to me that the after-war work of the Red Cross and perhaps the churches ought to be very great, and the campaigns for it might well continue a long time to come. What must be done for the peoples off to the Eastward is beyond imaginary. I was asked at a day's notice to go on the Balkan Commission and work in Albania and it did seem attractive, but it was too much of a step to take without the chance of any consultation and I did not go.

Just below where I am writing on this terrace of mud are the buildings of the Y.M.C.A. and the Salvation Army. The latter do not have very much to do with and are not numerous, but their record is splendid and they have seen a flavor through the Army which is appreciated. They are solid gold. I have not written home anything about the Y.M.C.A., and this controversy which has gained such proportions. It is a pity for a work so great to have gotten muddled. No men in the world are easier to get on with than this Army, and their good will is comparatively easy to gain. But something has gone wrong and what has gone wrong has almost obscured the vast amount of what went right and the splendid men who worked for the Y.M.C.A. over here have been a little cast into the shade by the doings of some very impossible people. I think the publicity work of the Y.M.C.A. did it a great deal of harm for much of the advertising that I saw was most exaggerated.

I shall probably come home some time before the full year is up. The year has been one of immense privilege every way. I could not have believed that any such experience was in store for me and day by day it has never ceased to seem wonderful that I should have this work to do. I only wish that more of our Presbyterian men could have had it and I am unceasingly grateful that it came to me. I am very glad that it came as a Chaplaincy and not as a Y.M.C.A. worker. The whole church is bigger than any part of it.

This letter had had many interruptions this evening, for I have had to go out and chop wood from the wood-pile at least three times to keep warm while doing it. That is the way we have to do. We are living in a big board hut which is very draughty and cold and the stoves are poor. It is a queer mixture of the primitive and the modern for I am writing by electric light and using a wood-pile.

Will you please give my respects and regards to other members of the Commission and I shall hope to write again and then to make a full report when I return.

Ever sincerely yours,

(Signed) John Sheridan Zelig

Chaplain American Red Cross, Hotel Regina, Paris.

# General John F. O'Ryan's Warning Against Booze

New York received on March 6th with great acclamations the famous Twenty-seventh Division of the American Expeditionary Forces which did such splendid work in France under the command of Major General John F. O'Ryan.

In view of the fine record made by this division, this is an appropriate time to reprint the exhortation given to his men by General O'Ryan on August 8, 1917, while the boys were in camp, relative to the danger of drink, and the impossibility of a drinking man making a good soldier.

After some very common sense advice as to a soldier's duty in conforming to regulations and discipline so as to be "a well-oiled cog" in the big machinery the General had this to say about booze as a friend of the enemy:

You will notice in reading this letter that no reference is made to the effect upon your morals of the use of liquor or of uncommendable associations. You are largely the custodians of your own morals. The chaplains will remind you of your moral responsibilities. The plea contained in this letter is based upon other grounds—upon principles of scientific military management. Our job is to whip the enemy hard and with the least loss to ourselves. In training our military machines to do this we must eliminate back-lash, rattles and useless loads. We must have every part healthy, strong and dependable, no part defective, diseased or obsolete.

This cannot be if we are to permit "booze" in any form into our military machine. Alcohol, whether you call it beer, wine, whisky or by any other name, is a breeder of inefficiency. While it affects men differently, the results are the same, in that all affected by it cease for the time to be normal. Some become forgetful, others quarrelsome. Some become noisy, some get sick, some get sleepy, others have their passions greatly stimulated. When you stop to consider the thousands in a division, do you not see how vital to efficiency is the elimination of liquor? If one officer or man is permitted to use liquor, then others will claim the right to do so. How can a division of troops be ever ready—ever up on the bit to drive ahead or to thrust back the enemy's drive—if through the presence of this insidious evil some soldiers forget their orders, or become noisy when silence is essential, fall asleep when every faculty should be alert, or absent from their posts?

## A LIQUOR JOURNAL'S OPINION OF BOOZE AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

(From the Champion of Fair Play, Chicago Liquor Journal, March 15)  
**PROHIBITION AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH**

In the Parochial Monthly, the official journal of St. Anne's Church, Garfield boulevard and Wentworth avenue, Chicago, Ill., of which Father E. A. Kelly is the beloved pastor, appears the following article:

"This iniquitous law is here and it looks as if it were to stay for a long time. It is the worst invasion of personal liberty the world has ever seen. It is not the will of the American people. It is the will of a small minority of narrow-minded bigots who have availed themselves of a weak spot in the constitution and forced upon the majority a law which is as iniquitous as it is odious. It is an unjust law. No one is bound to obey it. No one should have the least scruple about evading it, breaking it or defying it.

"How, you will ask, could such a law be enacted? It owes its existence to a band of fanatics. They have held up legislators as truly as ever a highwayman held up his victim. They have browbeaten, bulldozed, threatened and frightened men into supporting a measure which every decent man loathes and every honest man despises.

"They hired hundreds of spies, detectives and investigators, put them on the track of every legislator who would not promise to support their iniquitous measure, and then, when they had crawled through sewers and strained the cesspools for scandal, they produced their vile evidence and bade the victim deliver his vote or accept the infamy of exposure.

"Then, they bought others with votes. For the one legislator who truly believes in Prohibition there are at least two who neither believe in it nor practice it. Let us hope that these modern Manichees who have produced this infamous legislation will now proceed to make it as odious as possible. Give them all the spies they can use; let them choose their inspectors, detectives and agents; give them the right to enter any house, at any hour, and scratch for hidden liquor; allow them at sight to destroy anything that looks like liquor. Then let us see how long the American people will stand them. Smaller things than this have brought on revolutions. Talk about America being

"The land of the Free  
And the home of the Brave!"

This brood of vipers has made it  
The land of the Freak  
And the home of the Knave!"

When we consider the forcible language of the much adored and venerated Father Kelly with that of the weazened up, squeaky-voiced Father McNamara of St. Jacob's, who has trailed his sacred altar robes in the mire and slush of the Anti-Saloon League, we wonder what could have been the inducement to lead this much misguided priest wandering from the teachings of all the fathers of the church, from Cardinal Gibbons down. Verily, verily, some men do degrade themselves and the holy office that they so unworthily hold.

The Champion of Fair Play evidently means Father Joseph McNamee, pastor of St. Joseph's Church, Chicago. All honor to Father McNamee who has aroused the liquor interests because of his anti-saloon work. The venom of the liquorites will not hit him but instead will add glory to his name.

*The American*  
*March 29, 1919*

May 16, 19

# ALCOHOL DEFENDED BY NOTED DOCTORS

No Word of Unqualified Approval for Prohibition at Academy of Medicine Meeting.

## FEAR WORSE ILLS THAN DRINK

Dr. Smith Ely Jelliffe Tells Social Benefits—Expect Increase of Neurotic Diseases.

Alcohol was generally defended, either as a substitute for worse habits and vices than drinking, or as a positive benefit to mankind as a promoter of human happiness, when used temperately, by speakers at the meeting of the New York Academy of Medicine last night.

The coming of prohibition, it was predicted, would produce an increase of hypocrisy and law-breaking on the one hand, and increases of "neuroses" and "psychoses," which seemed to mean mental and nervous diseases, on the other. The speakers were Professor C. P. Sherwin, Dr. A. A. Brill, Dr. L. Pierce Clark, Dr. Smith Ely Jelliffe on the program, and Dr. E. E. Southard, Dr. Joseph Byrne, and others who took part in a discussion afterward. The discussion was arranged by the Section on Neurology and Psychiatry.

No speaker said a word of unqualified approval for prohibition. The nearest to it came from Dr. L. Pierce Clark, who said that "the reign of King Alcohol has been a long and disastrous one," but predicted widespread evil consequences from prohibition unless society proceeded at once to prepare for prohibition by supplying amusements, recreations, and mediums for the promotion of human sympathy and friendship, which would take the place of the conviviality and good-fellowship produced by drinking.

### Social Benefits of Alcohol.

While admitting the evils of alcohol, Dr. Jelliffe said that it had been of great social benefit, and that moderate drinking was particularly useful in counteracting the tendency of the struggle for existence to harden men and to cause them, as he expressed it, "to play the part of Jehovah" by shutting themselves up in their own thoughts, developing a sense of superiority and causing them to survey their fellow-beings with disdain.

"Alcohol has a tendency," he said, "to bring men to a level where they can understand better the feelings of their fellow-men and the enlargement of sympathy and insight into the feelings of others, seems to me, one of the most important contributions of alcohol to the human race."

Dr. Jelliffe said that men wore the same style of clothes and generally tried to form themselves on a common model of thought and behavior, because for centuries the average man had been dominated by a more or less unconscious fear of becoming conspicuous and being laughed at or persecuted. The tendency of alcohol, taken temperately, he said, was to counteract the process of destroying individuality. He argued that alcohol broke the spell of fear, which constantly weighed down on the im-

pulses of man, and allowed the mind to enter a higher, free, and more original sphere.

Dr. A. A. Brill said that a very experience with alcoholics and a close study of the cause of alcohol led him to the opinion that the general tendency of drinking was not to make drunkards, but that those who became drunkards were men or women already abnormal or defective in some respects, which would probably be expressed in some or viciousness of some other character, if they had not taken to drinking.

He analyzed the cases of a number of alcoholics taken at random from his records, and said they had usually had abnormal tendencies before they had taken to drinking and that all who had been cured and become total abstainers had generally developed worse traits, which had made themselves and their relatives wish that they had never been cured.

### Some Take to Overeating.

Some of those who had stopped drinking, he said, had reverted to an earlier tendency to incredible spells of overeating. He said he was called in sometimes to prescribe for one man cured of alcoholism, who had sporadically what his family called "roast-beef jags," following the eating of six or seven pounds of roast beef at a sitting.

He said one woman of ninety pounds weight, after giving up alcohol, had surpassed all recorded feats of eating by consuming within half an hour a menu which consisted of three pieces of toast with strawberry jam, an egg, half a pound of ham, six pieces of pastry, shrimp salad, two veal chops with tomato sauce, and several other entrées.

## HOLDS SONNINO RESPONSIBLE.

ROME, May 14.—The Osservatore Romano, in an article apparently inspired by the Vatican, says that Baron Sonnino, the Italian Foreign Minister, is chiefly responsible for the gravity of the situation over the Adriatic question, because he was the author of the treaty of London, which assigned Fiume to Croatia.



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# Social Ideals of the Churches

**ACTION TAKEN BY THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA AT A SPECIAL MEETING HELD AT CLEVELAND, OHIO, MAY 6-8, 1919.**

**RESOLVED:** That we reaffirm the social platform adopted by the first Quadrennial in Chicago, 1912, and ratified by the Second Quadrennial in St. Louis, 1916.

That the churches stand for—

- I. Equal rights and justice for all men in all stations of life.
- II. Protection of the family by the single standard of purity, uniform divorce laws, proper regulation of marriage, proper housing.
- III. The fullest possible development of every child, especially by the provision of education and recreation.
- IV. Abolition of child labor.
- V. Such regulation of the conditions of toil for women as shall safeguard the physical and moral health of the community.
- VI. Abatement and prevention of poverty.
- VII. Protection of the individual and society from the social, economic and moral waste of the liquor traffic.
- VIII. Conservation of health.
- IX. Protection of the worker from dangerous machinery, occupational diseases and mortality.
- X. The right of all men to the opportunity for self-maintenance, for safeguarding this right against encroachments of every kind, for the protection of workers from the hardships of enforced unemployment.
- XI. Suitable provision for the old age of the workers, and for those incapacitated by injury.
- XII. The right of employees and employers alike to organize; and for adequate means of conciliation and arbitration in industrial disputes.
- XIII. Release from employment one day in seven.
- XIV. Gradual and reasonable reduction of hours of labor to the lowest practicable point, and for that degree of leisure for all which is a condition of the highest human life.
- XV. A living wage as a minimum in every industry, and for the highest wage that each industry can afford.
- XVI. A new emphasis upon the application of Christian principles to the acquisition and use of property, and for the most equitable division of the product of industry that can ultimately be devised.

Facing the social issues involved in reconstruction,

**RESOLVED:** That we affirm as Christian Churches,

1. That the teachings of Jesus are those of essential democracy and express themselves through brotherhood and the co-operation of all groups. We deplore class struggle and declare against all class domination, whether of capital or labor. Sympathizing with labor's desire for a better day and an equitable share in the profits and management of industry, we stand for orderly and progressive social reconstruction instead of revolution by violence.
2. That an ordered and constructive democracy in industry is as necessary as political democracy, and that collective bargaining and the sharing of shop control and management are inevitable steps in its attainment.
3. That the first charge upon industry should be that of a wage sufficient to support an American standard of living. To that end we advocate the guarantee of a minimum wage, the control of unemployment through government labor exchanges, public works, land settlement, social insurance and experimentation in profit sharing and co-operative ownership.
4. We recognize that women played no small part in the winning of the war. We believe that they should have full political and economic equality with equal pay for equal work, and a maximum eight-hour day. We declare for the abolition of night work by women, and the abolition of child labor; and for the provision of adequate safeguards to insure the moral as well as the physical health of the mothers and children of the race.

# The Public's Right to Know

Some people think that where great resources are found there is no need for aggressive publicity, holding the thought that these advantages will of their own force prove a magnet sufficiently strong to draw all of the capital needed for their development. This, however, is a false position to take.

No industry is so vast that it does not need publicity.

No Government is so strong and powerful that it could afford during the late war not to advertise. England thrilled with patriotism in the early days of the war, but England found that it could not raise its vast volunteer army except by a tremendously persistent advertising campaign.

This Government, backed by one-third of the wealth of the world, found that it could not sell its Liberty Bonds, which protected those that bought them, except for a campaign of publicity such as had never before been known in the world's history.

When people are inclined to believe that ceaseless advertising is not necessary to their particular industry, reverently it may be suggested that the supremest thing in all human life is the salvation of the individual soul, and yet for nineteen hundred years the campaign for making this fact known has been pressed by millions of ministers and hundreds of millions of laymen, and by all the papers of the country, through their editorial and news columns, as well as through their advertising pages, and still there is limitless room for expansion of this work.

Notwithstanding the fact that all intelligent men and women know they are in existence, and that they cannot possibly get out of it in this

world or the next, notwithstanding the fact that they know they must spend eternity somewhere, and that they have read and heard of the meaning of the Gospel which has been preached, there are only about 40,000,000 of the 110,000,000 people in this country who are in any way as yet directly connected with the religious life of the country.

If a matter of such supreme importance, reaching through time and eternity, still finds the necessity for unceasing publicity work, how narrow-visioned must be the people who think that publicity work is not needed for any purely human affair, however small or however great it may be!

The public has a right to have every great business question relating to the resources of a section or to the business operations of a corporation, railroad, industrial or financial, intelligently presented through advertising pages of the newspapers.

There is no other way in which the public can know what is being done by these corporations, and no other way in which it can be made fully acquainted with the resources of a section.

Every business interest holds its business and its prosperity as a trustee for the benefit of its employees and for the country, as well as for the benefit of its stockholders.

\* \* \*

No institution can live unto itself.

The day has long since passed when men can hold such a view as that. Pre-eminently do the railroads hold a vital relation as trustee for the welfare of the country tributary to them. Had the railroads of the country in the past done their duty by the people, there would never

have been such a spirit of hostility as that which helped to break down the railroads prior to their being taken over by the Government.

It was not merely the feeling held for many years by many railroad people and voiced by one, that "the public be damned," but it was the fact of indifference to public interests without the realization of responsibility as a trustee to fully develop their territory and to keep in the closest touch with the people which brought about the sad chaotic condition existing in the railroad system of the country under private management, and which has grown still worse under Government control.

If the railroad managers have learned any lesson from the experiences of the past, they will be aggressive in publicity work to educate the public to what they are doing for the welfare of the country, and as aggressive in developing the resources of every region tributary to them as any great business institution is aggressive in developing a friendly relation between itself and its customers.

Not until every manufacturing concern, even those that never advertised and those that think they have no reason for advertising, not until every financial institution and every railroad recognizes this situation and enters aggressively, enthusiastically and unceasingly upon developing not merely their own business, but the business of all the community in which they exist, their town, their county, their state, their city and their country, will we attain to that well-rounded national life, peace and prosperity, harmony between capital and labor and between the people and the industries and the corporations which we have a right to demand shall be created by this kind of work.

*Manufacturers Record, Jan. 8, 1920*



been given of a minimum wage of 40s. a week. The implication was that a minimum wage for Government employees would be fixed at 40s. a week. As unskilled labor is everywhere now receiving a minimum of 55s. to 70s. a week, the mere statement sent a shiver of apprehension through the unskilled labor world, and rallied the unions to the defense of the railwaymen.

It is not too much to say that before the strike had ended the railwaymen

had rallied nine-tenths of the industrial workers to their side; that—partly indeed through the strongest provocation—they were increasing sympathizers from the middle-classes by hundreds of thousands a day.

#### CONCLUSION

This organization has not been scrapped. It is being perfected so that should another crisis arise in the world of Labor it would be

possible to have a publicity campaign in full swing within a few hours. The recent strike has proved the usefulness of publicity to trade unionists, and it has also called forth the means of engineering this publicity.

For the Labor Research Department,

R. PAGE ARNOT

Secretary

## Who Owns a Business?

Here is a man, for example, who owns and operates a large farm. He bought it with his own hard-earned money, on it he works ten to fourteen hours a day.

Giving his whole time and strength to the work, he finds it necessary to employ three farm laborers to assist him in getting the maximum production. He agrees with them for wages and pays what they are willing to work for.

But according to modern thinking, this system is all wrong.

These three men ought to control the farm, decide how much in money and produce should go to the theoretical owner and keep all the rest themselves. These men are giving their lives for the work. "If you deny them control of what they give their lives for, you deny them justice." The owner is also giving his life for the farm, but of course that is different, he is a capitalist, an exploiter of labor.

Does labor in and by itself give the right to control the profits? If men work on a railroad, does the fact of that labor itself give the workers the right to control the profits? Surely not, unless the labor itself furnishes a title to ownership. Is this true?

\* \* \*

If you own a valuable gold watch and take it to a skilled watchmaker to be repaired, whose watch is it after he has repaired it? Does it still belong to you, or does it now belong to the man who worked on it, by virtue of his labor?

To whom does the control of the watch belong? Does the man who worked upon it, by that labor gain

the right to decide whether he will hand it back when you have paid his bill, or sell it and divide the proceeds with you?

The laborer surely has a right to a fair, even a generous, return for his labor. He has a right to reasonable hours and good working conditions. But certainly his labor gives him no right to control the industry since it gives no title to ownership.

\* \* \*

We are losing sight today of elementary economics.

We live under democracy, and it may be possible to nationalize the railroads by legislation. We might then nationalize the mines and all other industries, finally nationalizing our farms and giving all the profits to the hired farm laborers.

But let us be honest.

Let us not call it "industrial democracy," for "industrial democracy" is concerned with the welfare of all classes.

It is not even true Socialism. It is really turning over the control and profits of industry to a single class in industry for the sake of that one class alone. We would call it American Bolshevism were it not that those whose doctrine it is have their feelings hurt when called Bolsheviks.

*Boston Transcript, Nov. 6, 1919*

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## Knowledge and Imagination

If we assume a system of wages to be established . . . which, regard being had to the total product of a nation, represents for the wage-earners generally the amplest ma-

terial conditions which are for them possible, these material conditions must, if they are to produce content, be accompanied by two others which are non-material or subjective. One of these is a certain knowledge on the part of the wage-earners generally with regard to the facts and forces which the industrial system embodies, and on which the extent and limits of its productive power depend. The other is a moral adjustment by the wage-earners of their several desires or expectations to the best lot that is possible in each particular case.

How are these two conditions, essentially subjective, to be secured? They are to be secured by two processes of education. One process will be that of imparting knowledge; very largely statistical.

The other may be described as a training of the imagination.

"*The Limits of Pure Democracy*,"  
By W. H. MALLOCK

◆ ◆ ◆

## An Hour's Work in an Hour

The trouble today is not the rate of wages, or the number of hours, or any of the things over which we commonly dispute, for employers know perfectly well that the *fundamental problem is how to get an hour's work into an hour*. It would be wrong to suggest that the majority of our workers are not working hard, but it is undoubtedly a fact that a very important minority are slacking.

Manufacturers must agree that if by some magic-move it were possible to secure not only the good will, but also the enthusiasm, of the workers of this country, output would be multiplied four or five times at once.

*London Telegraph, Oct. 14, 1919*

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*For Labor Unions:  
A Receipt  
For Immortality*

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# *For Labor Unions: A Receipt For Immortality*

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*An editorial reprinted from America at Work, January 19, 1921*

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## I

**I**F the labor union wishes to get a firm grip on the principle of immortality in organization life, it must stop thinking so much about organization and think very much more about the essentials of the cause of the working man.

At the outset, it ought to turn its back now and forever on the narrow view which makes everything turn on the possession or non-possession of a union card.

It ought to declare that its interest is in but three things:

**Good working conditions, good wages;**

**And the highest possible standard of craftsmanship;**

and place its approval on these things wherever found.

It should take the ground that it has no quarrel and no cause of difference with any industrial organization, organized or unorganized, union or non-union, where wages, conditions and output meet certain tests.

**It ought to make its campaigns wholly on the basis of the service it is capable of rendering.**

## II

**T**HIS would necessarily imply the working out of definite standards, which, taken together, would constitute the labor union standard of industrial health, fairness and well-being.

The labor unions at present have no definite standards.

We do not mean to say that they have no definite requirements; they have. But a requirement and a standard are two very different things.

A requirement is a thing demanded; a standard is an unchanging unit to measure other things by.

The difficulty, for example, in attempting to satisfy an unreasonable child is that the child is so definite as to requirements, and so indefinite as to standards.

A real labor union standard would have to be founded on a real philosophy—a complete and well-thought-out working theory of the relation of the workman to industry.

No mere disposition to increase wages from time to time as much as may be possible can possibly fill the place of such a theory.

If organized labor is to take a permanent and recognized place among the institutions of the time, it cannot do this by any mere display of power; whatever

the late War did or did not prove, it proved that—

**The mere display of power is the  
last thing in the world that insures  
the immortality**

of party, caste, or government.

Modern men do not back down before  
power as such at all; they only yield  
respect to the foundations of power;  
and power in a democracy can have no  
permanent foundation except in service.

### III

**A**MERICA AT WORK does not for a moment deny that labor unions are being opposed today by prejudiced men, by narrow men, by men of feudal instincts, and of chilled steel selfishness. But this is not the opposition that counts. It is not the opposition that need be reckoned with.

Labor unions are also being opposed today, not in blind prejudice and hot blood, but in response to the verdict of the sober second thought, by a large group of enlightened Americans who recognize the fact that



**All "closed shop" organizations are despotisms.**

It makes no difference what kind of organization is in question.

It may be a church to whose leaders there is no grace of God and no power of God save where a particular ecclesiastical name is blown in the bottle.

**It may be a university which recognizes no culture without an academic degree.**

It may be a school of medicine which fails to understand that the law of health is the law of prevention and not of cure.

It may be a political party or administration to which all wisdom is concentrated in one party and no patriotic service is worth anything unless tagged with a particular party label.

Or—to illustrate from the field we are discussing—it may be simply a labor union, which cares not a copper how good a workman a man is, what wages he gets, what shop conditions he works under, or what his citizenship and his labor are worth to his fellowmen and asks only whether he has a union card. All such organizations are doomed.

**To put the emphasis on organization, and not the end of organization, is to cherish the container and forget the contents.**

Either the labor union of the present day has a definite theory as to the desires and demands of workingmen at the hands of society or it has not.

If it has not, it is the blind leading the blind, and the greater its power the more certain it is to end in the ditch beside the road.

## IV

**B**UT above all things else the labor union must regard the union first and last as only a means to an end.

It must be willing at any time to modify its form, change its machinery, abolish old plans and substitute new ones, if circumstances indicate that the happiness and prosperity of workers through more efficient service by high-class craftsmanship point that way.

In suggesting this, we are not setting any impossible standard. We are not supposing for a minute that editing union labor charters and constitutions could

edit selfishness and shortsightedness out of human nature.

We are only asking that union labor go as far as modern churches and schools, modern physicians and insurance companies have gone in putting the emphasis on the end and not the means, on the aims of the organization and not on membership in the organization itself.

**The closed shop idea runs square  
against all the essentials of modern  
democracy—**

for the way of democracy is to test everything by service, to go back of the label and try the contents.

When the American Federation of Labor becomes enlightened enough to declare that it is interested to push itself

only in those parts of the labor field that need its help in order to attain the ends of good wages, good conditions and high craftsmanship—when it proclaims this creed in public and lives by it in private, then and not till then will its power be of the kind that endures.

**“He that saveth his life shall  
lose it”—**

is as true of organizations as it is of men.

If a man or an organization wants to make itself desired and cherished for all time, the way to do it is to forget itself in the widest possible service of its cause.

# 's Declaration Against Alliances is A Text of President Harding's Inaugural Address

WASHINGTON, March 3.—Following is the text of President Harding's inaugural address:

My Countrymen—When one surveys the world about him after the great storm, noting the marks of destruction and yet rejoicing in the ruggedness of the things which withstood it, if he is an American he breathes the clarified atmosphere with a strange mingling of regret and new hope. We have seen world passion spend its fury, but we contemplate our Republic unshaken and hold our civilization secure. Liberty—liberty within the law—and civilization are inseparable, and though both were threatened, we find them now secure, and there comes to Americans the profound assurance that our representative government is the highest expression and surest guaranty of both.

Standing in this presence, mindful of the solemnity of this occasion, feeling the emotions which no one may know until he senses the great weight of responsibility for himself, I must utter my belief in the Divine Inspiration of the founding fathers. Surely there must have been God's intent in the making of this New World Republic. Ours is an organic law which had but one ambiguity, and we saw that effaced in a baptism of sacrifice and blood, with union maintained, the nation supreme and its concord inspiring. We have seen the world rivet its hopeful gaze on the great truths on which the founders wrought. We have seen civil, human and religious liberty verified and glorified.

In the beginning the Old World scoffed at our experiment; today our foundations of political and social belief stand unshaken, a precious inheritance to ourselves, an inspiring example of freedom and civilization to all mankind. Let us express renewed and strengthened devotion in grateful reverence for the immortal beginning, and utter confidence in the supreme fulfillment.

The recorded progress of our Republic, materially and spiritually, in itself proves the wisdom of the inherited policy of non-involvement in Old World affairs. Confident of our ability to work out our own destiny and jealously guarding our right to do so, we seek no part in directing the destinies of the Old World. We do not mean to be entangled. We will accept no responsibility except as our own conscience and judgment in each instance may determine.

Our eyes never will be blind to a developing menace, our ears never deaf to the call of civilization. We recognize the new order in the world with the closer contacts which progress has wrought. We sense the call of the human heart for fellowship, fraternity and co-operation. We crave friendship and harbor no hate. But America, our America, the America builded on the foundation laid by the inspired fathers, can be a party to no permanent military alliance. It can enter into no political commitments, nor assume any economic obligations or subject our decisions to any other than our own authority.

I am sure our own people will not misunderstand nor will the world misconstrue. We have no thought to impede the paths to closer friendship. We wish to promote understanding. We want to do our part in making offensive warfare so hateful that Governments and peoples who resort to it must prove the righteousness of their cause or stand as outlaws before the bar of civilization.

We are ready to associate ourselves with the nations of the world, great and small, for conference, to seek the extension of world opinion, to pressed views of world opinion, to recommend a way to approximate disarmament and relieve the crushing burdens of military and naval establishments. We elect to participate in suggesting plans for mediation, conciliation and arbitration, and would gladly join in that expressed conscience of progress which seeks to clarify and write the laws of international relationship, and establish a world court for the disposition of such justiciable questions as nations are agreed to submit thereto.

In expressing aspirations, in seeking practical plans, in translating humanity's new concept of righteousness, justice and its hatred of war into recommended action we are ready most heartily to unite, but every commitment must be made in the exercise of our national sovereignty.

Since freedom impelled and independence inspired and nationally exalted, a world super-government is contrary to everything we cherish and can have no sanction by our Republic. This is not selfishness, it is sanctity. It is not aloofness, it is security. It is not suspicion of others, it is patriotic adherence to the things which made us what we are.

Today, better than ever before, we know the aspirations of humankind and share them. We have come to a new realization of our place in the world and a new appraisal of our nation by the world. The unselfishness of these United States is a thing proven, our devotion to peace for ourselves and for the world is well established, our concern for preserved civilization has had its impassioned and heroic expression. There was no American failure to resist the attempt-

ed reversion of civilization, there will be no failure today or tomorrow.

The success of our popular government rests wholly upon the correct interpretation of the deliberate, intelligent, dependable popular will of America. In deliberate questioning of a suggested change of national policy where internationality was to supersede nationally we turned to a referendum to the American people. There was ample discussion and there is a public mandate in manifest understanding.

America is ready to encourage, eager to initiate, anxious to participate in any seemly program likely to lessen the probability of war and promote that brotherhood of mankind which must be God's highest conception of human relationship.

Because we cherish ideals of justice and peace, because we appraise international comity and helpful relationship no less highly than any people of the world, we aspire to a high place in the moral leadership of civilization and we hold a maintained America, the proven Republic, the unshaken temple of representative democracy, to be not only an inspiration and example, but the highest agency of strengthening good-will and promoting accord on both continents.

Mankind needs a world-wide benediction of understanding. It is needed among individuals, among peoples, among Governments, and it will inaugurate an era of good feeling to mark the birth of a new order. In such understanding men will strive confidently for the promotion of their better relationships and nations will promote the comities so essential to peace.

We must understand Trade Ties that ties of trade bind nations in closest intimacy and none may receive except as he gives.

We have not strengthened ours in accordance with our resources or our genius, notably on our own continent, where a galaxy of republics reflect the glory of New World democracy, but in the new order of finance and trade we mean to promote enlarged activities and seek expanded confidence.

Perhaps we can make no more helpful contribution by example than prove a republic's capacity to emerge from the wreckage of war. While the world's embittered travail did not leave us devastated lands nor desolated cities, left no gaping wounds, no breath with hate, it did involve us in the delirium of expenditure, in expanded currency and credits, in unbalanced industry, in unspeakable waste and disturbed relationships. While it uncovered our portion of hateful selfishness at home, it also revealed the heart of America as sound and fearless, and beating in confidence unflinching.

Amid it all we have riveted the gaze of all civilization to the unselfishness and the righteousness of representative democracy, where our freedom never has made offensive warfare, never has sought territorial aggrandizement through force, never has turned to the arbitrament of arms until reason had been exhausted.

When the Governments of earth shall have established a freedom like our own and shall have sanctioned the pursuit of peace as we have practiced it, I believe the last sorrow and the final sacrifice of international warfare will have been written.

Our supreme task is the resumption of our onward normal way. Reconstruction, readjustment, restoration—all these must follow. I would like to have them. If it will lighten the spirit and add to the resolution with which we take up the task, let me repeat for our nation, we shall give no people just cause to make war upon us. We hold no national prejudices, we entertain no spirit of revenge, we do not hate, we do not covet, we dream of no conquest, nor boast of armed prowess.

If, despite this attitude, war is again forced upon us, I earnestly hope a way may be found which will unify our individual and collective strength and consecrate all America, materially and spiritually, body and soul, to national defense. I can envision the ideal republic, whose every man and woman is called under the flag for assignment to duty, for whatever service, military or civic, the individual is best fitted, where we may call to universal service every plant, agency or facility, all in the sublime sacrifice for country, and not one penny of war profit shall inure to the benefit of private individual, corporation or combination, but all above the normal shall flow into the defense chest of the nation.

There is something inherently wrong, something out of accord with the ideals of representative democracy when one portion of our citizenship turns its activity to private gain amid defensive war while another is fighting, sacrificing or dying for national preservation.

Out of such universal service will come a new unity of spirit and purpose, a new confidence and consecration, which would make our defense impregnable, our triumph assured. Then we should have little or no disorganization of our economic, industrial and commercial systems at home, no staggering war debts, no swollen fortunes to flout the sacrifices of our soldiers, no

excuse for sedition, no pitiable slackness, no outrages of treason. Envy and jealousy would have no soil for their menacing development and revolution would be without the passion which engenders it.

A regret for the mistakes of yesterday must not, however, blind us to the tasks of today. War never left such an aftermath. There has been staggering loss of life and measureless wastage of materials. Nations are still groping for return to stable ways. Discouraging indebtedness confronts us like all the war-torn nations, and those obligations must be provided for. No civilization can survive repudiation.

We can reduce the abnormal expenditures and we will. We can strike at war taxation and we must. We must face the grim necessity, with full knowledge that the task is to be solved, and we must proceed with a full realization that no statute enacted by man can repeal the inexorable laws of nature. Our most dangerous tendency is to expect too much of government and at the same time do for it too little.

We contemplate the immediate task of putting our public household in order. We need a rigid and yet sane economy combined with fiscal justice, and it must be attended by individual prudence and thrift, which are so essential to this trying hour and reassuring for the future.

The business world reflects the disturbance of war's reaction. Here in flows the lifeblood of material existence.

The economic mechanism is intricate and its parts interdependent, and has suffered the shocks and jars incident to abnormal demands, credit inflations and price upheavals. The normal balances have been impaired, the channels of distribution have been clogged, the relations of labor and management have been strained.

We must seek the readjustment with care and courage. Our people must give and take. Prices must reflect the receding fever of war activities. Perhaps we never shall know the old levels of wage again, because war invariably readjusts compensations and the necessities of life will show their inseparable relationship, but we must strive for normalcy to reach stability.

All the penalties will not be light nor evenly distributed. There is no way of making them so. There is no instant step from disorder to order. We must face a condition of grim reality, charge off our losses and start afresh. It is the oldest lesson of civilization. I would like Government to do all it can to mitigate them. In understanding, in mutuality of interest, in concern for the common good our tasks will be solved.

No altered system will work a miracle. Any wild experiment will only add to the confusion. Our best assurance lies in efficient administration of our proved system.

From Destruction to Production.

The forward course of the business cycle is unmistakable. Peoples are turning from destruction to production. Industry has sensed the changed order, and our own people are turning to resume their normal onward way. The call is for productive America to go on. I know that Congress and the Administration will favor every wise Government policy to aid the resumption and encourage continued progress.

I speak for administrative efficiency, for lightened tax burdens, for sound commercial practices, for adequate credit facilities, for sympathetic concern for all agricultural problems, for the omission of unnecessary interference of Government with business, for an end to Government's experiment in business, and for more efficient business in Government administration. With all of this must attend a mindfulness of the human side of all activities, so that social, industrial and economic justice will be squared with the purposes of a righteous people.

With the nation-wide induction of womanhood into our political life we may count upon her intuitions, her refinement, her intelligence and her influence to exalt the social order. We count upon her exercise of the full privileges and the performance of the duties of citizenship to speed the attainment of the highest state.

Prayer for Industrial Peace.

I wish for an America no less alert in industrial guarding against dangers from within than it is watchful against enemies from without. Our fundamental law recognizes no class, no group, no section. There must be none in legislation or administration. The supreme inspiration is the common weal. Humanity hungers for international peace, and we crave it with all mankind. My most reverent prayer for America is for industrial peace, with its rewards, widely and generally distributed amid the inspirations of equal opportunity.

No one may justly deny the equality of opportunity which made us what we are. We have mistaken unpreparedness to embrace it to be a challenge of the reality, and due concern for making all citizens fit for participation will give added strength of citizenship and magnify our achievement.

If revolution insists upon overturning established order, let other peoples make the tragic experiment. There is no place for it in America. When world war threatened civilization we pledged our resources and our lives to

its preservation, and when revolution threatens we unfurl the flag of law and order and renew our consecration.

Ours is a constitutional freedom, where the popular will is the law supreme and minorities are sacredly protected. Our revisions, reformations and evolutions reflect a deliberate judgment and an orderly progress, and we mean to cure our ills, but never destroy or permit destruction by force.

I had rather submit our industrial controversies to the conference table in advance than to a settlement table after conflict and suffering. The earth is thirsting for the cup of good-will. Understanding is its fountain source. I would like to acclaim an era of good feeling amid dependable prosperity and all the blessings which attend.

Protection of Industries.

It has been proved again and again that we cannot, while throwing our markets open to the world, maintain American standards of living and opportunity and hold our industrial eminence in such unequal competition. There is a lurking fallacy in the theory of banished barriers of trade, but preserved American standards require our higher production costs to be reflected in our tariffs on imports.

Today, as never before, when peoples are seeking trade, restoration and expansion, we must adjust our tariffs to the new order. We seek participation in the world's exchange, because therein lies our way to widened influence and the triumphs of peace. We know full well we cannot sell where we do not buy and we cannot sell successfully where we do not carry.

Opportunity is calling not alone for the restoration, but for a new era in production, transportation and trade. We shall answer it best by meeting the demand of a surpassing home market, by promoting self-reliance in production and by bidding enterprise, genius and efficiency to carry our cargoes in American bottoms to the marts of the world.

An America of Homes.

We would not have an America living within and for herself alone, but we would have her self-reliant, independent and ever nobler, stronger and richer. Believing in our higher standards, rebred through constitutional liberty and maintained opportunity, we invite the world to the same heights. But pride in things wrought is no reflex of a completed task. Common welfare is the goal of our national endeavor. Wealth is not inimical to welfare, it ought to be its friendliest agency.

There never can be equality of rewards or possession so long as the human plan contains varied talents and differing degrees of industry and thrift, but ours ought to be a country free from great blotches of distressed poverty. We ought to find a way to guard against the perils and penalties of unemployment.

We want an America of homes, illumined with hope and happiness, where mothers, freed from the necessity for long hours of toil beyond their own doors, may preside as befits the hearthstone of American citizenship.

We want the cradle of American childhood rocked under conditions so wholesome and so hopeful that no blight may touch it in its development, and we want to provide that no selfish interest, no material necessity, no lack of opportunity shall prevent the gaining of that education so essential to best citizenship.

There is no short cut to the making of these ideals into glad realities. The world has witnessed again and again the futility and the mischief of ill-considered remedies for social and economic disorders. But we are mindful today as never before of the friction of modern industrialism, and we must learn its causes and reduce its evil consequences by sober and tested methods. Where genius has made for great possibilities, justice and happiness must be reflected in a greater common welfare.

Service the Supreme Commitment.

Service is the supreme commitment of life. I would rejoice to acclaim the era of the golden rule, and crown it with the autonomy of service. I pledge an Administration wherein all the agencies of government are called to serve and ever promote an understanding of government purely as an expression of the popular will.

One cannot stand in this presence and be unmindful of the tremendous responsibility. The world upheaval has added heavily to our tasks. But with the realization comes the surge of high resolve, and there is assurance in belief in the God-given destiny of our Republic. If I felt that there is to be sole responsibility in the Executive for the America of tomorrow I should shrink from the burden. But here are a hundred millions, with common concern and shared responsibility, answerable to God and country. The Republic summons them to their duty and I invite co-operation.

I accept my part with single-mindedness of purpose and humility of spirit, and implore the favor and guidance of God in His heaven. With these I am unafraid and confidently face the future.

I have taken the solemn oath of office on that passage of Holy Writ wherein it is asked, "What doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly and to love mercy and walk humbly with thy God." This I plight to God and country.

*Christianity and Industry: One*

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# INDUSTRIAL FACTS

CONCRETE DATA  
CONCERNING INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS  
AND PROPOSED SOLUTIONS

BY  
KIRBY PAGE

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## AUTHOR'S NOTE

In a brief pamphlet it is manifestly impossible to discuss in an exhaustive manner all of our industrial problems and the proposed solutions. The purpose of this pamphlet is simply to direct attention to certain major facts and to point out present tendencies. Great care has been used in assembling the facts quoted herein. Before this manuscript was sent to the press, it was read carefully by five or six competent authorities of national note. If, however, there are any misstatements of fact herein, the present writer would greatly appreciate having his attention called to the same. Communications may be addressed to him in care of the publishers.

*June 1st, 1921.*

# INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS

## WORLD-WIDE UNREST

The peoples of the earth are in commotion. From every quarter we hear of industrial strife, war, revolution and widespread unrest. Nation is arrayed against nation, class against class. What the future holds no one can tell. Mr. Frank H. Simonds, the eminent newspaper correspondent, says: "It seems to me about an even thing whether Europe can be saved or will sink into anarchy and chaos." Mr. H. N. Brailsford, the famous journalist, says: "The fact that confronts us is world shortage, the dwindling of populations, the decay of industries, the twilight of civilizations."

The full tide of unrest has not as yet reached America. It may be a decade removed. But it is on its way. Let there be no mistake about that. Rumbblings are audible even now. Irritability and bitterness in industrial relations are increasing. Mr. Roger W. Babson reminds us that "we are in a most critical period. Unless both employers and wage earners quickly come to their senses, we shall witness the greatest industrial and financial panic which this country has ever experienced." Something is the matter with our present social order. This is an indisputable fact.

Of the many efforts now being made to diagnose the ills of society, few are more significant and stimulating than the analysis of Mr. R. H. Tawney, Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford, in his little book, "The Acquisitive Society." The main trouble, in the opinion of Mr. Tawney, is that at present we have a society in which *rights and privileges* are supreme, and in which *functions and obligations* are only secondary. In such a society the chief concern of individuals is the acquisition of wealth and power. The individual becomes "the center of his own universe."

Mr. Tawney points out that there are two noteworthy consequences of such a conception. The first is the creation of a class, the strong and successful in the general scramble for wealth, who in time are able to levy a toll upon industry and live from the toil of the weak and unsuccessful. "The second consequence is the degradation of those who labor." Those who are compelled to

labor are deemed inferior to those who are able to live luxuriously without labor. "Wealth becomes the foundation of public esteem."

As a substitute for such a social order, Mr. Tawney would have a society in which *functions* are supreme, in which there would be no right without a corresponding function, no privilege without a corresponding obligation. In such a society wealth and remuneration would be based upon service for the common good, "not upon chance or privilege or the power to use opportunities to drive a hard bargain." The chief honors and choicest rewards would go to those who do the most for the common welfare, and not, as is often the case in our present society, to those who labor not at all and who contribute only meagerly and indirectly to the common good. "If society is to be healthy," says Mr. Tawney, "men must regard themselves not as the owners of rights, but as trustees for the discharge of functions and the instruments of social purpose."<sup>1</sup>

### CONCENTRATION OF WEALTH AND CONTROL

The conclusion of Mr. Tawney that in an acquisitive society there is a tendency to create a class which lives without labor and to degrade those who do labor is verified by an examination of the actual facts in the United States.

Here we have an increasing congestion of wealth and power. We are told by Professor W. I. King that "two per cent of the population owns sixty per cent of the wealth," and that at the other end of the scale, "the poorest two-thirds of the people own but a petty five or six per cent of the wealth."<sup>2</sup>

The Congressional investigation of the "Money Trust" in 1912 brought out the fact that "one hundred and eighty men have a controlling influence over capital far in excess of one-fourth of the wealth of America."<sup>3</sup> Professor Sims tells us that "some 1,600 directorships in 100 of the leading railway and other industrial and money corporations are in the hands of 76 men. One man is on the board of 45 railroad companies."<sup>4</sup>

Mr. Louis D. Brandeis, now Justice of the Supreme Court, reminds us that the Pujo Committee found that the members of J. P. Morgan & Co. and the directors of their controlled trust companies, and of the First National and the National City Bank together hold, in all, 341 directorships in 112 corporations—banks,

<sup>1</sup> R. H. Tawney, "The Acquisitive Society," p. 51. This little book deserves careful reading by every student of social problems.

<sup>2</sup> W. I. King, "Wealth and Income," pp. 80, 82.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted in U. L. Sims, "Ultimate Democracy," p. 52 (1917).

<sup>4</sup> Sims, *Ibid.*, p. 51.

trust companies, insurance companies, transportation systems, producing and trading corporations, and public utilities—having aggregate resources or capitalization of \$22,245,000,000.<sup>1</sup> We are then reminded that this sum of twenty-two billion dollars “is more than twice the assessed value of all the property in the thirteen Southern States. It is more than the assessed value of all the property in the twenty-two states, north and south, lying west of the Mississippi River.”

The report of the Interstate Commerce Commission, of March 25, 1919, shows that there are, in round numbers, some 600,000 stockholders in the first-class railroads, which roads represent 97 per cent of the traffic of the country. This report shows that the majority of the stock in each one of those roads is held by less than 20 of the big stockholders in each road. The report also shows that less than 1.3 per cent of the stockholders of first class roads control the stock. Commenting upon this report, Senator LaFollette points out that “the real power which to-day controls the railroads of the United States is the group of a dozen New York financial institutions. This group of 12 New York banks holds 267 railroad directorships on 92 class 1 railroads. With their subsidiary branch lines, these railroads constitute to all intents and purposes the transportation system of the United States.”<sup>2</sup>

Concerning the concentration in land ownership, Professor Sims says: “The 1910 census revealed the fact that about one-fourth of the agricultural land in the United States was in the possession of about six ten-thousandths (only a fraction of 1 per cent) of the population. There were many estates of millions of acres. Fifty-four owners had, it is said, nearly 27,000,000 acres.”<sup>3</sup>

We are told by Mr. Louis F. Post, formerly Assistant Secretary of Labor, that “in Florida three holders had 4,200,000 acres of land, and the largest timber holders of Florida appear to hold over 16,990,000 acres, about one-eighth of the land area of the state.”<sup>4</sup> President Van Hise says that a few years ago 658 holders monopolized more than 61 per cent of all the standing timber in the United States.”<sup>5</sup>

The story could easily be continued through several chapters. Concentration and tendency toward monopoly are the order of the day. Money, credit, land, timber, minerals, railways, public

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Lionel D. Edie, “Current Social and Industrial Forces,” p. 125 (1920).

<sup>2</sup> In the U. S. Senate, February 21, 1921, recorded in the Congressional Record, March 14, 1921, pp. 4779-4781.

<sup>3</sup> N. L. Sims, “Ultimate Democracy,” p. 49 (1917).

<sup>4</sup> *The Public*, June 7, 1919.

<sup>5</sup> C. R. Van Hise, “Concentration and Control,” p. 156 (1912).

utilities, the packing industry, food products, and other vital industries have been increasingly concentrated in the hands of the few.

### EXTENT OF POVERTY

By way of contrast with the enormous wealth of the favored few, let us note the extent of poverty among the masses. Mr. John Simpson Penman, in his book on poverty, tells us that "it would be a conservative estimate to say that there are two million families living below the fair standard. That would mean that about ten million persons are living in poverty, or at the margin of the minimum standard of existence."<sup>1</sup>

Professor Maurice Parmelee says: "We have plenty of evidence that the number of those who do not even reach the lower minimum standard of living is very great, probably exceeding ten per cent of the population."<sup>2</sup> Dr. Edward T. Devine reminds us that "the difference between the misery of the Inferno and the misery of New York is not so much one of degree. Men and women and children here suffer, if not so much as in hell, at least to the full limit of their human capacity. It is not in its diversity. There are more kinds of misery in New York than Milton ever dreamed of in his blindness."

### LOW WAGES

Not only is it true that millions of our people are living in actual poverty, a large proportion of our total population receive an income insufficient to enable them to maintain a decent or comfortable standard of living. The figures are easily obtained from the income tax returns. The latest statistics published are those for 1918. The total number of personal income tax returns for 1918 was 4,425,114.<sup>3</sup> Of these only 2,908,176 received an annual income of \$2,000, and only 1,411,298 received an annual income of \$3,000. If we multiply these figures by five, the size of the average American family—father, mother and three children under fourteen—we discover that less than 15 per cent of the families received a net income of \$2,000 and less than 7 per cent received a net income of \$3,000. These figures will appear all the more significant when it is recalled that the average increase in cost of living in 1918 over 1914 was approximately 75 per cent.

<sup>1</sup> John Simpson Penman, M.A., "Poverty the Challenge to the Church," pp. 26, 27 (1915).

<sup>2</sup> Maurice Parmelee, Ph.D., "Poverty and Social Progress," pp. 105, 106 (1916).

<sup>3</sup> Treasury Department, U. S. Internal Revenue Statistics of Income Compiled from the Returns for 1918, published in 1921.

The Final Report of the Commission on Industrial Relations states that "it is certain that at least one-third and possibly one-half of the families of wage earners employed in manufacturing and mining earn in the course of the year less than enough to support them in anything like a comfortable and decent condition."<sup>1</sup>

There is a widespread belief that war-time raises in wages have rendered obsolete such reports as this one. Let us get at the facts in the case. Let us first consider the rapid increase in the cost of living. Careful estimates along this line have been made by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, the National Industrial Conference Board, the Massachusetts Commission on the Necessaries of Life, and other agencies. There is general agreement that the increase in cost of living in 1920 over 1914 was at least 96 or 97 per cent.

In 1917 an official board of arbitration in the Seattle and Tacoma Street Railways dispute set \$1,505.60 as a minimum family budget—father, mother and three children under fourteen. In 1918 Professor W. F. Ogburn prepared a minimum family budget for the War Labor Board. He set the minimum figure at \$1,760.50. In December, 1919, Professor Ogburn prepared a budget for the bituminous coal mine workers. This minimum budget was set at \$2,143.94. In August, 1919, the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics made a careful estimate of the amount needed to maintain a family of five in health and decency in the city of Washington. At the market prices then prevailing this minimum budget was set at \$2,262.47. Prices continued to rise throughout the early months of 1920.

Now let us get at the facts as to the wages of workmen during this period of excessively high cost of living. Large numbers of people are convinced that railroad employees are now receiving exorbitant wages. The United States Railroad Labor Board has published the figures for 1,828,772 railroad employees.<sup>2</sup> The passenger engineers are the highest paid group. The United States Railroad Labor Board award of July, 1920, raised the wages of these engineers to an average monthly rate of \$288.82, or \$3,465.84 annually. The number of engineers receiving this rate was 12,350, or less than 1 per cent of the total number of employees. The number of railroad employees receiving as much as \$200 a month, or \$2,400 annually, was 171,025, or slightly more than 9 per cent of the total number. Among the clerical and

<sup>1</sup> Senate Document No. 415, 64th Congress, August 23, 1915, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> United States Railroad Labor Board, Wage Series, Report No. 1, August, 1920. These average rates do not take into account periods of unemployment or overtime work.



station forces, maintenance of way and unskilled labor forces, a total of 940,025 employees, or just half of the total number, received less than \$122 a month, or \$1,464 annually. Of these, 275,352 section men, or 15 per cent of the total number of employees, received less than \$95 per month, or \$1,140 a year. A vigorous effort is now being made by the railroad managers to reduce the wages of their employees, in spite of the fact that from a quarter to a half million of them now receive an income insufficient to enable them to maintain a decent standard of living.

Another instance of high wages paid to skilled workmen is found in the steel industry, where a few skilled men earn from \$13.52 to \$32.56 a day, one man receiving this highest wage. The list of these highly skilled and highly paid men constitutes a fraction of 1 per cent of all employees. According to the Interchurch Report of the Steel Strike of 1919, "The annual earnings of over one-third of all productive iron and steel workers were, and had been for years, below the level set by government experts as the minimum *subsistence* standard for families of five. The annual earnings of 72 per cent of all workers were, and had been for years, below the level set by government experts as the *minimum of comfort* level for families of five. This second standard being the lowest which scientists are willing to term an 'American standard of living,' it follows that nearly three-quarters of the steel workers could not earn enough for an American standard of living."<sup>1</sup>

Women's wages are even less adequate. In the survey made by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics in 1919, of the 85,812 women employed in the 28 industries included in the survey, the average weekly wage was \$13.54. Approximately 21 per cent received less than \$11.00 per week, and approximately 15 per cent received less than \$10.00 per week.<sup>2</sup> A survey made by the Council of National Defence and Minnesota Bureau of Women and Children revealed that "17,459 women workers out of a total of 51,361, or 34.05 per cent, received less than a minimum subsistence wage."<sup>3</sup> From the Tenth Biennial Report of the Department of Commissioner of Labor and Industrial Statistics of Louisiana, 1919-1920, we learn that of the 10,877 women employed in the department stores, offices and hotels investigated, 7,310, or 67 per cent, received less than \$7 per week.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Report on the Steel Strike of 1919," p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> U. S. Dept. of Labor—Bureau of Labor Statistics—Bulletin 265.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted in District of Columbia Minimum Wage Cases brief filed by Felix Frankfurter, p. 338.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted in District of Columbia Minimum Wage Cases, brief filed by Felix Frankfurter. p. 348 (1920).

## UNEMPLOYMENT

The facts in the case clearly indicate that vast numbers of men and women employed in industry receive less than a living wage. The situation is more serious than is revealed by this statement. Even in normal times hundreds of thousands of men and women are unable to find employment. This fact is emphasized in a report made in 1917 by Mr. Hornell H. Hart for the Helen S. Trounstine Foundation: "The number of unemployed in cities of the United States (entirely omitting agricultural labor, for which no reliable data are now available) has fluctuated between 1,000,000 and 6,000,000. The least unemployment occurred in 1906-1907 and in 1916-1917, while the most occurred in 1908 and in 1914 and 1915. The average number of unemployed has been two and a half million workers, or nearly ten per cent of the active supply."<sup>1</sup> The final report of the Commission on Industrial Relations informs us that "wage earners in the principal manufacturing and mining industries in the United States lose on the average from one-fifth to one-fourth of the working time during the normal year."<sup>2</sup> Government estimates of the extent of unemployment in the United States at the beginning of 1921 varied from 3,500,000 to 4,000,000.<sup>3</sup>

## LONG HOURS

While hundreds of thousands of men are seeking in vain for employment, other thousands of men are working twelve hours per day. Concerning the twelve-hour day in the steel industry, the Interchurch Report on the Steel Strike of 1919 says: "Approximately half of the employees in iron and steel manufacturing plants are subject to the schedule known as the twelve-hour day (that is a working day from 11 to 14 hours long). Less than one-quarter of the industry's employees can work under 60 hours a week."<sup>4</sup> The United States Steel Corporation has recently announced its intention of abolishing the seven-day week and of reducing the hours of the working day. It is only a question of time until it will be compelled by public opinion to abolish the twelve-hour day.

In a report made for the Charles M. Cabot Fund, published

<sup>1</sup> Hornell H. Hart, "Fluctuations in Employment in Cities of the U. S., 1902-1917."

<sup>2</sup> Final Report of the Commission on Industrial Relations, Senate Document No. 415, 64th Congress, p. 103.

<sup>3</sup> *New York World*, January 27, 1921.

<sup>4</sup> Report on the Steel Strike of 1919, pp. 44, 45.

in the *Survey* for March 5, 1921, Mr. John A. Fitch states that over 65 per cent of the workmen employed by the Carnegie Steel Company work the twelve-hour day. Mr. Herbert Hoover recently remarked that the twelve-hour day "transgresses to a point of inhumanity."

### SUMMARY

Thus far we have enumerated as causes of unrest and strife the following: We have an acquisitive society, in which rights and privileges take precedence over functions and obligations; in which there is an excessive inequality of wealth and income, the few possessing an overabundance while many are poor and destitute; in which a large proportion of workmen are unable to earn an income sufficient to maintain a decent or comfortable standard of living; in which hundreds of thousands of workmen are unable, through no fault of their own, to obtain employment, while at the same time other thousands are compelled to work the twelve-hour day. To these evils we could add such others as: the overemphasis upon competition and the depreciation of coöperation; inefficiency, due to lack of training or to personal defects in character; suppression and intimidation, through control of the press and platform and through labor spies and under-cover men.<sup>1</sup>

There are, of course, a multitude of other contributory factors to unrest and strife. Perhaps the ones we have mentioned are sufficient to justify the conclusion that there are grave defects in our present social order, which if neglected will surely bring disorder and disaster.

<sup>1</sup> See "The Labor Spy," by Sidney Howard, published by the New Republic, 421 West 21st Street, New York, price 15 cents. A 72-page pamphlet containing startling facts concerning industrial espionage.

# PROPOSED SOLUTIONS

Various groups of men and women are earnestly seeking the solution of our many industrial problems. They are approaching the problem from different angles and have different suggestions to offer. This is fortunate. The whole problem is so complex that it is futile to anticipate the discovery of a panacea by means of which all of our social ills may be cured. We should, therefore, consider sympathetically any proposal advanced as a possible contribution toward the solving of our complex industrial problems. Let us now examine very briefly a number of the proposed remedies.

## INCREASED PRODUCTION

The group known as industrial engineers is preaching a gospel of maximum production of goods with the minimum expenditure of energy. They point out that at present industry is highly inefficient and wasteful. Concerning conditions during even the war-time rush of 1918, Mr. H. L. Gantt, an expert engineer, said: "On the whole, only about 50 per cent of our industrial machines are actually operating during the time they are expected to operate; and on the whole these machines, during the time they are being operated, are producing only about 50 per cent of what they are expected to produce. This brings our productive result down to about one-fourth of what it might be if the machines were run all the time at their highest capacity."<sup>1</sup>

Mr. John Leitch expresses the opinion that "we have not, during the past ten or fifteen years, secured more than 40 per cent of our labor efficiency; that is, we have wasted probably 60 per cent of our manufacturing capacity."<sup>2</sup>

Writing in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, for May, 1915, Mr. J. Russell Smith said: "It is not difficult to figure up a total possibility of 300 to 400 per cent easy increase in the national production by the general application of methods now well known and practiced by thousands."

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Lionel D. Edie, "Current Social and Industrial Forces," p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> John Leitch, "Man-to-Man," p. 17.

The industrial engineers are striving to make this potential increase in production a reality. They have a valuable contribution to make toward solving our social and industrial problems.

### WELFARE WORK

A large group of employers seeks to overcome unrest and strife by improving working conditions. This is a commendable spirit. Much needs to be done along this line. Large numbers of workmen are constantly exposed to danger from accidents and industrial poisons. Mr. Frederick L. Hoffman, of the Prudential Life Insurance Co., estimates that approximately 25,000 wage-earners are killed in our industries each year, and that about 700,000 are disabled for a period of more than four weeks.<sup>1</sup>

The United States Steel Corporation has set a commendable example in providing for the safety of its employees. Mr. C. W. Price, General Manager of the National Safety Council, estimates that this corporation has reduced the number of deaths in its plants from accidents approximately 80 per cent.<sup>2</sup>

There can be no doubt that by means of the various forms of welfare work promoted by different employers, the working conditions of large numbers of employees have been greatly improved. Those employers who have led the way are entitled to credit and praise.

Two objections are often raised with regard to welfare work. The first is that the whole scheme is often paternalistic. The employees usually have little voice in determining such matters for themselves. All they have to do is to take advantage of the privileges offered them. The second objection is more serious. It is contended that some employers undertake welfare work simply as a means of combating labor unions and industrial democracy. It is even said that certain corporations use welfare work as a means of diverting public attention from other highly undesirable practices, such as low wages, long hours and industrial autocracy.

Genuine welfare work does have a contribution to make toward the solving of our industrial problems. Paternalism is not so good as democracy, but the benevolent employer surely is an improvement over the one who is unconcerned as to the welfare of his employees. Public opinion, however, should never allow

<sup>1</sup> F. L. Hoffman, "Industrial Accidents," p. 44.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in *Literary Digest*, April 17, 1920, p. 46. The United States Steel Corporation, 71 Broadway, New York, will send upon request a booklet, "Welfare Work in the Steel Industry," by Charles L. Close. Bulletin No. 250 of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics describes various kinds of welfare work now being undertaken.

welfare work to become a cloak to cover vicious practices on the part of employers.

### EMPLOYEES' REPRESENTATION

Many employers are recognizing the advisability of granting their employees a larger share in determining working conditions. A host of experiments are now being made in this realm. One of these is the plan inaugurated by Mr. John Leitch.<sup>1</sup> This scheme provides for a form of industrial government patterned after our Federal Government, with a Cabinet, a Senate and a House of Representatives. The International Harvester Company has an Industrial Council, composed half of representatives of the employees and half appointed by the managers, with provision for the selection of neutral arbitrators when required. This Council has full power in the matter of wages, hours and conditions of work.<sup>2</sup>

The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company has been successful with its plan of employees' representation.<sup>3</sup> Proctor & Gamble, of Cincinnati, have elected three of their employees to membership upon their Board of Directors. The Dutchess Bleachery, Wappingers Falls, New York, Wm. Filene & Sons of Boston, the Dennison Manufacturing Company of Framingham, Massachusetts, and many other employers have achieved marked success with various forms of employees' representation.<sup>4</sup>

Messrs. Hart, Schaffner & Marx have been pioneers in this field and have achieved remarkable results through their Labor Agreement. This agreement is reached through collective bargaining directly with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, an unusually strong labor union, and covers a wide scope, including rates of pay, hours, preference in hiring, discipline, discharge of workers. The larger measure of government in industry achieved has been highly satisfactory both to the company and to the employees. This experiment deserves careful study by all students of industrial problems.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This plan is fully described in his book, "Man-to-Man."

<sup>2</sup> A pamphlet, "The Harvester Industrial Council," describing this plan may be secured from the International Harvester Co., Chicago, Ill.

<sup>3</sup> This scheme is described in a pamphlet by Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., called "The Colorado Industrial Plan." Copies may be secured from Mr. Rockefeller, 26 Broadway, New York City.

<sup>4</sup> The Bureau of Industrial Research, 289 Fourth Avenue, New York City, has issued a 38-page pamphlet, called "American Company Shop Committee Plans," which contains a digest of twenty plans of employees' representation. Price \$1.00.

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Earl Dean Howard, Director of Labor for Hart, Schaffner & Marx, has issued a 97-page book called "Industrial Law in the Clothing Industry," describing the plan in full. Copies may be secured from Hart, Schaffner & Marx, Chicago, Illinois.

All genuine experiments with employees' representation should be encouraged. Undoubtedly real progress is being made along this line. There is a widespread feeling, however, that some employers are using "company unions" and bogus schemes of employees' representation as weapons with which to destroy effective combinations of workmen and to forestall genuine democracy in industry. Public opinion should give credit where it is due, but should not be deceived by insincere schemes of employees' representation.

### THE EMPLOYERS' OPEN SHOP CAMPAIGN

An important group of men, chiefly employers, is convinced that much of the present trouble is due to labor agitators and dictation by labor unions. This group seeks to eliminate these disturbers and improve conditions by means of the open shop. As they define it, an open shop is one in which "no persons shall be refused employment or in any way discriminated against on account of membership or non-membership in any labor organization."<sup>1</sup>

The theory of the employers' open shop is that no discrimination shall be made against any man because of membership or non-membership in a labor union. As a matter of fact, however, some employers are using the open shop as a weapon against union men and are seeking, usually secretly, to destroy the power of labor unions.

Concerning the testimony presented before the Lockwood Committee in New York City, Mr. John A. Fitch says: "Throughout the testimony it was evident that the kind of open shop that the steel corporations are attempting to enforce in the building trades of New York and Philadelphia is one where union men cannot get a job, and the way in which this kind of open shop is maintained is through organization of the industry and the exercise of coercion."<sup>2</sup>

In theory many employers grant the right of men to organize in unions, in practice many of these men are seeking vigorously to make the unions weak and ineffective. The attitude of many employers is well described by Ray Stannard Baker: "Yes, we believe in unionism, but damn the unions."

<sup>1</sup>For a defence of the open shop campaign see the "Debater's Handbook," issued by the National Association of Manufacturers, 30 Church Street, New York City. The opposite point of view is presented in "The Open Shop Drive" by Savel Zimand, published by the Bureau of Industrial Research, 289 Fourth Avenue, New York City. Price 50 cents, students 25 cents.

<sup>2</sup>Survey, January 1, 1921.

Ex-President Taft has expressed his opinion of such a practice in the following words: "It is the custom of Bourbon employers engaged in fighting labor unionism to the death to call a closed non-union shop an open shop and to call the movement to kill unionism an open-shop movement. This is a deceitful misuse of the term."<sup>1</sup>

The Committee on Industrial Relations, of the Merchants' Association of New York, recently submitted a report in which the following comment was made upon the present open-shop drive: "Your Committee deploras the disposition on the part of some employers who are using the term 'open shop' to work toward a condition of the closed non-union shop by discriminating against union men. It likewise regrets that the operation of the closed union shop frequently results in restriction of output and limitation of available labor supply."<sup>2</sup>

Concerning those employers who say they have no objection to their employees joining labor unions but who refuse to recognize or deal with the unions, the National Catholic Welfare Council has this to say: "Of what avail is it for workers to be permitted by the employers to become members of unions if the employers will not deal with unions? The workers might as well join golf clubs as labor unions if the present 'open shop' campaign is successful. The 'open shop' drive masks under such names as 'The American Plan' and hides behind the pretense of American freedom. Yet its real purpose is to destroy all effective labor unions, and thus subject the working people to the complete domination of the employers."<sup>3</sup>

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America has issued a statement in which it is declared that: "The relations between employers and workers throughout the United States are seriously affected at this moment by a campaign which is being conducted for the open shop policy—the so-called American Plan of Employment. These terms are now being frequently used to designate establishments that are definitely anti-union. Obviously, a shop of this kind is not an open shop but a closed shop—closed against members of labor unions."<sup>4</sup>

The real open shop is one thing, the present agitation often involves quite a different thing. *The real issue is that of collective bargaining*, the willingness of employers to deal with representatives chosen by organized groups of workmen. Without the right

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in *The Baltimore News*, February 5, 1921.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in the *Information Service*, of the Research Department of the Federal Council of Churches, April 1, 1921, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted in "The Open Shop Drive," pp. 45, 46.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*



and ability to bargain collectively, workmen are at the mercy of employers. Employers are organized. Their associations are enormously powerful. An individual employer does not usually stand alone in his struggle against his own employees. This fact is brought out in the statement of principles of the American Employers' Association, in which it is stated: "In the event of a strike or similar trouble, financial support should be given to the one afflicted and also moral support. This is an important factor in the hour of trouble."<sup>1</sup>

The necessity of national organizations of workmen was emphasized by Mr. Louis D. Brandeis, now Justice of the Supreme Court, in his testimony before the Industrial Relations Commission: "To suggest that labor unions can be effective if organized on less than a national scale seems to ignore entirely the facts and trend of present-day American business."<sup>2</sup>

Concerning the right of workmen to organize and to bargain collectively, the United States Senate Committee on the Steel Strike said: "The Committee is agreed that the principle of collective bargaining is a right of men working in industry."<sup>3</sup> In the principles of the War Labor Board it is stated: "The right of workers to organize in trade unions and to bargain collectively through chosen representatives is recognized and affirmed. This right shall not be denied, abridged, or interfered with by the employers in any manner whatsoever."<sup>4</sup> Mr. Herbert Hoover expresses the opinion that "the attitude of refusal to participate in collective bargaining with representatives of the employees' own choosing, is the negation of the bridge to better relationship."<sup>5</sup>

The present open shop campaign offers no solution of our industrial problems. As ex-President Taft says: "The principle of combination among workmen is indispensable to their welfare and their protection against the tyranny of employers. But if the employers are now to unite in an effort by closed non-union shops to suppress labor unions in hard times and to establish a bulwark against their revival when demand for labor returns, they are attempting the unwise, the unjust and the impossible."<sup>6</sup>

## TRADE UNIONS

Large groups of workmen have become convinced that organization is their only escape from tyranny and injustice. The

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in the *American Federationist*, February, 1921.

<sup>2</sup> "Final Report of the Commission on Industrial Relations," p. 65.

<sup>3</sup> U. S. Senate Committee on "Investigation of Strike in Steel Industries," Nov. 8, 1919, 66th Congress, Report No. 289.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted in "The Open Shop Drive," p. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Quoted in John A. Ryan, "Capital and Labor," p. 9.

<sup>6</sup> Quoted in *The Baltimore News*, February 5, 1921.

validity of this conclusion is generally recognized. As long as they remain unorganized, workmen are at the mercy of employers.

The American trade union movement dates from the end of the 18th century. National organizations of workmen came into existence about the middle of the last century. In 1886 the American Federation of Labor was organized by "delegates from twenty-five organizations, representing a membership of 316,469." "In 1919 the Federation embraced 111 national and international unions, 46 state federations, 816 central city bodies, and 33,852 local unions."<sup>1</sup> Not included in the Federation are the powerful Railway Brotherhoods, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and other strong unions.

The American Federation of Labor is a conservative organization. It has never sought to overthrow the present social order. It has frankly accepted capitalistic production and has devoted its energies almost entirely to the task of obtaining for its members higher wages, shorter hours and improved working conditions.

The organized trade union movement has undoubtedly been instrumental in raising wages, reducing hours and improving working conditions, not only for union men but for great masses of unorganized workmen as well. Unfortunately, however, the trade unions in America have conspicuous weakness. They have often been notoriously weak in leadership. Some of their walking delegates and officials have been notoriously corrupt. Not all of this sort have been sent to jail. On too many occasions trade unions have broken their contracts. They have often been guilty of deliberate limitation of output. They have occasionally advocated the closed-union in a closed-shop, thus limiting the number of workmen who might engage in a given industry. Another weakness is to be found in the lack of an adequate educational program for union members.

In spite of the serious weaknesses and faults of trade unions, the organized labor movement deserves the hearty support of workmen and all others who desire the establishment of such conditions as will promote industrial peace and prosperity. As Roger Babson reminds us, organized labor is now in its adolescence and liable to all the excesses of youth. Organized labor, however, is imperatively needed to resist the tyranny of privileged classes.

There are indications that many labor leaders are now recognizing the weaknesses and limitations of the trade union movement. A new emphasis is now being placed upon an adequate educational program. Various experiments in workers' education are being

<sup>1</sup>Mary Beard, "A Short History of the American Labor Movement," p. 98. This book is perhaps the best brief history of the American labor movement.

made by trade unions, especially in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Boston, Seattle, Cleveland and Washington. This deeper interest in education is exceedingly significant and holds great promise for the future.<sup>1</sup>

Many trade union leaders are seeking to promote more cordial relations with the so-called brain workers, and desire to see them welcomed into the ranks of organized labor. This is encouraging. Workers by hand and workers by brain can supplement each other. Strenuous efforts should be put forth to promote harmonious relations and effective coöperation between these two groups.

With better leadership and higher ideals, the trade union movement has an enormously important contribution to make toward the solving of our industrial problems.

## THE COÖPERATIVE MOVEMENT

The trade union movement is an organization of producers. The coöperative movement is an organization of consumers. The purpose of the coöperative movement is to organize consumers so that through coöperative buying they may be able to avoid exploitation at the hands of manufacturers and distributors. It seeks to eliminate middlemen and to aid the consumer in purchasing direct from the manufacturer or grower, and to own its factories and acreage.

The coöperative movement now exists in almost all countries of the world. Dr. James Peter Warbasse tells us that "in Europe it now embraces one-third of the population, and carries on every form of useful industry; some of these are the largest of their kind. In some countries a majority of the people are included in the coöperative movement. The organized societies in each country are federated in the world movement through the International Coöperative Alliance."

In England especially the movement has assumed huge dimensions. There are now 1,467 societies, with 4,182,019 members, with annual sales for the factories, wholesale and retail stores, of approximately \$1,500,000 (£324,781,079), with a capital of approximately \$450,000,000 (£98,801,231), with an annual net surplus of approximately \$100,000,000 (£21,809,563) to be divided among the members, with 187,535 employees.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Arthur Gleason's "Workers' Education," a 64-page pamphlet published by the Bureau of Industrial Research, 239 Fourth Avenue, New York City. Price 50 cents, to trade union members and students 25 cents.

<sup>2</sup> *The People's Year Book* (1921), p. 49. This book contains valuable information and statistics concerning coöperation, labor and allied subjects. Price 75 cents.

From the *British Labour Year Book* of 1919 we learn that "the Wholesale Societies now own 17,519 acres of tea plantations in Ceylon and Southern India, and in 1917, the English C. W. S. bought 10,000 acres of wheat lands in Canada, concessions on the West Coast of Africa and in Nigeria; several farms at home, making it the owner of 12,400 acres in the counties of Lancashire, Yorkshire, Cambridge, Herefordshire, Cheshire, and Shropshire; it also acquired several textile mills, bought a colliery, and started a margarine works."

The movement in the United States has grown rapidly within recent years, especially among farmers and trade union members. There are now more than 3,000 coöperative stores in the United States.<sup>1</sup> The idea behind the coöperative movement is fundamentally sound. Coöperative buying is certain to increase. This movement deserves careful study and earnest support. It has an important contribution to make.

## LABOR PARTY

There is an increasing conviction on the part of many persons that organized labor should enter politics with an independent party. Those who hold this view point out that both of the regular political parties are under the domination of financiers and business men, that there is little difference in their policies and programs, and that the masses can never hope to secure justice without independent action.

Organized labor in England has had an independent political party since 1893, when the Independent Labour Party was founded. In 1899-1900 the Labour Party was formed and in 1906 29 labour representatives were returned to Parliament. In 1919 the Labour Party had an affiliated membership of 3,511,290,<sup>2</sup> and this number has been greatly increased since that time. At the General Election of December 14, 1918, 62 representatives of the Labour Party were elected to Parliament. Labor candidates have been successful in a number of by-elections since that time. It is freely predicted that a Labour Government will come into power in England within the next decade.

The main policies of the British Labour Party are embodied in a report issued in 1918 under the title, "Labour and the New

<sup>1</sup> See James Peter Warhase, "The Coöperative Consumers' Movement in the United States," a 12-page pamphlet published by the Coöperative League of America, 2 West 13th Street, New York City. Full information concerning the starting of a coöperative society may be secured from this League.

<sup>2</sup> *The People's Year Book* (1921), p. 399.

Social Order."<sup>1</sup> The four fundamental propositions of this report are:

(1) The universal enforcement of a national minimum; whereby all the requisites of a healthy life and worthy citizenship, including a prescribed minimum of health, leisure, education and subsistence are assured to every person.

(2) The democratic control of industry; demanding the progressive elimination of the private capitalist from the exclusive control of industry and the scientific reorganization of the nation's industry on the basis of the common ownership of the means of production; involving the nationalization of the railways, mines, shipping, canals, and other vital industries.

(3) The complete reform of national finance; instituting a system of taxation designed to obtain the necessary revenue from the largest incomes and biggest private fortunes, including steeply graduated income and inheritance taxes.

(4) The surplus wealth to be used for the common good; preventing the monopolistic absorption of the wealth of the community by individual proprietors; to be achieved by means of nationalization and democratic control.

In the United States labor candidates have from time to time been elected to various municipal, state and national offices. Prior to the 1920 election the Farmer-Labor Party was organized. That the vote of its candidates was not larger was due in part to the refusal of the American Federation of Labor to coöperate in promoting a new party. In large measure it was due to the general ignorance and apathy of the workers. Efforts are now being made to arouse the workers to the support of this new party, and plans are being made for the nomination of labor candidates in the coming state and national elections.<sup>2</sup>

In England, Australia, New Zealand and other countries, labor parties have exerted a wholesome influence and have supplemented and strengthened the efforts of trade unions to raise the standard of well being among the working classes.

<sup>1</sup> Copies may be secured from the *New Republic*, 421 West 21st St., New York, for five cents. A full discussion of this report may be found in Chapter 7 of Professor Harry F. Ward's recent book, "The New Social Order."

<sup>2</sup> Full information concerning the plans of the Farmer-Labor Party may be obtained from the columns of the weekly periodical, *The New Majority*, published in Chicago, subscription price \$2.50 per year.

## SOCIALISM

Socialism is concerned with causes, ends and means.<sup>1</sup> The first of its fundamental doctrines—the economic interpretation of history—has to do with causes. Marx and many succeeding socialists contend, to quote Bertrand Russell, “that in the main all the phenomena of human society have their origin in material conditions.” According to this view, politics, law, philosophy and religion are determined primarily by economic factors.

Socialists analyze the present industrial order and bring a severe indictment against it, pointing out the enormous waste and inefficiency in production and distribution, and the existence of widespread poverty among the masses and excessive luxury among the privileged. They maintain that these sharp contrasts are inevitable under a system of capitalistic production. In order to alleviate human misery, and to increase human happiness, they propose, therefore, to abolish capitalism and to substitute a new industrial order to be known as the socialist commonwealth.

A second doctrine of socialism—communal ownership and democratic control of land and capital—has to do with ends. Socialists are not agreed as to the extent of communal ownership. In this connection, Dr. Harry W. Laidler, secretary of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, says: “Socialists do not believe in the elimination of private property. They do not advocate the public ownership of all industry. Voluntary coöperation and private ownership may exist to a considerable extent under Socialism, particularly in the handicraft industry, in farming and in intellectual and artistic production. Public utilities, natural resources and basic industries, however, should, socialists believe, be owned by the municipality, state and nation, in order that exploitation may cease, that waste may be eliminated and that equality of economic opportunity may be secured. . . . Contrary to a widespread belief, socialists are not opposed to inequality of compensation if such inequality is based on a difference of ability and productivity, and seems necessary from the standpoint of social efficiency.”<sup>2</sup>

A third doctrine of socialism—the class struggle—deals with means. Socialists are not agreed as to the weapons of the class struggle, some advocating violent revolution, others putting their

<sup>1</sup> See Bertrand Russell, “Proposed Roads to Freedom,” for a suggestive discussion of Marx and socialist doctrines. See also Dr. Harry W. Laidler, “Socialism in Thought and Action,” for a comprehensive discussion of socialism. For a vigorous criticism of socialism see O. D. Skelton, “Socialism: A Critical Analysis.”

<sup>2</sup> Harry W. Laidler, “Study Courses in Socialism,” pp. 11, 12.

dependence in the ballot and united economic action. An overwhelming majority of socialists in England and America are opposed to violence and seek to bring about gradual constitutional changes by means of the ballot, supplemented by the coöperative movement, economic action and education. This fact was brought out by Mr. Morris Hilquit in the course of the expulsion trial of the socialist assemblymen at Albany, in these words: "I think I shall not be contradicted if I say that they have not read a single official party declaration or any other authoritative socialist statement advocating violence as a means of attaining the socialist ends. . . . We socialists, as strong believers in social evolution have always been the first to decry and ridicule the romantic notions of changing the fundamental forms of society, the economic basis of society, by acts of violence or by conspiracy."<sup>1</sup>

Socialism has many critics. Conservative thinkers criticize socialism because of its radicalism. Left wing radicals criticize socialism because of its conservatism. Among the conservative criticisms most often advanced are the following: Socialism would stifle incentive, decrease efficiency, produce mediocrity, increase bureauracy, increase political corruption, fail to provide for future improvements in industry, destroy religion and the family. Socialists maintain that these are not valid objections, that all of them have been successfully answered.

Socialism in one form or another is sweeping across Europe. For good or evil, it is a force to be reckoned with. Every student of social problems should, therefore, thoroughly familiarize himself with the arguments for and against socialism.

## SYNDICALISM

Mr. Bertrand Russell tells us that "syndicalism arose in France as a revolt against political socialism." He further informs us that "syndicalism stands essentially for the point of view of the producer as opposed to that of the consumer; it is concerned with reforming actual work and the organization of industry, not merely with securing rewards for work. It aims at substituting industrial for political action."<sup>2</sup>

The essential doctrines of syndicalism are producers' control and the class-war. The chief industrial weapons used are sabotage and the general strike. Syndicalists are advocates of industrial unionism, as contrasted with craft unions; that is, they seek one

<sup>1</sup> Morris Hilquit, "Socialism on Trial," pp. 34, 35.

<sup>2</sup> Bertrand Russell, "Proposed Roads to Freedom," pp. 56, 62.

big union instead of many small craft unions. Syndicalists desire not only to destroy capitalism, they seek also to destroy the political state. They would have government entirely in the hands of the producers. Syndicalists believe in direct action.

In the United States, the I. W. W. is a syndicalist organization, advocating industrial unionism and control by the workers. Mr. Russell quotes the secretary of this organization as saying: "There is but one bargain the I. W. W. will make with the employing class—complete surrender of all control of industry to the organized workers."<sup>1</sup>

## THE NATIONAL GUILD MOVEMENT

Within the last decade a new solution has been proposed, chiefly by a small group of influential scholars in England. The followers of this movement call themselves National Guildsmen. They are vigorous critics both of state socialism and syndicalism. They object strenuously to the high degree of centralization and bureaucracy of state socialism. Most guildsmen differ from syndicalists in desiring to retain the political state.

National guildsmen would make use of both political and industrial methods in bringing about the new social order. The essentials of the guild system may be summarized briefly as follows: (1) Government by function; (2) self-government in each industry; (3) decentralization; (4) abolition of the wage system.

In the place of two branches of government, House of Lords and House of Commons or Senate and House of Representatives, both political and elected on a territorial basis, most National Guildsmen would have two houses; one political, with representatives elected on a territorial basis; one industrial, with representatives elected by trades or industries.

National Guildsmen advocate state ownership of natural resources and basic industries. They do not, however, believe in state operation. They would have each of the basic industries controlled and operated by a national guild, composed of all persons employed in that industry, including managers, foremen, clerks, skilled mechanics and manual workers.

National Guildsmen strongly advocate decentralized control, in

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Russell, p. 77.

There are two reasons why we do not include in our list of proposed solutions a discussion of the Russian Soviet Republic: first, the extreme difficulty of arriving at the facts as to what is actually taking place in Russia; and, second, the rapid changes which are being made in the policies of the Soviet Government.



political government and in industrial government. By decentralization they hope to avoid bureaucracy.

National Guildsmen would abolish the wage-system, where human labor is regarded as a commodity and bought in the labor market on a basis of supply and demand, and would substitute therefor a system of pay as a human being, the amount of pay to be determined by the cost of maintaining a satisfactory standard of living and by the nature and degree of service rendered to the community. They do not advocate equality of pay, but they would pay in times of sickness and unavoidable unemployment.

Many careful observers are convinced that the trend of the times is in the direction pointed out by the National Guildsmen. The members of this movement are not agreed among themselves on all points. The movement is in its infancy and its permanent policies are yet to be determined. An increasing number of scholars and leaders are convinced, however, that it has within it vital elements of worth and is surely destined to make a contribution toward the solving of our social problems.<sup>1</sup>

### CHRISTIAN PRINCIPLES

The need of a deeper emphasis upon the human factor in industry is increasingly recognized. Enormous strides have been made within recent years on the mechanical side of production. We are not so well off in the realm of human relationships. This is the soil in which most of our difficulties are rooted. We are coming to realize that schemes and systems are insufficient in themselves. What is needed is a new spirit, a new attitude, a new motive, a new relationship. If all parties concerned were motivated by the proper spirit, any one of several kinds of social organization would be satisfactory. Without the proper spirit, no scheme or system will produce the desired social order.

Religion is concerned with relationships. Within recent years the churches have realized the importance of applying the fundamental principles upon which they are founded to industrial problems. Most of the influential church bodies have issued official pronouncements concerning Christianity and social questions.

In England the Archbishops' committee submitted a most vigorous and challenging report.<sup>2</sup> The Committee on the War and

<sup>1</sup> Among the many recent books dealing with the guild movement those of G. D. H. Cole are probably the most vigorous and stimulating, especially his "Self-Government in Industry" (1919 edition with special introductory chapter giving his changed viewpoint) and his "Guild Socialism Re-Stated."

<sup>2</sup> An excellent 147-page book, entitled "Christianity and Industrial Problems," published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 6 St. Martin's Place, London, W.C. 2.

the Religious Outlook, composed of a score of Christian leaders in the United States, has recently issued a notable volume, called "The Church and Industrial Reconstruction."<sup>1</sup> The Report on the Steel Strike of 1919, issued by the Commission of Inquiry of the Interchurch World Movement, has been widely circulated.<sup>2</sup>

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America has issued a pronouncement called "The Social Ideals of the Churches."<sup>3</sup> The National Catholic War Council has issued a statement dealing with "Social Reconstruction."<sup>4</sup> The Central Conference of American Rabbis has issued a "Social Justice Program."<sup>5</sup> Numerous church conventions have adopted official declarations on the social question.

What are the principles of Jesus that have a bearing upon our present industrial problems? Mr. Sherwood Eddy has outlined these principles as follows:

(1) PERSONALITY, involving the infinite and equal worth of every human being; man is always an end, never a means to an end, and is of more value than all material possessions.

(2) BROTHERHOOD, involving the close kindred of the human race; all persons are members of one family, with God as common Father; all are bound together in social solidarity; no man can live to himself; all men are mutually dependent, and each should love his neighbor as himself.

(3) SERVICE, as the chief motive of all endeavor; service for the common welfare receiving supremacy over the seeking of private gain.

(4) LIBERTY, involving the right of each individual to self-realization, self-expression and self-determination; obligating Christians to aid in providing these things for all men.

(5) JUSTICE, involving the condemnation of all forms of exploitation and oppression of the weak by the powerful; condemning the neglect of the needy by the more fortunate.

<sup>1</sup> Published by Association Press, 347 Madison Avenue, New York City. 296 pages, cloth binding \$2, paper cover \$1. This book should be owned by every student of industrial problems.

<sup>2</sup> Published by Harcourt, Brace & Howe, 1 West 47th Street, New York City. Cloth binding \$2.50, paper cover \$1.50. For a criticism of this report see "Mistakes of the Interchurch Steel Report," by Rev. E. Victor Bigelow; copies may be obtained from the United States Steel Corporation, 71 Broadway, New York City.

<sup>3</sup> "The Social Ideals of the Churches" may be secured from The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ, 105 East 22nd Street, New York. It is also printed as an appendix in "The Social Task of the Church, as set forth by the Lambeth Conference." This latter is a valuable 28-page pamphlet and may be obtained from the Department of Christian Social Service, 281 Fourth Avenue, New York. Price 25 cents.

<sup>4</sup> Copies may be obtained from the Council, at 1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C.

<sup>5</sup> This was published in the *Survey*, for September 1, 1920. Copies may be secured from Rabbi Horace J. Wolf, Rochester, New York.

(6) ACCOUNTABILITY, involving responsible stewardship of all talents, wealth and privileges; the degree of responsibility and obligation to be determined by ability and opportunity; God is the owner of all, man is a steward and is responsible to God and man, as his brother's keeper.

(7) LOVE, the culmination and summary of the principles of Jesus; the two great commandments being love toward God and love toward man; love expressed in the Golden Rule constituting the corner stone of the Kingdom of God, the name Jesus used for the new social order.

Few Christian men would deny that Personality, Brotherhood, Service, Liberty, Justice, Accountability and Love are the great social principles of Jesus or that he called men to live in accordance with these principles. The difficulty comes in determining how and when to apply these principles in concrete situations. Living as we do in such a complex social order, there is surely room for honest differences of opinion between Christian men concerning programs and policies. And yet, in the light of these principles, are there not certain aspects of the industrial problem upon which all of us should be agreed?

In the light of the principle of the infinite worth of Personality, should not the first charge on industry be the support and protection of all persons engaged in that industry? Does not such support and protection involve an income sufficient to maintain a standard of living in decency and comfort, provision or insurance against unemployment, regulation of hours of work, provision of safety devices and the adoption of health measures?

In view of the principle of Brotherhood, should not coöperation in industry be substituted for merciless competition? Should not friendly relations and coöperative effort be substituted for bitterness and class-strife?

Judged by the principle of Service, is a person justified in seeking first his own private gain? Should not the nature and degree of service rendered be the test of approbation and reward? Does not this principle involve individual and social efficiency and the maximum development of industry consistent with the welfare of the workers?

In the light of the principle of Liberty, is not the test of industry the degree of opportunity given to employer and workman to attain self-realization, self-expression and self-determination? Does not this involve the right of workmen to organize and to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing? Does not self-expression involve an increasing degree of

self-government and democracy in industry, as in the political realm?

In view of the principle of Justice, what shall we say concerning the excessive inequality of wealth and power? Does not this principle demand at least an approximate equality of opportunity for all men? Do children born in the homes of the poorer two-thirds of our population have approximate equality of opportunity with those born in homes of luxury and privilege?

Judged by the standard of Accountability, is there any justification for selfish expenditure and excessive luxury? Does any man possess the right to use his power and property in such a way as to do great harm to his fellows, or to withhold his power or property from service for the good of all? Is any man justified in wasting or using inefficiently his labor and energy? Is society justified in allowing a privileged few to monopolize the returns from natural resources and from the toil of the masses?

If Love is the dominating principle, what shall we say of class bitterness? Does the intensity of competition in modern industry increase or decrease good will among the various employers? Is the Golden Rule widely observed in modern industry?<sup>1</sup>

### NEXT STEPS

Let us summarize briefly the major facts outlined herein. We are living in a time of universal unrest and commotion. Our society is an acquisitive one, in which personal rights and privileges take precedence over functions and obligations. We are confronted, on the one hand, with a vast concentration of wealth and power, and, on the other, with multitudes who are living in actual poverty or on the borderland of destitution. A discourteously large proportion of our wage earners, through low wages and unavoidable unemployment, receive an annual income quite insufficient to maintain them and their families in decency and comfort, in spite of the fact that many of them are obliged to work inhumanly long hours. The solutions proposed are numerous and varied, ranging from paternalism and benevolent industrial autocracy to exclusive workers' control.

When confronted with such complex problems and such varied solutions, what are we to do? Three things, it seems to the present writer.

<sup>1</sup> Readers will find it profitable to send five cents for a copy of "The Golden Rule in Business," by Arthur Nash, published by the Murray Press, 359 Boylston Street, Boston. This is a vivid account of an employer who sought to run his business on a basis of the Golden Rule. As a result, production was increased enormously, wages were raised, prices were lowered, and harmonious relations were established.

First, we must get a clear grasp of the great ethical principles which are to be used as our scale of values. This is absolutely imperative. For the Christian, this will necessitate a fresh study of the teaching of Jesus, and an effort to catch his spirit and viewpoint. We can proceed safely only as we are sure of our ethical principles.

Second, we must ascertain the facts in the case. Decisions must be based upon fact, not upon prejudice or passion. One of our greatest dangers is intolerance, the refusal to consider both sides of a question or to grant to others an equal right to their own opinions. Suppression and denunciation simply mean further confusion. Only as we proceed with open mind and earnest purpose can we hope to discover the facts in the case. Without the facts, our principles are of little avail.

Third, we must seek to apply the principles to the facts. We must test the facts by the principles, and reach our decision and determine our program accordingly. This involves the willingness to make experiments in seeking adequate solutions. To apply high ethical principles to the facts of modern industry requires courage. Patience is another needed virtue. We shall look in vain for a speedy "cure-all." The attitudes and traditions of modern society are rooted far back in human history. Modern industry cannot be reconstructed over night. Disappointment awaits the person who is depending upon some panacea to solve our industrial problems quickly.

The very seriousness of the present situation constitutes a stirring challenge. The demand is for the same degree of loyalty to conviction, the same willingness to live or die for vital principles, the same courage and steadfastness in the presence of danger, that has motivated the highest type of soldier, statesman, martyr and missionary. The issue at stake is nothing less than the fate of civilization and the progress of the Kingdom of God.

## APPENDIX I: THE COLLEGIATE INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH MOVEMENT

A notable development in relating college students to the problems of the industrial world has been the Collegiate Industrial Research Movement. Under expert leadership a score of university students from several western colleges engaged as common laborers in various industries in Denver last summer. Several evenings a week they met in seminars as a discussion group. They were all Christian men, seeking with open mind and without prejudice sympathetically to understand both the employers' and workers' point of view. Four of them were working on the street car lines at the time of the great Denver car

strike. One night they would hear the case of the company stated by its representative, the next night the case of the strikers stated by the labor leader, on another evening the legal aspects of the case would be stated by one of the counsels. The next night a social service expert would speak to the students and be questioned by them. Following this invaluable experience, which let them see something of the very heart of the labor problem, they returned to college with a small amount of money to help on expenses during the coming year. These men are now pursuing their studies in sociology and economics, or studying the industrial problem in regular meetings throughout the college year. During the coming summer similar groups of Christian students under sane and safe leadership will enter industry in a number of the great industrial cities of America. They are thus helping to bridge the gulf between the educated and the uneducated, the Church and the masses, the privileged and the unprivileged, capital and labor.

The requirements for admission to a group are (1) attendance at a Student Conference; (2) agreement to enroll for the entire course (six to eight weeks) and to abide by regulations; (3) payment of the registration fee of \$5; (4) the passing of a physical examination; (5) brief preliminary reading such as "The New Spirit in Industry," "What's on the Worker's Mind," "The Church and Industrial Reconstruction."

Those desiring further information may consult the local college Y. M. C. A. president, General Secretary, State and International Student Secretaries, or address the Student Department of the International Committee, 347 Madison Avenue, New York City.

## APPENDIX II: LIST OF BOOKS ON CURRENT PROBLEMS

Savel Zimand, MODERN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS, 240 pages, published by the Bureau of Industrial Research, 289 Fourth Ave., New York. The latest and most comprehensive descriptive bibliography on social problems. Price, \$1.80.

Walter Rauschenbusch, THE SOCIAL PRINCIPLES OF JESUS, 198 pages, Association Press, 347 Madison Ave., New York, \$1.15. An excellent text-book, with divisions for daily study.

The Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook, THE CHURCH AND INDUSTRIAL RECONSTRUCTION, Association Press, 297 pages, Cloth \$2, paper cover \$1. Perhaps the best statement with regard to the application of Christian principles in modern industry, with chapters on Unchristian Aspects of the Present Industrial Order, Present Practicable Steps Toward a More Christian Industrial Order.

R. H. Tawney, THE ACQUISITIVE SOCIETY, Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York, 188 pages, \$1.50. A most stimulating discussion of Rights and Functions, Property and Creative Work, Industry as a Profession, etc.

Harry F. Ward, THE NEW SOCIAL ORDER, Macmillan Co., New York, 384 pages, \$2.50. A vigorous discussion concerning the application of Christian principles in modern society.

WHAT IS THE CHRISTIAN VIEW OF WORK AND WEALTH, published by Association Press, New York, 94 pages, \$.85. Chiefly a series of brief quotations from various authorities dealing with the social problem.

Sherwood Eddy, EVERYBODY'S WORLD, George H. Doran Company, New

- York, 271 pages, \$1.90. A vivid account of a working tour around the world. Contains chapters on the Near East, Russia, Japan, China, India, and Anglo-Saxon Responsibility.
- THE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY OF THE INTERCHURCH WORLD MOVEMENT, REPORT ON THE STEEL STRIKE OF 1919, Harcourt, Brace & Howe, New York, 277 pages, cloth \$2.50, paper cover \$1.50. Contains the results of the investigation concerning hours, wages and control in the steel industry.
- E. Victor Bigelow, MISTAKES OF THE INTERCHURCH STEEL REPORT, a 24-page pamphlet. Copies may be secured from the United States Steel Corporation, 71 Broadway, New York.
- Harry W. Laidler, SOCIALISM IN THOUGHT AND ACTION, Macmillan Co., 546 pages, \$2.75. Perhaps the most comprehensive discussion of socialism from an American viewpoint.
- Hartley Withers, A DEFENCE OF CAPITALISM, E. P. Dutton & Co., 255 pages, \$2.50. A strong statement of the accomplishments of capitalism and a vigorous criticism of socialism and the guild movement.
- Bertrand Russell, PROPOSED ROADS TO FREEDOM, Henry Holt & Co., New York, 218 pages, \$1.50. Contains historical accounts of Socialism, Anarchism, Syndicalism, and stimulating chapters on Work and Pay, Government and Law, the World as it Could be Made.
- G. D. H. Cole, LABOUR IN THE COMMONWEALTH, B. W. Huebsch, New York, 223 pages, \$1.50. Contains chapters dealing with the Humanity of Labour, the Labour Movement, Social Reformers, the Organization of Freedom.
- Arthur Gleason, WHAT THE WORKERS WANT, Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York, 518 pages, \$4. A study of British Labor, with chapters on a Revolution Without a Philosophy, Gentle Revolution, Shop Stewards, etc., and valuable appendices.
- Bishop of Oxford and others, PROPERTY, Macmillan Co., New York, 229 pages, \$2. Contains valuable chapters on the Historical Evolution of Property, the Principle of Private Property, the Biblical and Early Christian Ideal of Property, Property and Personality.

## PERIODICALS DEALING WITH CURRENT PROBLEMS

- THE SURVEY, 112 East 19th Street, New York, \$5 per year.
- THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, New York, \$5 per year.
- THE NEW REPUBLIC, 421 W. 21st Street, New York, \$5 per year. Three weeklies dealing with current problems from a liberal viewpoint.
- THE WEEKLY REVIEW, 140 Nassau Street, New York, \$5 per year. A weekly dealing with current problems from a conservative viewpoint.
- THE LITERARY DIGEST, 354 Fourth Avenue, New York, \$4 per year. A digest of newspaper and periodical comment on current problems.
- THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY, 508 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, \$4 a year (\$3 to ministers); Twelve weeks acquaintance subscription \$1. A liberal journal of religion. Contains notable articles on industrial problems. An invaluable weekly.
- INFORMATION SERVICE, issued every two weeks by the Research Department of the Commission on the Church and Social Service, of the Federal Council of the Churches, 105 East 22nd Street, New York. Subscription price, including special book review service, \$5 per year; special rate of \$2 to college and seminary students. Contains valuable data upon current industrial problems.

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# EXPRESSIONS OF OPINION FROM EMPLOYERS

*on the*

## INDUSTRIAL PROGRAM

*of the*

### FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

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WE have given careful consideration to the industrial policy of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, and we are clear in the following conclusions:

- 1.—The present critical situation in industry requires for its relief a new spirit of good will and fair dealing, guided by Christian principles. The united influence of the churches is therefore needed and to be welcomed in the industrial field.
- 2.—The general policy of the Federal Council and its Social Service Commission has been and is such as will commend itself to employers who are seeking good relationships and good will in industry. There would be differences of opinion as to details, such as are incident to any serious undertaking. We note a concern for the worker and his family which we ought to expect of followers of Jesus, and also of progressive employers.  
We commend especially the present plans for conferences in industrial centers between employers, employees, ministers and public officials. All that these plans require in order to be approved is to be understood. They are constructive, sound and of large potential value for industrial peace.
- 3.—The attacks made upon the Council and its officers in various journals are, in our judgment, either based upon misinformation, or unjust, misleading, often absurd and in many cases absolutely false in their statements. We believe that the employers who have accepted them have been seriously misled.



4.—We especially deplore any financial boycott of the church bodies as unethical and highly inexpedient. The United States needs the Church in these days; and the Church it needs is not one that is timid and colorless, but one that, while judicious, is aggressive and courageous.

*Signed by:*

R. J. CALDWELL, Chairman of the Board, Connecticut Mills Co., Inc., New York.

HENRY DENNISON, President, Dennison Mfg. Co., Framingham, Mass.

ERNEST G. DRAPER, President, American Creosoting Co., New York.

MORRIS LEEDS, President, Leeds-Northrup Co., Philadelphia.

CHAS. R. SAUL, President, Columbia Storage Warehouses, New York.

E. L. SHUEY, Manufacturer, Dayton, O.

JOHN J. EAGAN, Chairman of the Board, American Cast Iron Pipe Co.,  
Atlanta, Ga.

HAROLD A. HATCH, of the firm of Deering-Milliken Co., New York.

HENRY T. NOYES, Art in Buttons, Rochester.

*New York, March 31, 1921.*

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## CONNECTICUT MILLS COMPANY

DANIELSON, CONN.

OFFICE OF THE CHAIRMAN: 16 PARK ROW, NEW YORK

REV. CHARLES S. MACFARLAND,  
105 East 22nd St., New York City.

March 14, 1921.

*Dear Dr. Macfarland:*

I have been carefully over the matters you have referred to me and I am clear in the following conclusions:

1.—The general policy of your Council and its Social Service Commission has been and is such as will commend itself heartily to all employers who are seeking good relationships and good will in Industry.

There would be some difference of opinion as to details but these are relatively insignificant.

I commend your course and plans for the future without reservation.

All they need is to be understood.

2.—The attacks made upon you are in my judgment unintelligent, unjust, misleading and in many cases untrue as to facts. They will soon fall of their own weight.

3.—Your plans are of great significance and in my opinion must be carried out to save industrial disaster.

I am not only willing you should quote me, but I shall be glad at any time to confer directly with any one who has been misinformed and misled.

I think that the men who met at my house the other evening were of

one mind, not on details, but on your general program, and I hope and believe we are on the eve of new light under the leadership of the churches.

I take pleasure in enclosing a clipping from this morning's paper showing the findings of the Merchants Association of this city, a most powerful and numerous body, as you are well aware. This report is a most significant sign of the trend of the times. It shows a deep, growing sense of appreciation by employers of the common interest they have with their employees. It can be truly said of employers and employees "united we stand; divided we fall."

Faithfully yours,

(Signed) R. J. CALDWELL.

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**WM. FILENE'S SONS COMPANY**  
**BOSTON**

OFFICE OF PRESIDENT

March 4, 1921.

*My Dear Dr. Speer:*

I am writing to express my admiration for the wise and courageous attitude of the Federal Council and its Commission on the Church and Social Service.

The great economic questions of the day are questions of production, and production is fundamentally determined by the relation between employer and employee. As long as the worker and the employer face each other in battle array the general public and the world will suffer. The cost and the loss incident to the fighting must be paid by the world, which means at this time a shortage of food and work that will result in a kind of discontent that will make men turn to radical measures, which, under more hopeful conditions, they would spurn.

Under present conditions, both parties insisting on their rights, forget that freedom has often in history been lost by such insistence without equal insistence on duties. It seems to me that industrial peace, which underlies world peace and is the basis of social and political progress, must come through a greater emphasis of the importance of duties. The best approach is through emphasis upon service,—under a definition of service that recognizes that there is no right to profits or wages unless they are won through real service to the community.

To handle these questions wisely,—that is, with knowledge permeated by sympathy and love—is a difficult matter. A very important part of

the work lies in the domain of religion. It is for this reason that I want to record my approval of the attitude of the Federal Council. Its arrangement for industrial conferences, to include representatives of all interested parties, held under religious auspices in various industrial centers, is not only good religion but also good business. If this work is continued with determination to obtain the facts and to deal with them fearlessly, I believe the day will come when we employers will realize its value in saving us from the possibility of serious disasters, which may occur if we continue to deal with these fundamental industrial matters from the standpoint of class rights alone.

With best wishes for your success in the activities which you have undertaken, I am,

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) EDWARD A. FILENE.

To DR. ROBERT E. SPEER, *President*  
Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America,  
612 United Charities Building, 105 East 22nd Street,  
New York City.

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**ALEXANDER M. BING**  
516 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK  
TELEPHONE 4381 VANDERBILT

DR. WORTH M. TIPPY,  
Commission on Church and Social Service,  
105 East 22nd Street, New York City.

April 4, 1921.

*My Dear Dr. Tippy:*

I have followed with a good deal of interest the work which the Commission on the Church and Social Service has been doing in the field of industrial relations and it gives me great pleasure to tell you that in my opinion you are performing a very real service in working out the application of religious principles to industrial affairs. I think it is a fine thing that a church organization is engaged in industrial research and in applying religion to industry in the shape of a code for the guidance of business men and labor leaders. The publications of the Federal Council, which I have seen, display an excellent knowledge of industrial conditions and high idealism which should prove of very great value in the industrial life of this country. I hope you will keep up the excellent work you are doing.

Very truly yours,

ALEXANDER M. BING.

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# EXPRESSIONS OF OPINION FROM EMPLOYERS

*on the*

## INDUSTRIAL PROGRAM

*of the*

### FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

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WE have given careful consideration to the industrial policy of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, and we are clear in the following conclusions:

- 1.—The present critical situation in industry requires for its relief a new spirit of good will and fair dealing, guided by Christian principles. The united influence of the churches is therefore needed and to be welcomed in the industrial field.
- 2.—The general policy of the Federal Council and its Social Service Commission has been and is such as will commend itself to employers who are seeking good relationships and good will in industry. There would be differences of opinion as to details, such as are incident to any serious undertaking. We note a concern for the worker and his family which we ought to expect of followers of Jesus, and also of progressive employers.  
We commend especially the present plans for conferences in industrial centers between employers, employees, ministers and public officials. All that these plans require in order to be approved is to be understood. They are constructive, sound and of large potential value for industrial peace.
- 3.—The attacks made upon the Council and its officers in various journals are, in our judgment, either based upon misinformation, or unjust, misleading, often absurd and in many cases absolutely false in their statements. We believe that the employers who have accepted them have been seriously misled.

4.—We especially deplore any financial boycott of the church bodies as unethical and highly inexpedient. The United States needs the Church in these days; and the Church it needs is not one that is timid and colorless, but one that, while judicious, is aggressive and courageous.

*Signed by:*

R. J. CALDWELL, Chairman of the Board, Connecticut Mills Co., Inc., New York.

HENRY DENNISON, President, Dennison Mfg. Co., Framingham, Mass.

ERNEST G. DRAPER, President, American Creosoting Co., New York.

MORRIS LEEDS, President, Leeds-Northrup Co., Philadelphia.

CHAS. R. SAUL, President, Columbia Storage Warehouses, New York.

E. L. SHUEY, Manufacturer, Dayton, O.

JOHN J. EACAN, Chairman of the Board, American Cast Iron Pipe Co., Atlanta, Ga.

HAROLD A. HATCH, of the firm of Deering-Milliken Co., New York.

HENRY T. NOYES, Art in Buttons, Rochester.

*New York, March 31, 1921.*

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## CONNECTICUT MILLS COMPANY

DANIELSON, CONN.

OFFICE OF THE CHAIRMAN: 16 PARK ROW, NEW YORK

REV. CHARLES S. MACFARLAND,  
105 East 22nd St., New York City.

March 14, 1921.

*Dear Dr. Macfarland:*

I have been carefully over the matters you have referred to me and I am clear in the following conclusions:

1.—The general policy of your Council and its Social Service Commission has been and is such as will commend itself heartily to all employers who are seeking good relationships and good will in Industry.

There would be some difference of opinion as to details but these are relatively insignificant.

I commend your course and plans for the future without reservation.

All they need is to be understood.

2.—The attacks made upon you are in my judgment unintelligent, unjust, misleading and in many cases untrue as to facts. They will soon fall of their own weight.

3.—Your plans are of great significance and in my opinion must be carried out to save industrial disaster.

I am not only willing you should quote me, but I shall be glad at any time to confer directly with any one who has been misinformed and misled.

I think that the men who met at my house the other evening were of

one mind, not on details, but on your general program, and I hope and believe we are on the eve of new light under the leadership of the churches.

I take pleasure in enclosing a clipping from this morning's paper showing the findings of the Merchants Association of this city, a most powerful and numerous body, as you are well aware. This report is a most significant sign of the trend of the times. It shows a deep, growing sense of appreciation by employers of the common interest they have with their employees. It can be truly said of employers and employees "united we stand; divided we fall."

Faithfully yours,

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(Signed) R. J. CALDWELL.

**WM. FILENE'S SONS COMPANY**  
**BOSTON**

OFFICE OF PRESIDENT

March 4, 1921.

*My Dear Dr. Speer:*

I am writing to express my admiration for the wise and courageous attitude of the Federal Council and its Commission on the Church and Social Service.

The great economic questions of the day are questions of production, and production is fundamentally determined by the relation between employer and employee. As long as the worker and the employer face each other in battle array the general public and the world will suffer. The cost and the loss incident to the fighting must be paid by the world, which means at this time a shortage of food and work that will result in a kind of discontent that will make men turn to radical measures, which, under more hopeful conditions, they would spurn.

Under present conditions, both parties insisting on their rights, forget that freedom has often in history been lost by such insistence without equal insistence on duties. It seems to me that industrial peace, which underlies world peace and is the basis of social and political progress, must come through a greater emphasis of the importance of duties. The best approach is through emphasis upon service,—under a definition of service that recognizes that there is no right to profits or wages unless they are won through real service to the community.

To handle these questions wisely,—that is, with knowledge permeated by sympathy and love—is a difficult matter. A very important part of

the work lies in the domain of religion. It is for this reason that I want to record my approval of the attitude of the Federal Council. Its arrangement for industrial conferences, to include representatives of all interested parties, held under religious auspices in various industrial centers, is not only good religion but also good business. If this work is continued with determination to obtain the facts and to deal with them fearlessly, I believe the day will come when we employers will realize its value in saving us from the possibility of serious disasters, which may occur if we continue to deal with these fundamental industrial matters from the standpoint of class rights alone.

With best wishes for your success in the activities which you have undertaken, I am,

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) EDWARD A. FILENE.

To DR. ROBERT E. SPEER, *President*  
Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America,  
612 United Charities Building, 105 East 22nd Street,  
New York City.

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ALEXANDER M. BING

516 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

TELEPHONE 4381 VANDERBILT

DR. WORTH M. TIPPY,  
Commission on Church and Social Service,  
105 East 22nd Street, New York City.

April 4, 1921.

*My Dear Dr. Tippy:*

I have followed with a good deal of interest the work which the Commission on the Church and Social Service has been doing in the field of industrial relations and it gives me great pleasure to tell you that in my opinion you are performing a very real service in working out the application of religious principles to industrial affairs. I think it is a fine thing that a church organization is engaged in industrial research and in applying religion to industry in the shape of a code for the guidance of business men and labor leaders. The publications of the Federal Council, which I have seen, display an excellent knowledge of industrial conditions and high idealism which should prove of very great value in the industrial life of this country. I hope you will keep up the excellent work you are doing.

Very truly yours,

ALEXANDER M. BING.

# **The Federal Council and Industrial Relations**



**Summary of its Position  
and Practical Work since  
its Foundation in 1908,  
and Outline of the Policy  
Inaugurated in 1920**

**Federal Council of  
The Churches of Christ in America  
105 East 22nd Street, New York**



THE Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America was organized in Philadelphia in 1908, as a national cooperative agency for the Protestant churches of the United States. The same conference created the Commission on the Church and Social Service, to have responsibility for the Council in the field of the social interpretations of religion and the community work and relationships of the churches.

The Federal Council at that time took positive ground in regard to social questions, and everything that has been done since has followed along the general lines then outlined. It contended for the authority of Christ in the associated life of men, as well as in the individual heart. It took the position that "the appeal of the Gospel is based upon the inherent worth of every man in God's sight." It threw its influence against class struggle and class dominance, saying that "it is impossible to deal with society on a class basis," and that "Jesus came to make a fellowship of all classes."

#### OPPOSITION TO THE CLASS STRUGGLE

This significant utterance with regard to class struggle, which so fully expresses the spirit of American democracy, was elaborated in the statement on The Church and Social Reconstruction issued in the spring of 1919:

"In some respects, the most urgent question before the world at the present time is the method of social reconstruction; shall it be by constitutional and peaceable methods, or by class struggle, violence and revolution? Shall we be willing suddenly to overturn the social

order according to untried theories of industrial and political organization; or beginning where we are, and conserving what has been achieved in the past, shall we proceed by social experimentation, going as far and fast as experience demonstrates to be necessary and desirable? In America, where, as in England, the people hold political power and freedom of discussion and association, and can do finally whatever they will, there is every reason for following the second method.

“The supreme teachings of Christ are of love and brotherhood. These express themselves, in a democracy, in the cooperation of every citizen, for the good of each and all. This results ideally in a noble mutualism and in equal and world-wide justice, which constitute the highest goal of human endeavor. The doctrine of the class conscious struggle is opposed to this ideal. It is a reversion to earlier forms of competitive struggle. It not only strikes at injustice by greater and more savage injustice, but tends in practice to the breaking up of society, even of radical groups, into bitterly antagonistic factions, thus defeating its own ends. The dictatorship of the proletariat in practice is a new absolutism in the hands of a few men, and is as abhorrent as any other dictatorship. The hope of the world is in the cooperation of individuals and classes and the final eliminations of classes in the brotherhood of a Christian society. To build up this cooperation should be the supreme endeavor of the churches.”

## STATEMENT OF 1908 ON EMPLOYER AND EMPLOYED

The statement on The Church and Modern Industry, adopted at Philadelphia in 1908, also went on record for the right of Labor, “as it is the right of men everywhere, within the law, to combine for common ends.” . . . “Despite the errors of individuals and groups, the faults of spirit, the imperfection of methods, and, in some

instances, most deplorable results, organized labor is to be regarded as an influence not hostile to our institutions, but potent in beneficence. When guided from within by men of far sight and fair spirit, and guarded from without by restrictions of law and of custom against the enthusiasms which work injustice, the self-interest which ignores the outsider, or the practices which create industrial havoc, trades unionism should be accepted not as the Church's enemy, but as the Church's ally."

Speaking of employers, it said: "We regard with the greatest satisfaction the efforts of those employers, individual and corporate, who have shown in the conduct of their business a fraternal spirit and a disposition to deal justly and humanely with their employees as to wages, profit-sharing, welfare work, protection against accidents, sanitary conditions of toil, and readiness to submit differences to arbitration."

The statement also has a significant utterance as to the function of the Church in the industrial field: "It may well accept as its chief responsibility, without abating its efforts to remove immediate and palpable evils, the creation of that atmosphere of fairness, kindness and good will, in which those who contend, employer and employee, capitalist and workingman, may find both light and warmth, and, in mutual respect and with fraternal feelings, may reach the common basis of understanding which will come to them not by outward pressure, but from the inner sense of brotherhood."

## HISTORY OF THE SOCIAL CREED OF THE CHURCHES

The statement of 1908 closes with a series of thirteen condensed resolutions for which it said the Church should stand. These may be seen in their original form in the pamphlet which contains the text of the Statement on the Church and Modern Industry.

The first draft of these resolutions had been formulated by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church early in 1908, before the Federal Council had been established. At the first meeting of the Council, the Philadelphia meeting in December of the same year, it adopted the statement, with three additional clauses. Following this step, most of the leading denominational bodies in the United States, by official action, made the statement their own, sometimes with further clauses. Included in these bodies were the National Council of the Congregational Churches in 1910, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. in 1910, the Northern Baptist Convention in 1911, the Seventh Day Baptist General Conference in 1913, the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in 1914, and later the United Brethren, the Christian Church, and the Reformed Church in the United States. Other church agencies which have not taken formal action have nevertheless given informal approval, illustrated, for example, by the action of the Social Service Commission of the Protestant Episcopal Church in reprinting and circulating "The Social Ideals" in

its own literature. The Home Missions Council, representing practically all the home mission boards in the country, approved the statement in 1920.

At the quadrennial meetings of the Federal Council in 1912 and 1916 the "Social Ideals of the Churches" were reaffirmed, with a few new clauses, so that the statement now reads:

PRESENT FORM OF THE SOCIAL IDEALS OF  
THE CHURCHES

The churches stand for—

- I. Equal rights and justice for all men in all stations of life.
- II. Protection of the family by the single standard of purity, uniform divorce laws, proper regulation of marriage, proper housing.
- III. The fullest possible development of every child, especially by the provision of education and recreation.
- IV. Abolition of child labor.
- V. Such regulation of the conditions of toil for women as shall safeguard the physical and moral health of the community.
- VI. Abatement and prevention of poverty.
- VII. Protection of the individual and society from the social, economic and moral waste of the liquor traffic.
- VIII. Conservation of health.
- IX. Protection of the worker from dangerous machinery, occupational diseases and mortality.
- X. The right of all men to the opportunity for self-maintenance, for safeguarding this right against encroachments of every kind, for the protection of workers from the hardships of enforced unemployment.
- XI. Suitable provision for the old age of the workers, and for those incapacitated by injury.
- XII. The right of employes and employers alike to organize; and for adequate

means of conciliation and arbitration in industrial disputes.

- XIII. Release from employment one day in seven.
- XIV. Gradual and reasonable reduction of hours of labor to the lowest practicable point, and for that degree of leisure for all which is a condition of the highest human life.
- XV. A living wage as a minimum in every industry, and for the highest wage that each industry can afford.
- XVI. A new emphasis upon the application of Christian principles to the acquisition and use of property, and for the most equitable division of the product of industry that can ultimately be devised.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY RESOLUTIONS

In 1919, four resolutions were adopted by the Cleveland Convention of the Federal Council. These are not a part of the Ideals, but were applications of its general principles to problems of reconstruction that were being faced at the close of the war.

RESOLVED: That we affirm as Christian Churches,

1. That the teachings of Jesus are those of essential democracy and express themselves through brotherhood and the co-operation of all groups. We deplore class struggle and declare against all class domination, whether of capital or labor. Sympathizing with labor's desire for a better day and an equitable share in the profits and management of industry, we stand for orderly and progressive social reconstruction instead of revolution by violence.
2. That an ordered and constructive democracy in industry is as necessary as political democracy, and that collective bargaining and the sharing of shop control and management are inevitable steps in its attainment.

3. That the first charge upon industry should be that of a wage sufficient to support an American standard of living. To that end we advocate the guarantee of a minimum wage, the control of unemployment through government labor exchanges, public works, land settlement, social insurance and experimentation in profit sharing and cooperative ownership.
4. We recognize that women played no small part in the winning of the war. We believe that they should have full political and economic equality with equal pay for equal work, and a maximum eight-hour day. We declare for the abolition of night work by women, and the abolition of child labor; and for the provision of adequate safeguards to insure the moral as well as the physical health of the mothers and children of the race.

In the same month the Board of Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church promulgated a statement on "The Church and Social Reconstruction," in which were included the main points which had found a place in these resolutions, viz., a living wage as the first charge upon industry and collective bargaining as an instrument for the attainment of a more democratic procedure. The National Council of the Congregational Churches, meeting at Grand Rapids during the same year, and the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., in May, 1920, made similar official utterances. So, also, did the Social Service Committee of the Northern Baptist Convention in 1919. Recent pronouncements by other bodies have also been made along the same general line, such as the notable declaration of the Anglican Bishops at the Lambeth Conference last

summer on "The Church and Industrial Problems," and the statement of the All Friends Conference in London.

Not only denominational authorities, but also great interdenominational agencies, have made "The Social Ideals of the Churches" their own. In 1919 the Fortieth International Convention of the Young Men's Christian Association adopted its sixteen articles, and in May, 1920, the Convention of the Young Women's Christian Associations endorsed both the statement and the four resolutions of the Cleveland Convention.

"The Social Ideals," therefore, may rightly be regarded as the common voice of the churches. In the language of one of the resolutions adopted at a conference of churchmen held under the auspices of the Chicago Church Federation on January 23rd and 24th of this year: "We believe that the statement of the Social Ideals of the Church represents a more general consensus of agreement as to the application of Christian principles to industry than any official statement which has yet appeared."

The Federal Council has consistently followed the principles set forth in these statements over a period of thirteen years, with an ever-enlarging program of teaching and service. Its Labor Sunday Messages for the use of pastors year by year, its growing pamphlet and study course literature, its impartial inquiry into the ethical issues at stake in several industrial disputes, its conferences in cities and towns throughout the country with the clergy and laity of the churches, have all worked towards the dis-



semination of these principles, and the organization of the churches for constructive service in their communities.

## ACTION FOR INDUSTRIAL PEACE, SPRING OF 1920

In the spring of 1920 the Commission became convinced, because of increasing conflicts in the industrial field, that the time had come for the churches to exert their utmost influence toward industrial peace. It was apparent then, and is now even more apparent, that not only are the economic losses reaching enormous proportions, but the solidarity of our democracy is being undermined by the conflict, and the class struggle is creating suspicion and bitterness faster than the churches and other forces of education are able to build up the national brotherhood.

The right of the church to enter that field with its teaching cannot be justly questioned. It was contended for in the statement of 1908, and restated in the message on *The Church and Social Reconstruction* in 1919, in the following words: "The churches to-day recognize, as they did not a generation ago, that the Kingdom of God is as comprehensive as human life with all of its interests and needs, and that they share in a common responsibility for a Christian world order. They are convinced that the world is the subject of redemption; that the ethical principles of the Gospels are to be applied to industry and to the relations of nations; that the church is to devote itself henceforth assiduously to these purposes along with the individual minis-

tries of religion." In fact, religion is for the whole of life, or it will finally have no meaning to life whatever. It is the universal spiritual order, whose laws are beneath society, as the laws of nature lie under the sciences, or it is nothing.

The Commission, therefore, determined to take the following action:

1. To exert its influence to bring together employer and employed for mutual conference, in order to work out cooperative relations.
2. To do its utmost to create a spirit of good will and fair dealing in place of the present suspicion and antagonism.
3. To urge the point of view that industry will never be secure and peaceful until it is built upon sound ethical principles such as are expressed in the Sermon on the Mount and the Golden Rule.
4. To hold conferences in industrial centers throughout the United States in order to assist pastors in their teaching and to bring together business men, workingmen, ministers and public officials to consider and discuss these questions.
5. To produce study courses and a literature of fact material bearing upon industrial problems, including information concerning experimentation in the United States and Europe, for the use primarily of pastors and editors of church papers, but also for employers, workingmen and public officials.

### FIRST INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCES

A conference was held in Atlanta in May, 1920, under the auspices of the Atlanta Council of Churches, in which the Executive Secretary, accompanied by Earl Dean Howard, Labor Personnel Manager of the Hart, Schaffner & Marx Company, of Chicago, met first the Committee on Social

Service of the Council at luncheon, and later, at dinner, a large conference of ministers and laymen holding responsible positions in the industries of Georgia.

The method followed at the conference has been adopted as a general policy. Dr. Tippy spoke on the spiritual and moral phases of the application of Christian principles to industry, Mr. Howard on the problem of their application to industrial management. The church is agreed that its clergy are unacquainted with business management, and that the Christian banker, manufacturer and labor leader must be intrusted with the task of carrying Christian principles into their respective spheres of service in industry. But the Church is competent to teach concerning the spiritual and ethical questions involved through its clergy, and through its experienced laymen who do their work in Christ's spirit it is competent to teach on the problems of industrial management. The churches cannot escape this responsibility.

On October 16th a conference with employers, labor personnel managers and industrial engineers was held in New York to discuss the industrial policy of the Federal Council. Those present were emphatic that the Church is needed in the industrial field, and that it must not be discouraged or hindered by opposition. The plans for research literature, study courses and conferences in industrial centers were approved without dissent.

In January a series of the city-wide conferences were held in Cincinnati, Dayton and Chicago under the direction of the

Federation of Churches in each city. The denominational secretaries for social service and the Executive Secretary of the Commission on the Church and Social Service constituted a staff of speakers. At Cincinnati, Mr. Henry Dennison, president of the Dennison Mfg. Co., Framingham, Mass., addressed employers and the public; at Dayton, Mr. Arthur Nash, president of the A. Nash Co., Inc., of Cincinnati; at Chicago, Mr. Earl Dean Howard, of the Hart, Schaffner & Marx Co., and other representatives of Chicago industries. At the Chicago meeting a dinner conference was held with leaders of labor and local ministers. The total attendance at the Chicago conference reached 8,000 persons.

These conferences were so manifestly timely and successful in spite of their newness and lack of an assured program that it was determined to organize other similar conferences throughout the country. Local Committees on Industrial Reconciliation will be organized, whenever possible, to follow up the conferences, and local pastors will be encouraged and helped to make actual contacts with industries in their communities, so as to better understand the issues involved in order to be more effective teachers.

In this connection mention should be made of the fact that the Commission on Social Service has had frequent interviews with leaders of Labor and influential employers. A significant dinner conference was held in March, 1921, in the home of Mr. R. J. Caldwell, chairman of the board

of the Connecticut Mills Company, Inc. While differences of view as to details of procedure were expressed at this dinner, the discussion developed general consensus of opinion that the Church is bound to recognize its relations to the industrial problem, and that while its function might be difficult to define, and those present did not agree as to what it should be, the spirit of brotherhood and service which it represents was considered indispensable to any solution of the problem of capital and labor.

#### STATEMENT ON THE OPEN SHOP

The Federal Council issued a statement relative to the Open Shop in January, 1921. The statement was not a criticism of employers in general, nor was it a criticism on the open shop as such, for the Council has stood for freedom in industry, and has never favored a closed shop by either employers or employees. It was a protest, first, against those who are unfairly using the open shop movement under the guise of freedom in industry, to break the back of labor organization and to establish a real closed shop, open only to non-union labor; and, secondly, against thus precipitating renewed bitterness at a time of widespread suffering and social unrest. The statement grew out of the conviction of the Council that every effort should be made at this time to bring the contending forces together, and that employers, because of their position of leadership and advantage, should take the necessary first steps. The point of view of the statement was not es-

essentially different from that issued by The Merchants' Association of New York in its report, issued under date of March, 1921, and the statement by ex-President William H. Taft, in the Philadelphia Ledger Forum.

This procedure in industrial relations resulted in a determined effort to cripple the Federal Council by withdrawal of subscriptions, and by concerted attacks through the press and by mail. The effort to do this has been led not by employers themselves so much as by publications like the The National Civic Federation Review of New York, Industry of Washington, and the Coal Review of Washington. The articles and editorials in these papers have been amazingly misleading and frequently untrue or absurd. The Coal Review, for example, announced on a full front page of its issue of January 5, 1921, that the Federal Council was to make an investigation of the coal industry and gave the names of a committee said to have been appointed to direct the inquiry. As a matter of fact, no such study of the industry had been planned and no committee appointed, although the Council reserves the right to make such investigations when the situation seems to require that they be made. This statement was inadequately corrected in the issue of March 9, but meanwhile it had gone broadcast. Finance and Industry of Cleveland gave it a front page, but retracted in a subsequent issue. Cancellations of subscriptions to the Federal Council in large numbers have followed these publications.

## EFFORT TO DESTROY THE FEDERAL COUNCIL

Most amazing of all is the effort of the Pittsburgh Employers' Association, led by its salaried Vice-President and General Manager, to alienate the local financial backing of the Young Women's Christian Association, to bring about the dismemberment and financial disintegration of the Federal Council of Churches, and to force the churches of Pittsburgh and the churches nationally out of the field of industrial relations.

This effort is against the best interests of employers themselves. If it could succeed it would remove some of the strongest factors for good will and brotherliness out of industrial relations at a time when nothing is so much needed. It is certain to turn public sentiment against these leaders of industry, when once it becomes known, and it will tend to further harden the hearts of the workers.

Has not the time come for progressive and Christian employers, who realize the need of the spirit of religion in the industrial life of America, first, to exert their influence in employers' organizations to keep within bounds publications such as those mentioned, and to bring about a fairer and more progressive policy; second, to support the Federal Council and the various denominations in their social service work, to help them through all difficulties and to give them the aid of their counsel; third, to do what they can by writing and speaking, and by personal efforts in their own establishments, to strengthen the cause of industrial peace?

With the Compliments of  
Henry W. Farnam  
New Haven, Conn.

# Confessions of a Prohibitionist

An address by  
HENRY W. FARNAM

Before the Rotary Club of New Haven  
October 3, 1922

Connecticut Federation of Churches: Committee on  
Law Enforcement

Harrison B. Freeman, Chairman  
Hartford

John N. Lewis, Vice-Chairman  
Waterbury

SECOND EDITION

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Printed and distributed by the Connecticut Federation of Churches,  
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Morris E. Alling, Secretary  
27 Lewis Street  
Hartford, Connecticut



## INTRODUCTORY NOTE

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The material for the remarks which I made to the New Haven Rotary Club, October 3, 1922, could not all be utilized in the short time at my disposal. Having now been asked to prepare the speech for the printer, I have thought it best to incorporate many of the data, mainly statistical, which were crowded out in delivery, but the arguments and arrangement are unchanged. I have not the gifts of a crusader, and this speech is not a campaign document. It is intended mainly for thinking people who would like to know the truth regarding a vital social question, but who find in many of our daily papers few facts favorable to prohibition, compared with the vast volume of misinformation against it. To facilitate the use of the address by students and at the same time to avoid overloading the speech itself for the casual reader, I have put some of the data in the form of an appendix, and I have also incorporated in the appendix some facts which were not available when the speech was drafted. It is needless to add that the Rotary Club is in no way responsible for the views expressed.

H.W.F.

New Haven  
Oct. 23, 1922.

# CONFESSIONS OF A PROHIBITIONIST

## NEW HAVEN ROTARY CLUB

### OCTOBER 3, 1922

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Fellow Rotarians:

Please note that I am to give you the confessions, not the apology, of a prohibitionist. I use the word confession as meaning a frank avowal, and such an avowal is the only thing that one Rotarian ought to offer to fellow Rotarians. If, when I am through, some of you wish to put your own interpretation upon the title of my talk and construe it as meaning the avowal of a fault, I cannot prevent you. Each of you must be at liberty to have his own opinion. But while I cannot ask you to agree with all of my conclusions, I do ask you to believe that they have been reached honestly, deliberately and only after careful study of the facts. I must also ask you to believe that in making this talk personal I have no desire to magnify my own views or to intrude my own personality. I am giving my own experience with the liquor problem, because I think that I am in a peculiarly good position to illustrate the normal effect of increasing knowledge upon a normal average mind. By that I mean that I grew up without any strong emotional bias in either direction. I had no tragic family experiences with drunkards to impress upon me the demoniacal nature of rum, nor did I suffer from such ultra severe and Spartan upbringing as to make me rebellious of restraint. Moreover, I lived for six years as a boy and later for three years as a student, on the Continent of Europe, where either wine or beer was as much a part of the daily diet of all of my friends as tea or coffee are here. If anybody had told me in Berlin that he was a teetotaler, I should have considered him a curiosity, like a Fiji Islander or an Albino. When I returned from Europe I usually had wine or beer on the table as a matter of course.

Moreover, as an undergraduate I received the impulse which first led me to devote my life to the study of Economics from that master teacher, William Graham Sumner, and the first ideals in economic and social policy which were held up to me were those of the *laissez faire*, or let alone, school, of which Sumner was, for many years, an eloquent exponent. Sumner believed in the maxim "Mind your own business," and he applied it to the liquor problem as well as to

others. He said: "Nature's remedies against vice are terrible. She removes the victims without pity. A drunkard in the gutter is just where he ought to be according to the fitness and tendency of things." Regarding Prohibition he said: "Some people have resolved to be teetotalers and they want a law passed to make everybody else a teetotaler."

In justice to Sumner and to avoid being misunderstood, I want to say that he was to me a real inspiration. He did splendid work in exposing the evils of the protective tariff and inflation, and it was only in the doctrine of laissez faire that I came to disagree radically with him. I am sure that he would have considered it a greater tribute to his memory to have me disagree with him as the result of studying the facts than to repeat parrot-like the doctrines which he taught. The main fallacy in his argument regarding liquor regulation was that he apparently assumed liquor laws to be made for the benefit of the drunkard. Sumner delivered an eloquent lecture upon the forgotten man. I wish that I could command his eloquence to speak of the forgotten woman and the forgotten child. If the drunkard in the gutter were merely a social atom we might hope to have the race of drunkards gradually eliminated under the law of the survival of the fittest, but every man, whether drunk or sober, is or has been a member of some human family. In the mass of cases he is the husband of a wife and the father of children who depend upon him for support. It is for the protection of these, not for the reformation of the drunkard, that liquor laws are made. He is also normally a worker in some factory or some other field. The drink habit impairs his efficiency and sets back national production. Moreover, at the present time he is very liable to be found, not in the gutter, but at the wheel of an automobile, in which case he endangers the lives of peaceable wayfarers and becomes a public menace. If nature ultimately eliminates him, she is cruelly deliberate about it and does not finish the job until he has done irremediable harm to his fellows. In other words, it is for the protection of society that the liquor traffic is restrained. Many of the facts regarding the social effects of liquor were unknown to Sumner as to John Stuart Mill, upon whose *Essay on Liberty* a large part of Sumner's philosophy was based. I certainly did not know the facts as an undergraduate and I took little interest in liquor legislation of any kind. I held with Iago that "good wine is a good familiar creature, if it be well used" and I did not see why I, who only drank moderately should be restricted in my liberty, because some fool did not know when he was full. Therefore on the whole I believed in the let alone doctrine. This, I should say, is a very comfortable doctrine because it gives its devotees such a smug, self-satisfied feeling. It is also a dangerous doctrine, because it seems to idealize selfishness. At that time I had not yet eaten of the tree of knowledge. I was like some of those careless drivers whom I have met on the highway, who go to sleep on the box, trusting that their

good horse will keep to the road, until they are suddenly awakened by a jolt, and they find that the old horse has run them into the gutter. I was aroused from my comfortable resting place by a series of violent jolts caused by colliding with some very stubborn facts.

### JOLT NUMBER ONE

My first jolt came when as a member of the Committee of Fifty I began to learn something of the social aspects of the liquor problem. This committee carried on its work for about ten years, from 1893 to 1903. It was a rather remarkable group. It had among University presidents such men as President Eliot of Harvard, President Low of Columbia and President Gilman of Johns Hopkins. It had among its physiologists such men as Professor Welch of Johns Hopkins, Professor Chittenden of Yale, Professor Bowditch of Harvard and Dr. John S. Billings. It numbered among its economists and statisticians such men as President Francis A. Walker of the Institute of Technology and Carroll D. Wright of the Department of Labor in Washington. The committee was divided into a number of sub-committees, one on physiological aspects, one on legal aspects and one on economic aspects. I was the secretary of the latter committee, and our work consisted mainly in making a detailed study of the effect of liquor upon pauperism and crime. This was carried on through a case study of some 56,000 individuals, and it extended over a period of more than a year. I must say that it was a revelation to me, and I think to the others, to find in our study that pauperism was directly attributable to the liquor habit in the case of 25% of those who came under the observation of our charity organization societies, of 37% of the paupers in almshouses, and of 46% of the neglected children who became public charges. In the study of crime we pursued a careful course, realizing how difficult it is to assign a criminal action to a single cause. We therefore asked whether the liquor habit contributed towards a crime as a first, second or third cause, and we found that it appeared as a primary cause in 31% of the cases recorded and as one of the causes in 50%. When we began our investigations I think that we were all under the belief that the statements made by many of the agitators for prohibition were grossly exaggerated. Our statistics showed that some of these statements were exaggerated, but they also showed that the facts ascertained by the most careful and conservative methods were so bad that they needed no exaggeration. The facts themselves forced us to sit up and take notice.

I cannot take the time here to consider in detail the work of the other committees. Suffice it to say that the report of the physiological committee, published in two volumes, was a very thorough piece of work. It showed conclusively, not only the degenerative effect of alcohol upon tissues and vitality, but it also exposed the prevalent fallacies regarding some of the beneficial effects of alcohol. It con-

cluded that "alcoholic drinks of all kinds are worse than useless to prevent fatigue or the effects of cold." It did not advocate total abstinence, but it did say that, if taken habitually, liquor should be taken only at meals and as a rule at the last meal of the day. This was a very conservative conclusion. Medical science has gone much further since that day. The American Medical Association has formally put itself on record as saying that it "opposes the use of alcohol as a beverage," and that "the use of alcohol as a therapeutic agent should be discouraged." Even the Belgian Academy of Medicine in 1922 passed a resolution condemning the use of alcohol, and this means a great deal for a country which has long been noted for its well stocked wine cellars.

Our sub-committee on legislative aspects consisted of three exceptional men, Charles W. Eliot of Harvard, Seth Low of Columbia, and James C. Carter, at that time the leader of the New York bar. This committee had a careful examination made of the practical operation of many different plans for dealing with the liquor problem, such as high license, local option, the Gothenburg System, the State Dispensary System and Prohibition. Its ultimate conclusion was somewhat negative. Each system had some good points, but the ideal system did not seem to have been found. Prohibition at that time had undoubtedly led to a great many political evils which were thought to be as bad as the evils of liquor itself, and the Committee did not favor it. Our committee, it will be noticed, was a conservative committee. There were, so far as I know, no Prohibitionists upon it at the time and few teetotalers. I think that the majority of us felt that if drinking could only be practiced in moderation and decency, extreme measures would be unnecessary. One of our members, Bishop Henry C. Potter of New York, showed the courage of his convictions by opening a saloon which was to hold up the standard of moderate drinking. He and some of his friends rented a place to which they gave the name "Subway Tavern" and inaugurated it with prayer. I think that Bishop Potter rendered a valuable service in being willing to try the experiment of the "Subway Tavern." It was found after a relatively short experience that they could not make it pay, and they accordingly sold it to a man who evidently combined with a thorough knowledge of the liquor traffic a keen sense of humor, for he placed upon the walls of his saloon a number of mottoes and inscriptions of which the following are samples: "They sang the Doxology when they opened the place; we'll sing 'Here's to good old wine;'" "Rum and Religion won't mix any more than oil and water;" "You cannot boom drink and temperance too;" "Running a saloon by telling people of the deadly effects of rum is like telling a man to please buy poison because the undertaker needs the money." The causes given by the press for the failure of the Subway Tavern were that it did not allow a man to keep on when he became reckless, that it sold only good liquors, that it was closed on Sunday, and

that it obeyed the excise laws. An editorial in the Springfield Republican stated that this proved that "the saloon keepers' profit was drawn largely from illegal sales, adulterated sales, and drinking to excess."

When the report of the economic sub-committee was published, I was rather optimistic regarding the outlook. I pointed out that there were strong economic forces working for the restriction of drinking. I showed that modern industry demanded sober men; that railroads and transportation could not be carried on by drunkards; and that the trade unions were promoting moderation. The facts at that time seemed to justify optimism, because beer was apparently displacing distilled liquors. The consumption of the latter was going down, and, while the former was increasing, it was doing so at such a moderate rate that the total amount of alcohol consumed per capita was less. The average per capita consumption of distilled spirits from 1891 to 1895 was 1.37 gals.; in the five years from 1896 to 1900 it was 1.12. The consumption of malt liquors was 15.20 from 1891 to 1895. It was 15.53 from 1896 to 1900. You see that I was still jogging along pretty comfortably in spite of this first jolt, and holding a loose rein on the old horse *laissez faire*.

## JOLT NUMBER TWO

My second jolt came with the World War when we were suddenly forced as a nation to take account of stock and see just what our resources were and how we were using them. We discovered that the liquor interests were making heavy demands upon the food supply of the country. More than 110,000,000 bushels of grain were used in 1917 in the production of liquor. Professor Alonzo Taylor estimated that after making every allowance for the by-products of brewing and distilling used as animal food, we wasted enough grain to give a one pound loaf of bread every day to every soldier in an army of 11,000,000 men.

We also found that our liquor bill was appalling. The conservative estimate of "The American Grocer," showed that in 1915-16 we spent \$1,600,000,000 on alcoholic drinks. Other estimates went as high as \$2,000,000,000. Taking the more moderate figures only our liquor bill was just about equal to the value of all of the metals, including gold and silver, produced in the United States in one year. It was nearly double the value of coal, anthracite and bituminous. It was more than double our Government disbursements in 1915-16 and it was  $2\frac{1}{2}$  times the passenger receipts of the railroads.

The injurious effect of liquor on production was felt on account of the importance of speeding up the manufacture of munitions of war. As chairman of the Community Labor Board I came across a very practical illustration. A key man in one of our industries who

made one small part of one of the implements of war, was in the habit of going on an occasional spree. Whenever he went on a spree, work on all of the other parts of this product was held up because of the lack of the one part which he made.

I also realized to my dismay that the optimism which I had expressed in 1899 was not justified. It was no longer true that light drinks were displacing heavy drinks. When we began our investigation in 1893 the country was consuming yearly on an average 1.37 gals. of distilled spirits and 15.20 gals. of malt liquors per capita. In 1913, the year before the World War broke out, we were consuming 1.51 gals. of distilled spirits and 20.72 of malt liquors. In other words, while malt liquors had increased about 36%, distilled liquors had increased about 10%. It was not until after many of our States had adopted State prohibition that the total consumption began to fall. The benign economic forces which I had counted upon to check the consumption of liquor, were not as strong as the malignant forces represented by the aggressive manufacturers of liquor with their lavish advertising and their political power. Our record is the more deplorable if we compare ourselves with a country like Germany which has always been a heavy drinker. In Germany the average consumption of beer in the years 1895 to 1899 was 30 gals. per capita. This had fallen to 26.9 gals. in 1913, the year before the War and had actually gone as low as 26.1 in 1910. Distilled liquors on the other hand (figured as 100% alcohol) also had fallen from 1.63 gals. in 1898-99 to 1.42 in 1912-13.

Now that the war is over, or at least seems to be for us, we do not feel the importance of economy as much as we did in 1917, but the waste is none the less. The difference is that injury to production spells an economic loss and not a military disaster. The war jolt made a considerable impression upon me personally as I presume it did upon a good many others. My son was in the army and the use of alcoholic drinks was forbidden to soldiers. I should have felt cheap indeed if, while living comfortably in New Haven, I had continued an indulgence which was prohibited to my son and to thousands of others who were undergoing the rigors of military training to fight for me and defend the Country. I did not become an advocate of national prohibition, because I realized too keenly the corruption of public officials which had been associated with State prohibition. I began to see, however, that State prohibition in 1917 was a very different thing from State prohibition in 1897. The states had learned something by experience, and I was convinced that at least in many of the States the political evils of the earlier day were much diminished. I also felt averse to extending the power of the Federal Government and above all to putting into the Constitution a piece of social legislation. I believe that constitutions, both State and National, should confine themselves to the structure and fundamental principles of government, and not legislate regarding details. I was

still letting my old horse "laissez faire" lead me on, though I was beginning to suspect that he did not know where he was coming out.

### JOLT NUMBER THREE

My third jolt came when the question of national prohibition became an issue and I felt that I must stand either on one side or the other. I had learned the importance of the liquor problem and I therefore could not with self-respect remain indifferent, even though I was not actually called upon to express my views through the ballot. I began to study the arguments of those opposed to prohibition. I did not find a single one who had any alternative to offer. They suggested nothing in the way of improving the State laws or the State administration. They declined quite generally to discuss the question on its merits and based their opposition almost entirely upon the philosophical doctrines of State rights and personal liberty. When I say that they refused to discuss the question on its merits, I mean that they did not consider either the practical evils of the liquor traffic or the practical benefits, social and economic, to be expected from its suppression. They took the ground that the proposed amendment was in violation of the State rights secured under our Constitution and contrary to the principles of individual liberty. This was, of course, not true of all of the opponents of the Amendment. It was distinctly not true of the present Chief Justice of the United States, who, with that wisdom and insight for which he is noted, showed that it was perfectly in accordance with our laws and traditions to invade personal liberty, if there existed a sufficient public reason for the invasion, but that the difficulty would lie in the enforcement of the law. This has proved to be the case, but those writers who wield the most influence locally laid most of the stress upon the violation of personal liberty, and the more I studied the question through personal discussion, the more I realized that they were starting at the top of a logical toboggan slide which would soon land them in anarchy. By that I mean that if a law is to be condemned because it violates personal liberty, then practically all of our police regulations, to use the word in its widest sense, ought to be condemned. If it is a violation of personal liberty to shut up all saloons, it is a violation of personal liberty, though in a lesser degree, to close them on Sunday or to close them after a certain hour of the day. If I am an immigrant from a country in which it is customary for the best people to spend Sunday afternoons in drinking beer, I am perfectly justified in thinking that my liberty is interfered with by the operation of Sunday laws. The same is true of many other things. If I am an immigrant from a country in which polygamy is legal, I may justly feel that it is an invasion of my personal liberty to force me to content myself with one wife. It is certainly an interference with my personal liberty to say that I shall not spit in the trolley car, if I am compelled by physiological necessity to do so.



Philosophical anarchy is a doctrine which some respectable people like Tolstoy have held. But I believe it to be contrary to the experience of mankind. Therefore when I realized that philosophical anarchy was at the bottom of the logical toboggan slide down which my friends were moving, and that in trying to undermine the Eighteenth Amendment they were undermining all law, I felt that I could not join them and that I must support the Amendment, in spite of difficulties of administration and incidental evils which might arise in connection with it. The catchword "liberty" has certainly many fallacies as well as many crimes to answer for, and when anyone invokes the Goddess of Liberty, I now ask "Whose liberty have you in mind?". In the case of liquor, the personal liberty advocates seem to think only of the liberty of the drinker and of the liquor dealer. They do not think of the liberty of the wife and children of the drinker. They do not think of the liberty of the tax payer to spend his money for his own uses instead of for the support of paupers and criminals. They do not think of the liberty of the automobilist to travel upon the highways without being run into by an inebriate. It is well known that nothing paralyzes the will and therefore interferes with real liberty, as much as alcohol, and to invoke the doctrine of liberty on behalf of the liquor traffic is as rational as to invoke the doctrine of liberty on behalf of the slave trade.

### ABOLITION AND PROHIBITION

There is a close parallel between the prohibition movement of the present day and the abolition movement of the last century. The evils of slavery were flagrant and well recognized, and the wisest and best men of the slave holding States, like Washington and Jefferson, looked forward to the abolition of slavery by State action. But in the course of time, when cotton became king and succeeded tobacco as the great industry based upon slave labor, those who had grown rich on cotton became arrogant; instead of taking any steps toward the abolition of slavery they actually held it up as a system ideal in itself, and at one time prohibited the introduction in Congress of any resolution relating to slavery. I have made a detailed study of the black codes of the Southern states and during the sixty years preceding the Civil War the whole tendency of legislation was, not to prepare the way for freedom, but to confirm the institution of slavery. There were many people in the north who regretted the extravagancies of the fanatical abolitionists. There were many people who regretted the extension of the powers of the Federal Government at the expense of the States. Certainly every thinking man must recognize that a Civil War extending over four years and costing the lives of hundreds of thousands of people is a very unintelligent method by which to secure the enactment of a law to promote freedom. But in view of the attitude of the slaveholders and of their complete failure to take any steps towards abolishing slavery or mitigating its evils,

we can only say that nothing else than the action of the Federal Government would have abolished slavery in the United States. The result was that many people of conservative views who believed in maintaining State rights were forced by the logic of events to support Lincoln and abolition, when the alternative was disunion and the perpetuation of black slavery in the Southern States. There were people in the North who were so afraid of the increased power of the Federal Government and so convinced of the sanctity of State rights, that they did what they could to prevent the prosecution of the war by the North. They were known as "Copperheads."

The liquor problem furnishes a close parallel to the slavery problem. The evils of alcohol have been familiar to the world since the time of Noah. With the growth of huge capitalistic interests connected with the production and distribution of liquor there came an increased control of liquor interests over the politics of this country. The dispensers of liquor like the slaveholders became arrogant and overbearing. They not only hindered the execution of such regulatory laws as we had, but the brewers in particular began to hold up beer as a temperance drink and posed as the real reformers. Individual States, having tried in vain less drastic measures, began to introduce State prohibition, but in time we discovered that the liquor problem was a national one. Lincoln said that the country could not remain half slave and half free. We have found that it could not remain half wet and half dry, because liquor dealers in the wet states were in a position to undermine the law in the dry states. As a matter of national defense it was found necessary to prohibit by Federal action drinking on the part of soldiers, This explains the movement for national prohibition. As during the Civil War we had "Copperheads," who were actually playing into the hands of the South while professing loyalty, so now we have prohibition Copperheads who are doing what they can to undermine the application of the law, even after it has become a part of the Constitution, and they are basing their opposition on State rights and personal liberty as did the Copperheads during the Civil War. I do not question the sincerity or good faith of many of these people, but I believe that they have been very much misled by doctrines which have no exact definition and the application of which should always be limited by a study of practical results. The presumption is in favor of unrestricted personal liberty, but that presumption falls to the ground when liberty is so abused as to impair the liberty of others and when the evils do not correct themselves.

### FALLACIOUS ARGUMENTS

I have spoken of the logical toboggan slide represented by the personal liberty argument. There are two other arguments so common that they should not be passed over without exposing their fallacies. One is that you cannot make people temperate by law.

This is perfectly true and perfectly irrelevant. Liquor laws are not intended to make people temperate. Temperance is a quality of the mind which can only be cultivated by moral methods. But you can protect the innocent against the actions of the drinker himself by checking the traffic which fattens upon his weakness, and that is what the laws are for.

Another argument is that prohibition creates a contempt for law. I deny the statement. It does not create lawlessness, it merely reveals it. Let me illustrate my meaning by an example. I once had a friend who seemed to be the picture of health. He was ruddy, athletic, and apparently able to do anything. But one day as he was walking up a moderately steep hill, he suddenly felt distressed. He was obliged to go home, and his physician diagnosed a disease of the heart from which he died in a few years. The hill did not create heart disease but it revealed it. It showed that even the moderate exertion involved was too much for a heart that was impaired. The Volstead act has, I regret to say, revealed a lawless spirit in quarters where it was not suspected. This is, however, but one illustration of the humiliating fact that we are as a nation lawless in comparison with other civilized countries. If we now find people violating the Eighteenth Amendment, who have been hitherto law abiding citizens, we must conclude that they have never faced a temptation as strong as that which the amendment presents. That does not prove that the law is wrong in itself. We find our marriage laws disregarded by rich society people who lead double lives. This does not prove that monogamy is wrong, it simply proves that there are individuals who are ready for their own gratification to violate the marriage law. The crucial question then with regard to prohibition is, not whether all decent people approve of it, but whether it has produced the social effects that were intended. We ask in other words, whether it has diminished in any degree the evils of pauperism, crime, disease, and waste which were found to result from the consumption of liquor?

### EFFECTS OF PROHIBITION

The criminal statistics of the United States are not available in any complete form, but such figures as have been obtained from various cities and States agree so remarkably in their tendency that we can state the effects of prohibition with a good deal of confidence.

A. The arrests for drunkenness have fallen amazingly. The figures are particularly striking where they are given by months. In New Haven, *e.g.*, there was a marked drop in June 1919, when war prohibition went into effect and another one in January 1920 when the Volstead Act went into effect, the arrests in the later month having been less than one-seventh what they had been a year before.

B. Deaths from alcoholism have shown a very marked decrease as instanced by the vital statistics both of cities and of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company.

C. Misdemeanors, lawlessness, and neglect of children, likewise underwent a pronounced fall with prohibition.

D. On the other hand, there is every evidence of increased saving and thrift with the cutting down of the liquor bill. This has shown itself statistically in the savings bank deposits and it is also reflected in the experience of charitable organizations, which found that the recent period of unemployment did not bring as great demands upon them as had been the case in other times of financial depression, and the only possible explanation was that the laboring class had saved their money.

### SOME FAKE CLAIMS

These figures absolutely disprove the vague and sweeping assertions frequently made to the effect that there is more drinking now than there was before the Volstead Act went into effect. The fact seems to be that there are in some places more violations of the law now, in 1922, than there were in 1921. This is probably due partly to the business depression which has made bootlegging an attractive calling for those who are out of work; partly to the organization on a large scale of lawless people who are able to use the automobile and the airplane for the illicit transportation of liquor. The very latest figures are not yet available, but there has undoubtedly been a reaction in some places. In New Haven, for example, the arrests for drunkenness were higher in the month of September 1922 than they were when they reached their minimum in the month of February, 1920, but they were lower than they were in September 1920, and very much lower than they were in January 1919. The figures, as far as New Haven is concerned, show that there was a great falling off in the first months of 1920, going as low as 45 in February. Then they began to rise, reaching a maximum of 257 in September 1920. Then they fell off, going down to 132 in January 1922, but rising again since that time to 243 in September. In other words, there have been ups and downs, but we have not yet gone back to the pre-prohibition figures. In Hartford, on the other hand, there has been, according to the *Hartford Courant* a great increase in the arrests for drunkenness during the present year, the arrests rising from 116 in January to 520 in September. This is attributed by the *Courant* directly to the action of the mayor, who came into office on May 2, and announced in July that the liquor squad, which had apparently been very efficient, was to be replaced. If that is true, it is not surprising that in three months the arrests jumped from 195 in June to 520 in September. There are indications that there have been reactions elsewhere in arrests for drunkenness as there have been in deaths from alcoholism. The comparison of Hartford and New Haven shows, however, clearly how much the effect of the law depends upon its administration. When the law was first passed, it was obviously assumed that it was going to be executed. Hence, the very sudden drop both

in arrests for drunkenness and in cases of alcoholism. Then after a couple of years the bootleggers, who in the meantime had become better organized, found out the weak points in the administration, and became defiant. These weak points are two fold. 1. The failure of the Volstead Act to make any provision for the appointment of its agents for merit. The merest tyro in practical affairs knows that the more severe a repressive act is, the greater are the profits to be made by smuggling or evasion. He also knows that all laws for the suppression of vice are difficult to execute. If Congress had shown but a small part of the wisdom and good will which we have the right to demand of it, it would have provided at once that the agents to carry out the Volstead Act should be appointed strictly for merit on the basis of a careful examination into their character and ability. Instead of that, we have had the scandal of malfeasance among the very officers of the Government .

2. Another weak point lies in the very light fines imposed by many of our courts, fines so small in proportion to the profits of the liquor trade, that they amount to little more than a high license fee. If more jail sentences were imposed, there is no doubt that bootlegging would become less popular.

When, therefore, the wets claim that the law cannot be executed, since people will always drink, the answer is threefold:

1. The law has already been executed sufficiently to produce most beneficial results.

2. The shortcomings in the execution of the present law are due, not so much to the difficulties inherent in the law itself, though these are unquestionably considerable, as to the failure of Congress and of the administrative officers to apply it seriously.

3. These shortcomings are not confined to the liquor law but apply to all of our criminal law, including the punishment of such crimes as murder and robbery.

### LIGHT WINES AND BEER

Would it help the enforcement of the law to allow the production and sale of so-called "light wines" and beer? In the first place, it should be clearly understood that this would be a violation of the Eighteenth Amendment and would undoubtedly stamp our country as a country of hypocrites. What is meant by "light wines" and beer? Light French claret averages from 8 per cent to 10 per cent of alcohol by weight, American wines between 9 per cent and 10 per cent. Whiskey averages from 37 to 40 per cent. It is clear then that about four units of a light French claret contains as much alcohol as one unit of whiskey. In other words, if we concede that a glass of whiskey is an intoxicating drink, then four glasses of light wine would also be intoxicating. Beer is weaker, but

the English ales average 5 per cent, American lager beer 3.8 per cent, and very light German beers like Pilsner 3.33 per cent. I have seen German students get gloriously drunk even on the light German beers. It would therefore be a farce to allow beer, and still more of a farce to allow "light" wines, when the Constitution prohibits "intoxicating" liquors. But there is a practical reason equally cogent. It is clear that to permit wine and beer would be to legalize the saloon, and this would make it more difficult even than it is now to prevent the sale of distilled liquors. Light wines and beer are simply a piece of camouflage designed to deceive the simple minded. If anybody thinks there is any intention on the part of the brewers to promote temperance by substituting beer for strong drinks, I can answer this claim by the testimony of the brewers themselves. In the year 1917 when they saw the handwriting upon the wall and realized that they must make a desperate effort to maintain the liquor traffic if they would check the steady progress of prohibition, they set to work to influence public opinion. In a well displayed advertisement, filling half a page in one of our local papers, the United States Brewers Association made the following remarkable statement:

"The true relationship of beer is with light wines and soft drinks—*not with hard liquors.*

"For this false mental association the brewers are largely responsible. Keen competition in the early days of the brewing industry, before the perfection of modern bottling methods, led the brewers as individuals to encourage the establishment of saloons, which were at that time the only agencies through which their product could be lawfully sold. This unwise individual action on the part of many led to an undue multiplication of the saloon—a form of retail distribution which dealt not only in malt beverages but also in intoxicating liquors, and established a business affiliation that has since created the false mental association.

"Thus our product has been unjustly and improperly linked with those influences—over which we have had no control—that have actually promoted Intemperance."

If anyone thinks that the brewers in their zeal for true temperance will act differently in the future from what they have in the past he must be ready to believe that the leopard can change his spots and the Ethiopian his skin.

In conclusion I ask what is the natural attitude of Rotarians, whose motto is "Service above self." This involves two questions, one practical, the other ethical. The practical question is, what is the best way to lessen the evils of the liquor traffic? The ethical question is, what is our duty as citizens? As regards the practical question, the facts which I have set before you show that the pur-

pose of the Eighteenth Amendment was to outlaw the liquor traffic as a potent cause of pauperism, crime, disease and waste. The law has already, in spite of faulty administration, produced the desired result in a high degree. The most serious charge brought against it by its critics is that it fails to prohibit completely the sale of liquor. In other words, their opposition is not to prohibition so much as to non-prohibition. If, therefore, we desire to diminish the evils complained of, it is clear that we can contribute our part by throwing what influence we have in favor of a better administration of the law. This is doubly true of the man who disbelieves in the principle of prohibition, since it is only by enforcing the law that he can prove the results to be bad. Those who say that the law can not be enforced are like the defeatists in France who said: Germany cannot be beaten, and therefore we will make the best terms we can. Clemenceau came into power and said: Germany must be beaten. The United States entered the war and said: Germany must be beaten; and she was.

My answer to the second question, what is the duty of the Rotarian, as a citizen, is simple. The Amendment is the law of the land, adopted by 46 States, and sustained by the Supreme Court. If we believe it to be a mistake, we have the right to work for its repeal or for a substitute. What has been done by the people can be undone by the people. But while it remains the law, no one who is loyal to the Constitution can do otherwise than obey it in spirit and in letter.

We are told that the law cannot be enforced as long as it does not appeal to the conscience of all of the people, and as long as many otherwise perfectly good citizens see no wrong in drinking. This puts the case in a very misleading way. The liquor problem is not a new problem, nor is it confined to the United States. Our nearest neighbor, Canada, has felt its importance, and has passed stringent provincial laws, some of them prohibitory. In Sweden, prohibition has been a burning question for a long time. Belgium, in spite of its fondness for old Burgundy, has passed a law prohibiting the retailing of distilled liquors.

Even Germany, in which beer and wine have been for centuries linked up with music, poetry and art, has discussed the question seriously and taken some rather remarkable straw votes on the subject. Our country has taken a heroic measure to rid itself of the evil. It may be mistaken, it may be unpractical, but it certainly is heroic, and the amendment has been adopted by a larger proportion of the States, than any other amendment to the Constitution or even the Constitution itself. On the other hand we are witnessing a determined and organized effort to undermine the law. The smugglers and bootleggers have their ships, their aeroplanes,

and their guns. It may have been a figure of speech when Lloyd George said that England had three enemies, Germany, Austria and drink. It is no figure of speech to say that the outlawed liquor interests are waging war upon the officers of the United States. This may not be technically treason, but it certainly is disloyalty, and those who give them aid and comfort by buying their wares are coquetting with disloyalty. The question is not whether to drink is in itself right or wrong. The question is whether a man has the right to defy the law of the land, merely because under other laws and other conditions the liquor traffic is legal. What disregard of law really means is well expressed by Judge Charles A. Woods, chairman of the Judicial Section of the American Bar Association, in a report which he made at the meeting held in 1921. He said:

“When for the gratification of their appetites, or the promotion of their interests, lawyers, bankers, great merchants and manufacturers, and social leaders, both men and women, disobey and scoff at the law, or any other law, they are aiding the cause of anarchy and promoting mob violence, robbery and homicide, they are sowing dragon’s teeth, and they need not be surprised when they find that no judicial or police authority can save our country or humanity from reaping the harvest.”



## APPENDIX

The following figures are reprinted in support of some of the generalizations in the foregoing pages.

### I. LAWLESSNESS IN THE UNITED STATES, P. 12

Raymond B. Fosdick in *American Police Systems* shows by carefully compiled police statistics that "crime is far more prevalent in American cities than in the cities of England, France and Germany. In 1916 Chicago, with its 2,500,000 people had 20 more murders than the whole of England and Wales put together with their 38,000,000 people." (p 10). In 1915, "New York City had approximately eight times as many burglaries as London and nearly twice the number of burglaries reported in all England and Wales." (p. 15).

The prevalence of crime has attracted the attention of the Committee on Law Enforcement of the American Bar Association. In its report, made at the San Francisco meeting, August, 1922, this committee stated that burglaries in the country at large had increased in ten years by 1200 percent, and that the average of homicides in recent years was about 9,000. If that figure is correct, then we had in 1921 one homicide for every 11,800 of the population. The report of the Commissioner of the London Metropolitan Police for 1921 stated that the British metropolis with a population of over 7,000,000 had in that year but 20 homicides of persons one year of age and upwards, and of these two were deaths following illegal operations. This gives London an average of one homicide to about 373,800 persons or less than one thirtieth of our homicide rate. (*London Times*, July 14, 1922, and *Springfield Republican*, August 11, 1922).

Employees of the Department of Justice in Washington have recently been charged with taking what does not belong to them by the Grand Jury of the District of Columbia which summarizes the results of an examination of some 28 citizens as follows: "This investigation developed the fact that a large number of trunks, suitcases, boxes, chests, etc., presumably containing alcoholic liquors, in definite quantities, ranging from a pint in some instance to several gallons in others, had been seized by agents of the department . . . . and stored in rooms of the Department of Justice building and warehouse space rented for that purpose . . . it further appears that certain representatives of the Department of Justice disposed of the liquor in various ways, for instance, by appropriating it to their own personal use, by making gifts to relatives, friends, physicians and hospitals, and by destroying such of it as appeared to be unfit for consumption." (Washington correspondence of the *New York Times*, Oct. 3, 1922).

### II. THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE LIQUOR LAW, P. 14

The Volstead Act provides that a person convicted of manufacturing or selling liquor may "for a first offence be fined not more

than \$1,000 or imprisoned not exceeding 6 months, and for a second or subsequent offense shall be fined not less than \$200 nor more than \$2,000, and be imprisoned not less than one month nor more than five years." (Sec. 29). Many courts have contented themselves with relatively light fines. In a recent session of one of the United States District Courts, 29 persons were punished for a violation of the liquor law; there were no jail penalties imposed, and the fines ran from one dollar up to \$350, there being only two of the latter, and only two others as high as \$200. That moderate fines have little deterring power upon the bootleggers is indicated by the action of the Common Pleas Court of New Haven, which in its session of October 12th, 1922, reversed its previous practice of fining violators of the law and imposed two jail sentences. The newspaper report of the event says "the judges remarked that the past condition of affairs must change, that hereafter all offenders will be severely dealt with as a warning to others. The judges observed that fines have not acted as a deterrent upon others, hence hereafter the full jail sentences provided by statute will be imposed."

(New Haven *Journal-Courier*, Oct. 13, 1922).

### III. SOCIAL EFFECTS OF PROHIBITION, P. 12

A. Has prohibition decreased drunkenness? The only statistical test that we have is found in the arrests for drunkenness, and here the figures are most conclusive, as shown in the case of a number of our larger cities.

Arrests for Drunkenness							
City	Year	Number	Decrease	City	Year	Number	Decrease
Boston	1919	52,682	36,195	Los	1916	17,510	10,671
	1920	16,487		Angeles	1921	6,839	
Cincinnati	1918	1,470	1,135	Portland,	1915	6,655	3,751
	1920	335		Ore.	1921	2,904	
Louis- ville	1918-19	3,624	3,212	Detroit,	1916	17,409	10,189
	1919-20	412		Mich.	1921	7,220	
New York	1915	22,635	14,466	Des	1914	4,428	2,479
	1921	8,169		Moines, Ia.	1921	1,949	
San	1919	17,354	11,537				
Francisco	1921	5,817					
Five							
Principal	1917	17,491			1920	6,545	
Cities in	1918	12,901			1921	5,970	
Conn.	1919	7,408					
Mass.	1912	98,651			1917	129,455	
	1913	104,936			1918	92,838	
	1914	108,185			1919	79,212	
	1915	106,146			1920	37,160	
	1916	116,655			1921	59,585	

Aver. 7	1912-18	108,123	Aver. 2 pro-	1920-21	48,372	55%
License yrs.			hibition years			
New	1912	3,000		1917	5,106	
Haven	1913	3,798		1918	4,267	
	1914	3,879		1919	2,544	
	1915	4,221		1920	2,221	
	1916	5,623		1921	2,143	

(Figures for Boston, Cincinnati and Louisville taken from an article by Deets Pickett, "How Prohibition Works in American Cities," prepared and distributed by the Board of Temperance, Prohibition and Public Morals of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Figures for New York, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Portland, Ore., Detroit, Mich., Des Moines, Iowa, taken from "Hold Fast, America," by Gifford Gordon, in *The Christian Work*, Oct. 14, 1922. Figures for Five Principal Cities in Connecticut were taken from *The Connecticut Citizen*, March, 1922, p. 4; "Massachusetts under Prohibition," an article in the *Literary Digest* for Oct. 28, 1922, furnished the figures for Massachusetts, while the figures for New Haven were taken from the Police reports of that city.)

Hartford Drunkenness Arrests for Nine Months, 1922.

Month	Arrests
January	116
February	140
March	162
April	204
May	249
June	195
July	227
August	319
September	520
Total	2,132

"Since the announcement in July that the liquor squad, comprising Sergeant Kroopneck, Detective Sergeant Moriarity and Policeman Godfrey, would be disbanded and a new squad appointed the daily arrests for drunkenness have increased 137 per cent over the period from January 1 to April 30."

(*Hartford Courant*, Oct. 6, 1922.)

B. How has prohibition affected deaths from alcoholism?  
Comparison of Total Deaths from Alcoholism in 14 great  
American Cities

Statistics compiled from United States Mortality Reports and from Official Reports from City Health Boards.

City	Alcoholism, Chronic and Acute			1916-1917
	1916	1917	1920	Average
New York	687	560	98	623.5
Chicago	245	187	46	216
Philadelphia	187	217	11	202
Boston	161	166	31	163.5
Detroit	120	137	27	128.5
Pittsburgh	85	103	17	94
Cleveland	80	77	11	78.5
St. Louis	36	73	8	54.5
San Francisco	55	39	4	47
Cincinnati	43	37	4	40
Baltimore	28	37	4	32.5
Washington, D. C.	28	21	3	24.5
Milwaukee	25	10	5	17.5
New Orleans	19	16	7	17.5
Total	1,799	1,680	276	1,739.5

The average number of deaths from alcoholism in 1916-17 was over 6 times the number in 1920. The years 1916-1917 were compared with 1920 because the influenza epidemic made mortality statistics in 1918 abnormal; 1919 was neither license nor prohibition for the entire year.

(Reprint from *Scientific Temperance Journal*, Feb. 1921, 2nd ed.)

#### Deaths from Alcoholism in New York City

1910	621	1919	176
1916	687	1920	98
1917	560	1921 (Estimate)	84
1918	252		

(From an article in *N. Y. Times*, Jan. 15, 1922.)

Death Rate from Alcoholism per 100,000 among premium-paying Industrial Policyholders of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company

1912	5.3	1917	4.9
1913	5.2	1918	1.8
1914	4.7	1919	1.4
1915	4.1	1920	.6
1916	5.1	1921	.9

#### C. How has prohibition affected lawlessness and misdemeanors?

City	Offense	Year	Number	Year	Number
Boston	Assaults	1919	2,127	1920	1,673
Cincinnati	Disorderly conduct	1918	3,320	1920	1,727
Louisville	Disorderly conduct	June 1918 to June 1919	5,177	June 1919 to June 1920	2,855
San Francisco	Assaults	June 1919 1917-1918	419	June 1920 1919-1920	255

(Figures taken from Deets Pickett, "How Prohibition Works in American Cities," Prepared for Board of Temperance, Prohibition, and Public Morals of the Methodist Episcopal Church).

State	Offence	Year	Number	Year	Number
New York	Committments in all penal and cor- rectional institutions	1917	129,352	1921	73,947

(From an article by Winthrop D. Lane, "Crime in the United States," in *London Times*, July 4, 1922).

#### Arrests for Breach of Peace in New Haven

Year	Number	Year	Number
1912	885	1917	1,591
1913	1,057	1918	1,318
1914	1,254	1919	929
1915	1,572	1920	965
1916	1,710	1921	941

(Compiled from Annual Reports of the New Haven Department of Police, 1912-1921.)

#### Prison Statistics from Bridwell Prison, Chicago

Year	No.	Decrease	Year	No.	Decrease
1917 Total Inmates	17,748		1917 Average No. of Inmates	2,090	
1921 Commitments	9,653	8,095	1921 of Inmates	1,302	788
1917 Adultery and Fornication	65	41	1917 Assault with Deadly Weapon	237	75
1921 Assault and Battery	73	26	1917 Breach of Peace	10,467	4,977
1921 Larceny	47		1921 Wife and child Abandonment	661	660
1917 Larceny	2,046			1	
1921	1,568	478			

(Figures taken from "Hold Fast, America," by Gifford Gordon, in *The Christian Work*, Oct. 14, 1922.)

D. Has prohibition led to increased savings? It is the conviction of many employers and many social workers that there was much less demand upon public help through the period of unemployment last year than was expected, and that this was due to the fact that the bread winners had not squandered so much money on drink as formerly, and were, therefore, able to finance themselves during hard times. This is confirmed by the following savings bank statistics of the United States:

Savings Banks, U.S.A.		
	Deposits	Increase
1911	\$4,212,000,000	
1912	4,451,000,000	\$239,000,000
1913	4,727,000,000	276,000,000
1914	4,936,000,000	209,000,000
1915	4,997,000,000	61,000,000
1916	5,088,000,000	91,000,000
1917	5,418,000,000	330,000,000
1918	5,471,000,000	53,000,000
1919	5,906,000,000	435,000,000
1920	6,536,000,000	630,000,000

(*World Almanac*, 1922, p. 356)

The somewhat erratic movement of these figures requires a little explanation. It is probable that the great increase in 1917 was due to the increased earnings resulting from the activity of the war industries, while the falling off in 1918 was due to the investment of savings in Liberty Bonds. To make a fair comparison we should take the year 1920 and compare it with the years 1911 to 1914, before the European War had upset economic conditions. This test shows an average annual increase in the three years preceding the world war of \$241,000,000 as against an increase in 1920 of \$630,000,000.

# THE HERRIN CONSPIRACY



Herrin's heinous crime is a challenge to America, the Mother of us all—of the newcomer to her household no less than of the native born. It is a challenge that must be met now. It is a challenge that must be met standing.—Boston (Mass.) *Transcript*, June 28, 1922.

An even more vital reason for prompt action is seen in the temper of the men, which carries with it a threat that the atrocities committed in Illinois this week will be repeated in other mining fields.—St. Joseph (Mo.) *Press*, June 24, 1922.

Until this coal mine butchery is legally avenged Americans can no longer boast that in the United States the Constitution is supreme.—*The Sun*, New York, July 6, 1922.

Issued by

**The National Coal Association**

WASHINGTON, D. C.

34 who were wounded and a number are still unaccounted for. Such was the outrage committed in a union district upon men who were merely exercising the universal law of the right to labor and who had been employed by William J. Lester, president of the coal company, to operate the strip mine from which the members of the United Mine Workers of America had walked out.

### **An Attack on Government**

This organized murder of American citizens was the result of the determination of a branch of the United Mine Workers of America to maintain as an absolute stronghold the supremacy of the Miners' Union in Williamson County over and above the law of the State and the law of the Nation.

It was anarchy; it was the placing of the aim of the union as the supreme law of Williamson County. It was a vicious attack upon the fundamental principles upon which our Government was founded. The right of any American to do his work, a basic principle of our Constitution which guarantees liberty and protection, is an issue far above any question between the United Mine Workers and operators, and it concerns not only the coal miners and coal operators, but every man and woman in this country. It concerns every industry, every home.

What does this uprising mean? It is the concern of every citizen of the land. Every American must view this crime with the utmost concern, for the issue involves the very foundations of our Government. What happened in Williamson County may happen in almost any community in the country, if every effort is not put forth to bring the assassins to justice. Indeed, it was the boast



of the organized band who committed this murder that in Williamson County, at least, America would be shown that the law of the union reigned supreme:

These murders grew out of what has every appearance—from the bare facts collected—of a well-organized conspiracy to stop the operation of the strip mine. The investigation indicates that the conspiracy was developed over a period of four or five days during which the sentiment of the members of the mine workers' union in Williamson County was intensively developed against the strip mine workers. Plans for the attack were carefully laid. Then the assault began. This assault was interrupted by a truce arranged in accordance with the wishes of the officials of the United Mine Workers of America, and the County officials acquiesced, as did the owner of the mine who agreed that no attempt would be made to reopen the mine during the strike.

The facts relating to the whole affair have been assembled here in order to give a picture of the situation in Williamson County and a comprehensive story of what happened.

### **A Union Stronghold**

Williamson County, Illinois, which has a population of 61,038, is in one of the most strongly unionized centers of America. Marion, the county seat, has a population of 9,582, and Herrin, a population of 10,986. It is conservatively estimated that 85 per cent of the residents of the County are miners or connected with them by family ties or otherwise, and reflecting unionized labor sentiment. All business conducted in the County is dependent to a vital degree upon the patronage of the mining element. The mining vote elects or defeats candidates for public office.

Many of the public officials holding elective office are miners, have been miners, or are in strong sympathy with union labor whose strength is such that, without question, it is its vote that elects or defeats any candidate for local or county office.

The most outstanding local figure in the events leading up to the massacre, is Sheriff Melvin Thaxton, who persistently refused to swear his deputies or to call for the Illinois National Guard, as he was urged to do repeatedly by Col. S. N. Hunter, representing Adjutant General Carlo Black of Illinois, for three days before the surrender and butchery of the strip miners. Col. Hunter had arrived in Marion on June 18 to keep an eye on the situation. The Sheriff is an examiner, and was elected by the mining vote, and is now a candidate for county treasurer.

There is ample testimony that Sheriff Thaxton is physically not a coward. In times past he has been cool, courageous and vigilant in supporting the law. Single-handed he stopped thirteen prisoners in a jail-breaking attempt two years ago. He has to his credit successful intervention in a number of attempted lynchings.

### **The Judge and the Mob**

County Judge Hartwell draws a picture of the mob which shows its caliber when met by a determined spirit. A crowd went to the Judge's home. They demanded that he deliver over to them his collection of firearms. He dared the young fellows to come and get them, at the same time directing his wife to load as he fired. The mob faded away.

Prominent also in the three days preceding the attack on the mine was State Senator William J. Sneed, president of

the Sub-District of the United Mine Workers of America—a resident of Herrin. He appears to be the leading politician of the County, insofar as the labor vote is concerned. The labor vote, which in a previous election had been led by Sneed in the interests of another political faction, was reversed under Sneed's control and support thrown to Len Small, successful candidate for Governor.

The State's Attorney of Williamson County is Delos L. Duty, whose family has been slightly identified with union miner interests. Duty, who was elected by miners' votes, is on record as expressing very serious doubt of his ability to convict mob conspirators, leaders and members of the mob. "To get a jury not imbued with the ideas of the labor unions will be impossible, I believe," he said, and added, "the killing was un-human beyond words."

### **Brundage Infers Conspiracy**

Edward J. Brundage, Attorney General of Illinois, views the Herrin massacre as "murder in cold blood after the strip miners had surrendered." That the Attorney General believes a conspiracy existed is the inference to be drawn from his statement that "the riot was not spontaneous; the mob gathered from several counties at a central spot."

William M. McCown of Marion, the Coroner of Williamson County, was a union miner and is admittedly a union sympathizer.

The principal business of Williamson County is digging coal from deep mines, of which there are thirty-two. There are also four strip mines where huge shovels scrape the earth from thick veins of coal which run near the surface. Other shovels then lift this coal into cars. It

was against the strip mine, owned by the Southern Illinois Coal Company, of which William J. Lester is president, that members of the United Mine Workers of America directed an attack. As an operator Mr. Lester played a lone hand, and was not a member of any coal operators' association.

### **Strip Shovels Continue Work**

When the deep mines were closed by the U. M. W. of A. strike April 1, last, the stripping shovel at the Lester mine did not cease operations. The stripping shovel was kept at work, meantime, and no objection was made by the strikers as long as no attempt to mine coal was made. Men manning this shovel, or rather the crews operating it, were members of the Steam Shovel Men's Union, an organization not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

About June 10 Lester made preparation actually to dig and load coal and additional men, some of whom were rated as track layers and others as guards, were put on the property. This development was instantly resented by the union miners, and the question arose as to the status of the men employed at the strip mine. There was also the openly voiced feeling of resentment that armed guards were on duty at these strip mines.

As early as June 13, it became manifest that a plot against the mine was brewing. Robert Tracy, of Chicago, a locomotive engineer, reported to the mine for duty, and in examining the engine firebox found ten sticks of dynamite and two cans of powder therein. Two days later, says Tracy, picketing of the mine began.

The Sheriff and State's Attorney and U. M. W. of A. officials protested to Mr.

Lester and his superintendent, C. K. McDowell, against the employment of these armed guards; said that they were trespassing on public property and holding up traffic. The strip mine people were told that they were courting destruction, if they continued to dig coal. There is on record the statement that McDowell declared that if any guards were outside the mine boundary they were disobeying his instructions. It was also said by some who conferred with him that he promised to disarm the guards, but this is not verified.

There was talk of boycotting stores which were supplying the men with provisions, and the union miners also were sent to watch railroad stations where additional workmen for the strip mine might arrive. Col. Hunter notes that two of these workers, detraining at Marion, were intercepted by union miners and ordered away, and did leave.

### **The Telegram from Lewis**

There was discussion among the strikers as to the status of the strip mine workers. On June 18, Senator Sneed wired John L. Lewis, International President of the U. M. W. of A., asking for an official ruling on the status of the strip mine workers. Sneed received the following reply:

Indianapolis, Ind.  
June 19, 1922.

William J. Sneed,  
Pres. Sub-District 10  
District 12, U. M. W. of A.

Your wire of eighteenth, Steam Shovel Men's Union was suspended from affiliation with American Federation of Labor some years ago. It was also ordered suspended from the mining department of the American Federation of Labor at the

Atlantic City convention. We now find that this outlaw organization is permitting its members to act as strike breakers at numerous strip pits in Ohio. This organization is furnishing steam shovel engineers to work under armed guards with strike breakers. It is not true that any form of agreement exists by and between this organization and the mining department or any other branch of the American Federation of Labor permitting them to work under such circumstances. We have, through representatives, officially taken this question up with the officers of the Steam Shovel Men's Union and have failed to secure any satisfaction. *Representatives of our organization are justified in treating this crowd as an outlaw organization and in viewing its members in the same light as they do any other common strike breakers.*

(Signed) JOHN L. LEWIS.

### **Published in Local Press**

On Tuesday, June 20, this telegram was printed in the *Marion Daily Republican* as that paper's leading news article. It was given similar treatment the same day in the *Herrin Journal*. There is every reason to believe that the contents of this telegram became known to practically all of the union miners and their sympathizers over the whole of the coal field on Tuesday and Wednesday.

The first mass meeting that the miners held after the receipt of the telegram to discuss a program of action against the strip mine workers, it is related by Col. Hunter, was held early Tuesday afternoon, June 20. He was informed that the miners were in session at the Sunnyside Mine. Col. Hunter avers that he went to the office of State Senator Sneed and

told the latter of the meeting, whereupon Sneed replied:

"I know about it. There is no cause for alarm."

Col. Hunter says that a little later he told Sheriff Thaxton of this miners' mass meeting and asked the Sheriff to send a deputy, who resided in Herrin, to the meeting and ascertain what was going on. The Sheriff promised to do this, Col. Hunter says. There seems to exist a strong probability that some definite action against operations at the strip mine was agreed upon at this Tuesday mass meeting.

The next day another meeting took place. Of what was done at this meeting and of the effect actually had on the minds of the miners and their friends, the *Marion Daily Republican* of June 22, said:

### Meeting in Cemetery

"An indignation meeting was held in the cemetery in Herrin on Wednesday morning, June 21, at which time the feeling was running high, and the telegram of John L. Lewis calling these shovel men common strike breakers, was read. Soon afterwards a mob raided three hardware stores in Herrin, obtaining a few guns and rifles and 5,000 rounds of ammunition of all kinds."

Walter M. Sims, editor of the *Christopher Progress*, published in a mining town fourteen miles from Herrin, wrote in his publication:

"The trouble (the massacre) followed after an indignation meeting was held just outside of Herrin on a road to the mine Wednesday morning following the publication of a telegram from John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, which stated that the workmen at the strip mine who are members of the

Shovel Men's Union were 'common strike breakers.' ”

Writing from Herrin, Thoreau Cronyn said in the *New York Herald* of July 12:

“A veteran of Williamson County to whom the correspondent showed the copy of this (Lewis') telegram, pushed his spectacles up on his forehead after reading it and said:

“‘Everybody down here knows how the union miners felt about this and how certain words inflame them. I should not say that the word outlaw riled them so much, but when Lewis officially told them that those fellows out at the Lester mine were to be treated like any other strike breakers, I should say that it was about the same thing as saying: ‘Hike out there to the mine and clean ‘em out.’ ”

Prominent business men of Marion and Herrin say that when they heard the men on the streets and in business places talking excitedly about the message from Lewis that they felt certain a violent outbreak was but hours distant.

Out of these meetings meantime the conspiracy to stop the operation of the mine had been developed. The initial move to invest the strip mine has all the ear-marks of an organized effort and it resulted in the first open act of hostility.

### **The First Hostile Act**

On Wednesday morning, June 21, at eight o'clock, say the union miners entrusted with keeping any more men from reaching the strip mine, additional workmen were unloaded from the Chicago train at Carbondale, Illinois, about fourteen miles from the mine. These men were put into a mine truck which was followed by a mine automobile. There were eleven men in the two machines. At a



point three miles east of Carbondale, men in a strange automobile preceding the truck fired shots into the air, as if by pre-arranged signal. Immediately, shot gun firing was directed from underbrush along the roadside.

Some of the eleven strip mine workers were wounded seriously and others fled, followed by volleys of shot gun firing. "Mark" Delaney, who was in charge of the strip mine party, made his way back to Carbondale and telephoned to Supt. McDowell at the mine, relating how these two automobile loads of men had been fired on and stating that some of them had been wounded and taken to the Carbondale hospital.

### **Events Known to Officials**

All these events had not escaped the ears and eyes of state, city and county officials. Col. Hunter, after visiting the mine, talking to the Sheriff, State's Attorney, and other city and county officials in Marion and Herrin had concluded as early as Monday, June 19th: that "the local officers were in sympathy with the belligerent miners, but had agreed to maintain order." He stated further, however, that he had no confidence in the Sheriff's avowed intention or his ability to cope with the situation and protect the men. He made this report by telephone shortly before noon on Monday to the Adjutant-General.

Hunter told the Adjutant-General that the Sheriff had promised to protect property and life at the mines. The Colonel advised the Adjutant-General to have two companies of the Illinois National Guard, one at Salem and one at Cairo, notified to be in readiness to entrain for Marion on an hour's notice. These two companies could have been in Marion within four hours.

## The Sheriff's Inaction

The Adjutant-General told Col. Hunter at this time to "lay down" (bear down) on the Sheriff and have him do his full duty in the way of securing an extra force of deputies. That afternoon the Colonel asked the Sheriff what he was doing to get more deputies and also informed him that the two companies of troops were ready to respond to any request the Sheriff would make. The Sheriff said that he felt his regular force of deputies was sufficient for the present, and that for Col. Hunter to tell the Adjutant-General, "Troops would not be needed to put down trouble at the mines."

Later in the evening Col. Hunter reported to the Adjutant-General that the Sheriff had not sworn in more deputies and did not anticipate the use of troops. Col. Hunter got after the Sheriff again on Tuesday morning in regard to securing additional deputies. The Sheriff replied that the wild talk was dying down, and Col. Hunter asked him if this was not a result of the wide-spread rumor that two regiments of troops were headed for Marion. The Colonel declared that this report was out and did have a noticeably quieting effect on the streets until night-fall when there was a resurgence of excitement, and anger attained new heights.

The Colonel talked to miners on the street, found they were at the breaking point and went again to consult with the Sheriff. He reports that he "demanded of the Sheriff that he swear in a large force of deputies, including business men" and was informed by the Sheriff that he "had the situation well in hand," to which Col. Hunter replied:

"Swear in deputies or ask for troops."

Wednesday morning, the day before the massacre, found events moving swiftly

toward inevitable disaster. State Senator Sneed, who had gone to Springfield on official business on Tuesday evening, was not available to advise with the Sheriff the next morning. When Col. Hunter stepped out on the street early on June 21 and found the whole countryside was literally boiling with excitement he immediately went to the Sheriff's office to see if that official had not finally been stirred into action, since it was absolutely clear that a mob of unprecedented size was being gathered to wreak vengeance.

### Calling of Troops Urged

Col. Hunter found the Sheriff quite placid, with no new deputies and uttering his stereotyped expression: "I have the situation well in hand." Col. Hunter grew emphatic in urging the Sheriff to make a request for troops. This was done in the presence of State's Attorney Duty. The Sheriff said that he had no idea of calling for troops and Duty offered the Sheriff the advice that, "If I were a Sheriff I would not call for troops under any circumstances." To Col. Hunter, Duty said that he had full confidence in Sheriff Thaxton. Col. Hunter hurried away from the Sheriff's office, resolved to lay his case before the business men of Marion. He got C. R. Edrington, secretary of the Greater Marion Association, and informed the latter that the Sheriff had absolutely balked at swearing in deputies or making a request for troops.

The Colonel and Edrington agreed that something ought to be done immediately. They decided that the best move would be to get a committee of reputable business men, mine owners and union miners to visit the strip mine and ask the men there to suspend operations. By telephone they summoned A. B. McLaren, a

wealthy and influential business man of Marion; Ralph Mitchell, General Superintendent of the Earnest Coal Company and W. H. Rix, a union mine worker official. This conference had hardly assembled before the news was flashed about the attack on the strip mine truck near Carbondale. The five men at the conference decided to do all they could to have a larger meeting of business men in the evening.

Edrington continued for some hours to telephone to responsible people asking them to attend the contemplated evening conference. Between messages he received reports that armed men were coming into the Herrin district from far away points. The business men in touch with Edrington told him that they had this same information. Edrington and Hunter again tried to locate Sheriff Thaxton to apprise him of what the business men's committee was attempting to accomplish, and to tell him that a concerted assault on the strip mine was in prospect, but the Sheriff had gone, it was said, to investigate the shooting at Carbondale.

### **Raids on Stores Begun**

Beginning about one o'clock and continuing for a couple of hours telephone messages were received at the offices of the Greater Marion Association relating how hardware stores had been raided in Herrin for guns and ammunition.

Alarm was immediately spread in Marion advising merchants dealing in firearms to conceal their stock. Two places in Marion did not get this warning and were raided. One small band of would-be looters, called upon Edrington as head of the local American Legion Post, to deliver to them several rifles belonging to members of the Post. Edrington re-

fused, explaining that there was no ammunition available for the guns.

### The Afternoon Battle

On Wednesday at 1:37 p. m. Col. Hunter telephoned to Adjutant-General Black reporting the attack on the truck and the looting of three stores in Herrin. Col. Hunter also told the Sheriff's office about the stores being looted and was informed by a deputy sheriff that this was the office's first word of the occurrence.

In the meantime the organized armed force of union miners, following the meeting in the cemetery near Herrin, had moved a couple of miles east and was ready to launch the attack on the strip mine. Attackers deployed over a front several hundred yards long and put the mine under heavy fire at about 3:00 o'clock. At 3:15 Supt. McDowell called the Greater Marion Association's office and informed Col. Hunter that a battle was on in full swing and that five hundred shots had been fired by both sides. McDowell said that the miners had marched up close to the mine and had gone under cover. McDowell requested Col. Hunter to inform the Sheriff of the battle. At the Sheriff's office Deputy Storm reported the Sheriff still absent.

"I instructed Storm to call on all available deputies and proceed to the mine to disperse the mob and to remain there until the Sheriff returned," says Col. Hunter, who added that he asked Storm to get the Sheriff by telephone and tell him that he ought by all means to put in a request for troops. Storm's reply was that they "could handle the situation."

Adjutant-General Black was told of the latest situation by telephone and his advice to Hunter was to "see that the Sheriff gets on the job." Hunter got the

Sheriff's office on the wire again and was informed by whoever answered the telephone that Deputy Storm was enroute with deputies to the mine. That Storm or deputies went to the mine is unverified. A few minutes later Supt. McDowell called from the mine to tell Col. Hunter that the mob had gotten bigger and to inquire if Sheriff Thaxton had been located. Hunter told McDowell that he had been informed by the Sheriff's office that the deputies were on the way to the mine.

### A Survivor's Story

Engineman Tracy, in his account of how he saw the Wednesday afternoon battle start, gives his opinion that the shots fired at his locomotive, at that time quite a distance from the mine, were the opening ones of the attack. Hardly had he reached camp before bullets began to rain in from a house and from nearby clumps of trees and embankments. McDowell grabbed a gun and gave Tracy one. He mounted a ridge and began shooting.

Under oath, Bernard Jones, a mine guard, says he saw union scouts in the woods June 20th, and that the following afternoon bullets began to whip up the earth near him. He and three companions mounted an elevation and made the attackers retreat to a white farm house five hundred yards distant.

At 3:50 p. m. Assistant Mine Superintendent John E. Shoemaker, brother-in-law to W. J. Lester, telephoned that fire from the defenders had struck down at least two union miners in the attacking party. McDowell took the telephone again and inquired if the Sheriff had been found and had made a request for troops. All Hunter could tell McDowell was that he was still trying to locate the Sheriff.

At 4:14 p. m., when Col. Hunter got McDowell on the wire and found the battle was still raging and no sheriff and no deputies could be found to intervene, McDowell put his case in Hunter's hands and asked for advice. Immediately Col. Hunter suggested that a truce be effected and outlined terms. McDowell agreed and Hunter told him that he would act at once.

### The Truce

While Col. Hunter was trying to locate union mine workers' officials relative to the truce, he got word from Mr. McLaren and C. F. Hamilton, business partner of Lester, that they had told Lester that the mine was under heavy fire and he said he would close it, and that he would try to get a telephone message through to McDowell to this effect. McDowell's agreement to accept a truce was put before Fox Hughes, Sub-District Vice-President and ranking U. M. W. of A. official on the spot. Hunter asked Hughes if he thought he could get the attacking party to agree to a truce on the terms as outlined to McDowell and Hughes replied that he thought this arrangement would be agreeable to the union miners who were attacking.

"I told Hughes I would instruct McDowell to put up a white flag of truce when he saw the union miner officials approaching under their white flag of truce," Col. Hunter says. The Colonel then asserts that Hughes told him that he (Hughes) and Hugh Willis and William G. Davis (the latter secretary and treasurer of the miners' union)—these are three of the best known and most prominent U. M. W. of A. officials in Williamson County—would go to the mine under their white flag of truce.

Hunter immediately advised McDowell

that the U. M. W. of A. officials had agreed to the truce and were headed for the mine. He then got Hughes on the wire again and told the latter of what he had just telephoned to McDowell. Hugh Willis and Davis soon thereafter appeared at the mine under their flag of truce and the firing stopped, they later reported to Hunter. McDowell telephoned to Hunter that the flags of truce were flying and that gun-fire had ceased.

A short time later, Hughes and Willis reached the office of State's Attorney Duty at Marion, and called Hunter and his Aide, Major R. W. Davis, to Duty's office. Sheriff Thaxton was there. "Hughes and Willis announced to the meeting that both sides at the mines had flags up and there was no firing," says Colonel Hunter.

### The White Flag

Engineman Tracy's version of how the truce was established and firing brought to an end late Wednesday afternoon is substantially as follows: he stayed on the elevated point using his rifle until Superintendent McDowell went up to him and said to him, "The Union President is there and I am going to have a conference to stop the firing." Tracy did cease shooting and says that "A. P. Finley, the time keeper, got out a white sheet and sent it by a man named Jones to Tracy, who hung it up on the wires." Tracy estimates he was shot at about fifty times while he was hanging the sheet up, but that this firing died away and he crawled down and out of danger.

Tracy makes this peculiar comment, "then it developed the miners' president had not appeared after all," and he adds that there was sniping all through the night. He said he could hear the attack-



ers drilling in the field surrounding the mine and that the commands "squads right" and "squads left" came clearly to his ears.

### The Terms

At the Wednesday evening meeting in State's Attorney Duty's office, where Col. Hunter and Maj. Davis went in response to a telephone call from Fox Hughes and Hugh Willis, Sheriff Thaxton also being present, Col. Hunter says he repeated the statement that responsible business men of Marion who had talked over long distance telephone to the owner of the strip mine, had given him (Col. Hunter) positive and reliable assurance that the mine would be abandoned and closed so long as the U. M. W. of A. strike lasted. The Colonel asserts that there was a clear understanding of all the terms of the truce, which both sides had accepted. The Colonel says these terms were understood by everybody at this meeting to be as follows:

(1) Both sides to hoist flags of truce and cease firing.

(2) The men in the strip mine to be afforded protection in getting out of the County and that the mine property be not damaged.

(3) The mine to be closed for the duration of the U. M. W. of A. strike.

Hughes and Willis left the conference. Turning to Sheriff Thaxton, Col. Hunter asked him point blank if he felt sure he could hold up his end of the truce agreement and the Sheriff then stated that he had "deputies at the mine who could handle the situation, and that he felt certain the truce would be observed and the trouble ended."

## Refuse to Call Troops

Despite this assurance given by the Sheriff, Col. Hunter was uneasy during the evening. He found that the telephone wires at the mine had been cut and dynamite blasts were heard from the direction of the mine. He urged the Sheriff, as a matter of protecting the prisoners on march from the mine in the morning, to make an official request for troops. The Sheriff refused. Col. Hunter then asked the Sheriff to go to the mine with him and personally see to it that the truce was lived up to. The Sheriff also declined to do this, saying he was tired and was going home and to bed. This was nearing 11:00 o'clock.

During the conference, when the U. M. W. of A. officials were present, an agreement was reached that all of those then in the room should go to the mine in the morning. Col. Hunter suggested that the hour of departure be at 5 or 6 o'clock. Sheriff Thaxton, however, set 8 a. m. as the hour for leaving.

At 6:00 o'clock the next morning and again at 8:00 a. m., Col. Hunter and Major Davis were at the door of the Sheriff's office and found it locked. It was 8:30 o'clock before they encountered the Sheriff leisurely walking on the public square. Hughes and Willis, the U. M. W. of A. officials who had promised to be members of the Sheriff's party, were not to be found. Col. Hunter, Major Davis, the Sheriff and one of the deputies, Sheffer, started by automobile for the mine.

They arrived there at about the hour when the massacre was taking place in the woods two miles distant. They found the mine swarming with men engaged in pillage and arson and who continued the destruction of property under the very eyes of the officers and defied interruption.

## The Surrender

It had been Col. Hunter's original thought that if a truce could be effected quickly enough, that the men in the mine should vacate before night fall, but it was around 6:30 o'clock before the flags were hoisted and the firing ceased. No arrangement, however, were made to afford safe escort to the men that evening.

Some of the prisoners who survived the next day's massacre, say that there was sporadic shooting during hours of darkness when the attacking miners swarmed into the big gulches dug by the steam shovels and drew a tight circle around the bunk cars and coal cars where the strip mine workers spent the night. At least five big charges of dynamite were exploded against mine machinery and property. One blast was set off within thirty feet of the bunk cars where the strip miners were housed.

Tracy's description of the surrender Thursday morning is one of the most connected that has been given. He relates that instructions were given to the men in the mine not to fire any more but that some one should be sent out from the strip mine party with a truce flag. Tracy overheard McDowell tell his assistant, John E. Shoemaker, a civil engineer, son of the Mayor of Charleston, Illinois, that there should be no shooting and the truce flag should be carried out.

A big fellow, known as "Mac," had not stepped out over 20 yards from the cars when he was fired on and he ran back, says Tracy, who continues:

"Either Mac or Jones then marched out with a cook's apron tied to a broom. I heard several of the attackers then say that if we would march out and lay down our arms they would not harm us. They

shouted they would take us on a train and let us go back home.”

### Prisoners Throw Up Hands

Tracy says that all rifles were laid down and shells put between cars and that all the prisoners put their hands over their heads and walked out into the open. This was in accordance with instructions given by the attacking miners and repeated by McDowell and Shoemaker, as an order to the strip miners, Tracy avers. The attackers came hurrying up from all directions, some of them firing their guns. They yelled in exultation.

“A man who acted like a leader shouted at them to quit firing at us,” Tracy goes on. “He was a little heavy set fellow about forty or forty-five years old, weighed about 170 pounds, dark complected and dressed in a dark suit. He waved a big automatic pistol and yelled ‘Now you ought to use judgment, there is no use getting excited or starting any trouble whatever. I am a leader of this bunch. Listen to me and we will take them down the road.’

“A mob yelled him down and some of them told him if he didn’t shut up they would shoot him. They said they were going to kill the whole bunch.”

The march smacked very much of military discipline, and although there were at least 3,000 men mostly armed in the crowd around the prisoners, those in charge were able to secure obedience to their orders.

Tracy describes how ill treatment of the prisoners was kept up as they marched along but the violence was not desperate except in the case of McDowell. He was made an immediate target for blows which were not long in bringing about his death.

## Jones's Story

Another account of the surrender and start of the march from the mine is given under oath by Bernard Jones, the mine guard who was quoted above. Jones says of the Thursday morning events:

"The white sheet (the flag of truce on the wires) was taken down because the mob yelled 'Take that damned flag down.' We knew there would be a battle."

The prisoners felt they were in a trap and some of them were panic stricken, Jones asserts. McDowell said "Somebody ought to go talk to the attackers." Jones says that he went out with an apron tied to a broom and told the victors that the strip mine workers were ready to surrender provided they were given the assurance of being allowed to walk out unmolested. Jones says he called out, "I want to talk to you" and that a leader answered. Jones describes this leader as being 24 or 25 years old, weight 160, 5 feet 9, with sharp, freckled face, light haired and totting a rifle. This leader, Jones asserts, agreed to the proposition of letting them out unmolested provided "you come out unarmed, with your hands up in the air."

McDowell overheard this promise, says Jones, with the result that "we were all formed in line, hands up, and walked west on the railroad tracks 150 yards to where the union men were congregated. The prisoners were covered with rifles and pistols by their captors who rushed up close and searched them for weapons."

Jones estimated that there were 3,000 armed men in the crowd to which they surrendered. He said the victors began slapping the prisoners who were marched two abreast down the railway tracks. About 200 yards had been covered when the prisoners were told to take their hands down and their hats off. McDowell was

struck and kicked. When the prisoners were forced to go on a trot McDowell was unable to keep up because of his peg leg and he fell two or three times. The treatment of McDowell soon became so brutal that he could go no further.

### The Murder of McDowell

Tracy describes the killing of McDowell in more detail. The procession had gotten to a place called Crenshaw Crossing and the prisoners were being beaten pretty generally when a new leader appeared, and was hailed as "Tom" or "Bill." Tracy describes him thus: "A big fellow, 50, stout, weight 190, 5 feet 10, with a week's growth of beard, rawboned, dressed roughly, wearing blue overalls and felt hat." This leader singled out McDowell and said to the latter that he had put Howat in jail in Kansas but would never put anybody else in jail.

This leader began beating McDowell over the head with a .45 caliber automatic pistol and kept it up for about 200 yards when he took McDowell out of line and knocked him down with a heavy blow on the side of the head. Tracy said he saw some six or eight women, some of them carrying babies in their arms, kick McDowell. Tracy did not see this particular leader any more. The captives were nearing the place where the ghastly job was to be done and the leaders, selected for this work, began to spread their instructions to the armed strikers, as the following versions of survivors show:

Halt to the march was called, says Jones, by "a gray haired man, weight 190 to 195, aged 45 or 50, so gray he was white, stubby mustache, in overalls, waving a .45 caliber Colt who shouted: 'I want to shoot all the \* \* \*'"

Jones says the reply made to this gray

haired man was "We will take care of them when we get to Herrin." The march was continued about a quarter of a mile further up the road when another fellow stepped in and made a speech, Jones says, about what should be done "to us on account of his beloved union brothers being bumped off the day before or being killed." Under oath Jones declares: "The speaker said 'Boys I will show you what to do with them.'"

This speaker is described by Jones as 5 feet 9 or 10 inches, weight 190, dark hair, dark complexion, dressed in dark clothes and carrying a revolver. One young fellow in the crowd shouted to the speaker "Listen, buddy, don't rush things, don't go too fast."

To this the new leader replied: "To Hell. You don't know nothing, you have been here only a day or so, I have been here for years, I have lost my sleep 4 or 5 nights watching those scabs and I am going to see them taken care of."

But the march was continued until the procession drew very close to the power plant where a halt again was called. Jones describes how, at this point there came up from the rear a "heavy built man, dark complexion, dark haired, wearing a Fedora hat," who talked to the miners at the head of the line and asked who had operated the machine gun. This question was put to the prisoners, who said they didn't know.

Tracy remarks that it was at this point a man "who all the strip miners said was an officer of the Miners' Local appeared in an automobile, drew the mob leader aside and after talking to him pointed to the woods."

### The Massacre

Tracy says this man in the automobile then drove away while the leader led the

column into the woods and commanded that "every fellow that has got a rifle come forward; you fellows that ain't got no rifles stay back." Tracy estimated that about 500 men, carrying pistols, rifles, shot guns, and all kinds of weapons followed the prisoners into the woods. The leader lined the strip miners up at a barbed wire fence and shouted "when I give the command every fellow fire."

At this order there was a rush among the armed men to get close up in front. Tracy says he could "hear the guns cock as they pulled up." Then came the order to run. Tracy ducked under the fence and fled at top speed, turning only to look back and see men fall while their pursuers reloaded and shot into them again.

Jones remembers someone saying, just before the massacre took place:

"Listen men, I want to talk to you. We can't take these men to Herrin but it will be all right to take them out into the woods and field and start them on the run and then all of you can get a shot at them."

This plan prevailed. After a while, Jones says, the order to fire came from the "leader and the rest of them, all of them." Jones heard them shout "come on you and start to run for that fence and field." It is Jones' opinion that several shots were fired before anybody started to run.

### From Eye Witnesses

Two *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* reporters seated in an automobile pulled up at the edge of a road, saw the cavalcade pass. They wrote as follows: "The advanced guard rattling by in scores of flivvers had screeched the news 'We got 'em. They're



'coming.' And they came, the limping mine superintendent blinking and trying to ward off further blows." Others were about as much battered.

A semi-official account of what happened after the prisoners had passed a point where the two newspaper men saw them is as follows:

### **The Slaughter at the Fence**

The first desperate violence to the prisoners came after fresh bands of men from Zeigler and other points had joined the mob marching the prisoners toward Herrin.

Approaching the power plant, a young chap, about five feet seven tall, to whom recognition was given as leader, halted the prisoners and their escorts. He gave orders for the column to move to the right which would take the prisoners off the road and put them into the woods back of the power house.

At a point immediately in the rear of the power house and not more than 250 feet distant from it, the prisoners were halted about twenty feet from a four-strand barbed wire fence. The prisoners, 46 or 47 of them, were lined up as targets. The 500 armed men were arranged in two squads, forming a shallow "V" or semi-circle. This boxed the prisoners in and gave them no opportunity to get away from the gun-fire except through the barbed wire. The command was given, and the dead and wounded began to drop and a "rabbit" hunt with men as the game ensued. Many who got through the wire were killed and others wounded. Some of the wounded were mutilated after

they had been brought down to earth by bullets.

### **Reporter Sees Mutilated Victims**

The first newspaper man to arrive on the scene, in the woods, J. E. Hendricks, of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* had been held up an hour in Herrin by a crowd which had told him that what was going on was the town's own business and was nothing for the newspapers. Finally he got free enough to follow a crowd streaming from Herrin to a woods on the edge of town. Arriving at the scene of the massacre, he saw several of the prisoners with throats cut and one man hanging to a tree. At another point where it appeared at least six men had been taken into a cemetery, and three killed and three wounded, their clothing showed they had been dragged over the ground, after having been tied with rope. In the far distance men could be seen running, pursued by little groups of other men, much as rabbits running from hounds.

Another account, given by a man who went unarmed with the mob, says:

“I saw one man shot with a shot gun which tore a hole in him where you could see his heart and it was shot half in two. One fellow begged me to help him. I told him if I saw anyone looking for him I wouldn't show them where he was, but that was all I could do for him. He just begged me not to shoot him. He said the other man told five of them that they would turn them loose if they could run through fire and they said they would. The other four were killed and he was shot twice, but not bad.”

## Stories of Slaughter

The Associated Press correspondent whose accounts of the massacre atrocities made the nation shudder with horror and caused Congressman Dennison to attempt denial on the floor of the House, underwent gun-fire and more than once risked his life to witness the concluding phases of the massacre. This man is a veteran reporter from the Chicago office of the Associated Press.

Arriving in Marion at 8 o'clock on the morning of the butchery he was rushed by automobile to the mine where he saw Col. Hunter and others making futile effort to check the work of the firebugs and looters. He was told that the strip miners had surrendered and hearing gunfire coming from the direction they had taken, he jumped back in his auto and went in pursuit of the marchers. This was just about the moment when the shooting at the barbed wire was taking place.

Some ten minutes drive from the mine, the hired chauffeur refused to go further because a crowd of armed men could be seen on a knoll near the road. The A. P. man proceeded on foot. He found several jeering six of the victims, three of whom yet exhibited signs of life. All had ropes around their necks. He heard one of the wounded men beg piteously for a drink of water. At this, he hurried to a house 100 yards distant, picked up a small pail partly filled with water and ran back toward the spot.

He was stopped by a large man of the mountaineer type who pulled a pistol from his holster and commanded "keep back there, don't come around these fellows." Others in the crowd drew pistols and menaced him. The leader was of distinctive appearance, weight about 200, age about 45, height six feet two, raw-

boned, much sunburned, light hair, a clearly American type. He wore faded blue overalls and shirt and spoke slowly, but without a Southern drawl. The brim of his black slouch hat was covered with dust, as though he had been with the marchers from the start.

Two of the three wounded men continued to plead for water. "Give me a drink before I die," said one of them. At this a comely woman of 24 years apparelled neatly in a light flowered cloth dress and carrying an infant of a year in her arms, put her foot on the body of the suppliant and exclaimed: "I'll see you in hell before you get any water."

### The Man Hunt

The Associated Press correspondent was then ordered to "move along." As he neared the woodland massacre scene he saw three men jump from hiding places about 100 yards distant and run for their lives. Some 200 yards from the running men there appeared a group of pursuers who fired as they leaped forward. Ten seconds later another band began shooting at the fleeing prisoners. The Associated Press man was caught in a cross fire with bullets whizzing past him from two points. As he raced for safety he turned to see one of the three prisoners fall. What happened further to the fallen man or his companions the Associated Press man could not see.

Getting into the woods where the butchery had reached its height, the Associated Press correspondent came upon a man strung up to the stub of a broken tree limb. Lying on the ground a few feet distant were two other men, each with a rope around his neck. It did not appear they had been hanged but both were dead of bullet wounds.

The woods were swarming with men armed with pistols and shot guns. Two men carried sawed off riot guns. The Associated Press correspondent, at a point about 100 yards distant from the hanged man, stopped beside a wounded man who was writhing in agony and asking for a drink: "I wish I was dead" he muttered. A half dozen times he said this.

### **Pleas for Mercy Bring Kicks**

Instead of exciting pity, the man's dying words seemed to make the men standing around him angrier than before. They cursed and kicked him. Apparently irritated beyond control, a man of foreign type, stockily built, about five feet seven in height, with high cheek bones, a long flowing mustache and chin that came to a sharp point opened a pocket knife and with the exclamation, "I'll make you dead" plunged the blade into the helpless prisoner's throat.

Although it was thought for a time that six of the prisoners had been cut out of line and tied together and then shot down before the procession reached the power house woods, the best account of this incident now has it that the six were stragglers who had gotten through the barb wire and were rounded up, roped together and marched through the Herrin Cemetery, then marched back out of Herrin and told to run. Gun fire brought one of them down, and he pulled the others off their feet. Their pursuers then rushed up close and fired into them at a distance of four or five feet.

One of these men, Howard Hoffman, of Huntington, Indiana, lived long enough to reach the hospital where he is credited with telling Doctor Black and the nurse that his throat was cut and men jumped on him after he was down. Another one of

these men told the doctor or nurse at the Herrin Hospital how, after he had fallen, one of the men stretched his head back as far as possible so that another might easily cut his throat. This man died without his name being learned and he was buried with the other unidentified dead in the Potters Field at Herrin.

### At the Morgue

On the street in front of the morgue in Herrin, the following day, the Associated Press man, encountered the mountaineer-like man who had held him back from giving a drink to the wounded man on the knoll. Asked when the inquest would be held, the big man replied: "There don't need to be any inquest, everybody knows they're dead." The dead were first piled in a heap in a corner in the morgue. Later the clothing was removed from all the bodies and they were laid in a row and thus exposed wholly to view. Lines of men, women, boys and girls filed through the morgue and joked at the sight. Later some portions of the bodies were covered. Here and there was a body so filled with small shot that scarce a half inch square surface of the skin had escaped.

The visitors did not hesitate to gloat over the "fine" work the mob had done. One woman leading a little boy, exclaimed as she directed his attention to the lifeless bodies: "Take a look at what your papa did, kid."

Edward Miller, 1545 North Clark St., Chicago, told a *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* reporter that he and another of the strip mine men escaped wounded into a barn where they were located by man hunters who fired bullets into both of them, killing Miller's companion.

Robert McLennon, Jr., of 525 N. La

Salle St., Chicago, told the same reporter that the cool-headed miners who were escorting the prisoners were outnumbered from the start by miners who wanted to kill. The leaders counseled against violence until the woods were reached, said McLennon.

Fred Bernard of Chicago, escaped by turning left when, as he says, the leader of the mob gave the command to "turn right." He was fired upon and fell unhurt. Pursuers ran up to him. He told them he had a union card in his pocket. He finally proved he was an Elk and was given assistance in escaping.

Sherman Holman, one of the wounded survivors, declares he fell wounded along side Assistant Superintendent John E. Shoemaker and describes how pursuers came up and remarked "the \* \* \* is still breathing, anybody got a shell?" and that Shoemaker was then shot through the head.

### **The Coroner's Jury**

At the inquest held by Coroner McCown in Herrin on Sunday, June 25th, over the bodies of 21 victims of the massacre, no effort was made to establish the identity of any of the men who killed the unarmed prisoners. "Parties unknown" did the killing according to the verdict.

### **The Verdict**

About twenty-five witnesses were examined by the jury and the following verdict was returned:

"In the matter of inquisition over the bodies of deceased held at Herrin, Illinois, on the 25th day of June A. D. 1922, we, the undersigned jurors, find that they came to their deaths by gun shot wounds by the hands of parties

unknown on the 22nd date of June A. D. 1922.

“We, the undersigned jurors, find from the evidence that the deaths of decedents were due to the act, direct and indirect, of the officials of the Southern Illinois Coal Company. We recommend that an investigation be conducted for the purpose of fixing the blame personally on the individuals responsible.”

The record also says that one man was burned with a hot iron; that a hot iron was used to mutilate the dead. It was also stated this was true by Editor Drobeck who described how the word “scab” was branded on Supt. McDowell’s body.

### **Proof of a Plot**

That the massacre was the result of an organized movement is the conclusion drawn from the following statements:

It was a seemingly well organized, remarkably sober, determined, resolute aggregation of men and boys fighting, as they put it in their own words “to preserve the unions,”

is the declaration of Colonel Hunter.

Writing in the *Williamson County Miner*, the publication owned by the U. M. W. of A. men in this field, Editor Drobeck as an eye witness, says:

At daybreak the 3,000 armed citizens (surrounding the mine) realizing that the future peace of their county was at stake, formed what has been termed by many, one of the neatest columns of troops ever seen in the vicinity, worked their way into the stronghold of the outlaws and captured those that remained alive.



Several of those that were taken from the pit alive were taken to the woods near Herrin, where later they were found dead and dying. There were no riots, merely the citizens of the county acting in the only way left them for the safety of their homes. The faces of the men who were killed in the disturbance are horrible sights. Uncouth, as all crooks must be at the beginning, they were doubly unattractive as seen after justice had triumphed and the county had again resumed its normal peace-time behavior.

Editor Sims in the *Christopher Progress* says:

The whole of Williamson and Franklin counties was in turmoil until late Thursday and on Wednesday afternoon the miners in Zeigler and West Frankfort were canvassing the business districts and homes for arms and ammunition, and we doubt whether there was much of either one left in their towns after the cars had left for the scene on Wednesday evening.

We have talked to several who were near the scene of rioting and many have reported to us that no city in the community showed their colors so much as the city of Zeigler which is located in Franklin County. At least three hundred strong men journeyed in cars from Zeigler on Wednesday evening and almost every car was loaded with men, guns and ammunition.

More than a month after the massacre scarcely a visible effort has been made to discover or punish perpetrators of the crime. The press of the country united in condemning the ghastly outrage and demanded action but none has been taken.

State and local officials have taken the position that it would be impossible to fix the responsibility because Unionism controlled Williamson County. In the meantime the bodies of the unidentified dead have been buried in Potters Field.

Shall the assassins of innocent American citizens go unpunished?

It cannot be possible that Illinois will not take further official cognizance of these infamous acts, as the first and last tribunal of the country, our American citizenship, will demand that lawlessness, murder and massacre are not and never shall be permitted to undermine the security of not only the nation's industries, but the very lives and homes of our people.



KEEP FOR REFERENCE

# ANSWERED

## 77

Questions and  
Quibbles Regarding  
National Prohibition

By SAMUEL WILSON

*Published by*  
THE NEW JERSEY TEMPERANCE  
SOCIETY  
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## THE NEW JERSEY TEMPERANCE SOCIETY, INC.

The New Jersey Temperance Society is an independent organization incorporated for the following purposes:

To promote the Cause of Temperance by studying the evils of the drink traffic, and the best methods of overcoming them; by giving moral and financial support to approved methods, such as education, persuasion, and legislation; or by any other honorable means and in any other reasonable manner in its discretion; as trustee, when by it deemed advisable, from time to time to receive and administer funds intended for application to the work and objects of the Corporation.

Date of Incorporation: June 16, 1908.

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## FOREWORD

The incoming of Prohibition, which has been gradual in a majority of States, was a sudden surprise to many people in other States, and has led to much uninformed discussion on the part of both press and public.

There is need, therefore, for a comprehensive summary of the questions that the public is asking, with concise and authoritative replies thereto.

The following pages represent a sincere effort to meet this requirement. Readers may depend upon the absolute accuracy of every statement.

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## THE EIGHTEENTH AMENDMENT FOR FEDERAL CONSTITUTIONAL PROHIBITION

### 1 WHAT IS PROHIBITION?

As applied to the question of intoxicating liquors, its dictionary definition is: "The forbidding, by legislative enactment, of the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors for use as a beverage." In more recent legislation the prohibition includes transportation, importation and exportation.

### 2 WHAT IS LOCAL OPTION?

As applied to the liquor traffic, it is a right granted by a Legislature, for the people, by vote, to order prohibition in municipalities. Now obsolete in the United States because of National Prohibition.

### 3 BEFORE NATIONAL PROHIBITION BECAME EFFECTIVE, JANUARY 16, 1920, WHAT STATES HAD ADOPTED STATE PROHIBITION LAWS?

Thirty-three States: Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Michigan, Mississippi, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Mexico, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, Wyoming. In addition, the District of Columbia and the Territories of Alaska and Porto Rico were under Prohibition. Before Congressional action both Alaska and Porto Rico voted "dry" on a referendum.

### 4 WHAT STATES HAD LOCAL OPTION LAWS?

California, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island, Vermont, Wisconsin; and the State of Pennsylvania, under high license, had eleven dry counties, through refusal of the Courts to grant licenses.

**5 WHAT WAS THE POPULATION IN "WET" AND "DRY" TERRITORY, ON BASIS OF CENSUS OF 1910, PRIOR TO NATIONAL PROHIBITION?**

Under license..... 29,208,614 = 31.7%  
 Under no license..... 62,663,652 = 68.3%

Total population..... 91,972,266

**6 WHAT AREA WAS UNDER PROHIBITION LAW JANUARY 16, 1920?**

License ..... 138,523 sq. miles = 4.6%  
 No license ..... 2,973,890 sq. miles = 95.4%

**7 WHAT WAS THE CONSUMPTION OF LIQUORS IN THE UNITED STATES (AS SHOWN BY INTERNAL REVENUE REPORTS) BEFORE AND AFTER NATIONAL PROHIBITION?**

	Total Gallons	Per Capita
1917.....	2,095,535,005	20.20
1918.....	1,701,827,271	16.18
1919.....	995,435,428	9.34
1920.....	325,573,229	3.01

**8 IS PROHIBITION OF INTOXICATING LIQUOR A PROPER MATTER TO BE INCORPORATED IN THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION?**

Any question of the general welfare, involving the people of a state, wherein the state is unable to protect its people or its laws against foreign invasion or inter-state interference, is properly a matter for Federal control; and where Federal control of the internal affairs of a state by direct Federal legislation would be improper without constitutional authority, an amendment providing such authority may properly be added to the Constitution by consent of three-fourths of the states. This was the case with the liquor evil, which knew no frontiers and respected no laws.

Any question comprehended in the Preamble of the Constitution is proper in the succeeding articles, in order that the People may "form a more perfect Union, establish justice, increase domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." All these were menaced by intoxicating liquor, so, for protection, three-fourths of the states ordered constitutional prohibition, and whatever three-fourths of the states may order in the constitutional manner is germane to the Constitution.

**9 WHAT WAS THE NECESSITY FOR NATIONAL CONSTITUTIONAL PROHIBITION?**

The protection of the rights of the states, because liquor and its evil effects could not be kept within the frontiers of a state. Experience of long years has proved that the liquor traffic is no respecter of laws, and when a "dry" state adjoined a "wet" state liquor overflowed the borders in defiance of

law, and persons under the influence of liquor obtained in "wet" states would invade the peace and commit crimes in "dry" states. The Constitution provided no method for protecting the rights of these states against such invasions. The only method available for protection was for three-fourths of the states to unite in enacting a Constitutional Amendment.

### 10 WHAT INFLUENCE DID INTER-STATE COMMERCE HAVE ON BRINGING IN NATIONAL PROHIBITION?

For many years Prohibition states were at the mercy of liquor dealers in "wet" states, as the Federal Government, under Inter-state Commerce rulings, compelled common carriers to deliver contraband liquors to the consignees, regardless of state law. After a ten-year struggle, the Congress, in March, 1913, adopted the Webb-Kenyon law, which prohibited any shipment of intoxicating liquors into any state, territory or district of the United States in violation of the law of such state, territory or district. The immediate result was that an immense mail order business was stopped, the state and local officials having control of the shipments as soon as they crossed the state line.

### 11 WHAT IS THE EIGHTEENTH OR PROHIBITION AMENDMENT?

"The Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, ratified by the necessary thirty-six states January 16, 1919, operative January 16, 1920.

#### ARTICLE XVIII.

"Section 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

"Sec. 2. The Congress and the several states shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

"Sec. 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the Legislatures of the several states, as provided by the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the states by the Congress."

### 12 WHAT POLITICAL PARTY, IF ANY, WAS CHIEFLY INSTRUMENTAL IN ENACTING NATIONAL PROHIBITION?

The vote of Congress for submission of the Prohibition Amendment was non-partisan by almost an equal vote, as follows:

UNITED STATES SENATE			
For		Against	
Republicans .....	29	Republicans .....	8
Democrats .....	36	Democrats .....	12
	65		20



Total Voting	
Republicans .....	37
Democrats .....	48
	<hr/>
	85

### HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

For		Against	
Democrats .....	141	Democrats .....	64
Republicans .....	137	Republicans .....	62
Independents .....	2	Independents .....	1
Prohibitionists .....	1	Prohibitionists .....	0
Progressives .....	1	Progressives .....	0
Socialists .....	0	Socialists .....	1
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	282		128

Total Voting	
Democrats .....	205
Republicans .....	199
Independents .....	3
Prohibitionists .....	1
Progressives .....	1
Socialists .....	1
	<hr/>
	410

### 13 IT IS CHARGED THAT THE EIGHTEENTH, OR PROHIBITION, AMENDMENT WAS "PUT OVER" BY TRICKERY AND TERRORISM BY THE ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE. WHAT ARE THE FACTS?

The Amendment was initiated and submitted and ratified in the same manner as all of the other eighteen amendments to the Constitution.

It was presented first to the Sixty-fifth Congress in 1913, but failed to receive the requisite two-thirds majority.

The Sixty-sixth Congress was elected with the Amendment as the dominant issue, and the Amendment was submitted to the states by a vote of 65 to 20 in the Senate and 282 to 128 in the House.

It was ratified by 46 of the states by majorities of 86 per cent of the Senators and 80 per cent of the lower houses.

### 14 WHAT STATES HAVE NOT RATIFIED?

Rhode Island and Connecticut.

### 15 WHY WAS NOT THE QUESTION OF RATIFICATION SUBMITTED TO A REFERENDUM VOTE IN ALL THE STATES?

The Constitution provides its own method of ratification in Article V: "By the Legislatures of three-fourths of the states; or by Convention in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress." Submission, therefore, to popular vote would have been merely a straw-vote, without a particle of value. None of the nineteen amendments was so submitted, and the Supreme Court has ruled that such a referendum has no binding effect.

**16 WHAT IS THE RECORD OF POPULARITY OF THE EIGHTEENTH AMENDMENT, AS SHOWN BY STATE LEGISLATURES, COMPARED WITH OTHER IMPORTANT AMENDMENTS?**

The first ten amendments, constituting the "Bill of Rights," were ratified by 11 out of 16 states.

The Thirteenth, or Anti-Slavery, Amendment, was ratified by 33 out of 36 states.

The Fourteenth, or Equal Rights, Amendment was ratified by 31 out of 37 states.

The Nineteenth, or Woman Suffrage, Amendment was ratified by 37 out of 48 states.

The Eighteenth, or Prohibition, Amendment was ratified by 46 out of 48 states.

The Prohibition Amendment is, therefore, the most popular Amendment yet adopted.

**17 IS IT TRUE THAT PROHIBITION WAS FORCED ON THE COUNTRY UNFAIRLY WHILE OUR SOLDIERS AND SAILORS WERE ABSENT, AND THAT THEY WOULD HAVE OPPOSED IT?**

The Amendment was introduced in Congress in 1913, long before we were in war; it was the leading issue in the Congressional Campaign of 1916, when all voters who subsequently were in the service expressed their convictions. The Congress then elected was overwhelmingly "dry" as were the legislatures elected mostly for from two to four years.

**18 WHEN "THE BOYS CAME HOME" WHAT DID THEY DO WITH PROHIBITION?**

At every opportunity they strengthened it. The only occasions for a vote were the Kentucky referendum of 1919—"dry" by 10,717; Ohio, where they raised the "dry" majority of 25,759 of 1918, to 41,853 in 1919; and Michigan, where they helped to lift the majority of 68,624 for State constitutional prohibition to 207,520 on a referendum to allow the manufacture and sale of wine and beer.

**19 DID THE CHURCH TAKE AN ACTIVE PART IN ADVANCING PROHIBITION?**

For many years Protestant Church bodies, and church members, were actively engaged in agitation for, and the enactment of Prohibition laws—local, State and National.

Thousands of Protestant pulpits were opened once a year to representatives of the Anti-Saloon League, and millions of church members contributed to the support of that militant organization, which mobilized and directed the Prohibition sentiment for action at the ballot box.

The Women's Christian Temperance Union, an organization of Protestant churchwomen, was also a powerful agency for advancing Prohibition sentiment, as were many denominational temperance organizations.

## 20 WHAT IS THE ATTITUDE OF CHURCH BODIES TODAY?

As expressed in their representative gatherings—Conferences, Councils, Conventions, Synods and Assemblies—all of Protestant Christendom in America is united for the enforcement of the Prohibition Laws.

The Methodist Episcopal and Presbyterian denominations maintain special boards for promoting temperance and prohibition; and all Protestant Evangelical churches, in their governing bodies, have urged support of National Prohibition, and the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment. The conservative Lutheran Church, through its General Synod, in 1915, declared "for the submission to the states for their adoption of an amendment to the National Constitution prohibiting the traffic in intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes," and subsequent Synods have ratified that stand.

The Newark Episcopal Diocesan Convention strongly favored Local Option when that was the issue in New Jersey, and in 1917 passed the following resolution:

"Resolved, That this convention favors National Prohibition of the manufacture and sale of all forms of alcoholic beverages during the period of the War."

The 134th convention of the diocese of Pennsylvania passed a resolution calling for immediate war-time prohibition, and urging the State Legislature to ratify the Eighteenth Amendment.

The Unitarian Temperance Society, by unanimous vote, favored National Prohibition.

There is divided sentiment in the Catholic Church, with strong supporters on both sides of the question. Says the Catholic Temperance Advocate: "The only official expression of opinion on this subject by the Catholic Church in America is found in the Third Plenary Council in Baltimore, in the year 1884, where the assembled Bishops, after calling attention to the wide-spread evils of the abuse of intoxicating liquors, remind dealers of the many occasions of sin connected with the traffic, and bid the faithful seek a more honorable means of subsistence."

## 21 WHAT IS THE ATTITUDE OF THE BAR AS EXPRESSED IN ITS ORGANIZATION TODAY TOWARD THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE 18TH AMENDMENT?

Every lawyer is bound by his oath to support the Constitution of the United States, and the laws of his State.

At the annual meeting of the American Bar Association in Cincinnati, Ohio, August 31, 1921, the Judicial Section, representing the Judges of America, issued the following solemn words of warning:

"The people of the United States have undertaken to suppress the age-long evil of the liquor traffic. When, for the gratification of their appetites, lawyers, bankers, merchants and manufacturers, and social leaders, both men and women, scoff at this

law, or any other law, they are aiding the cause of anarchy and promoting mob violence, robbery and homicide.

"They are sowing the dragon's teeth, and they need not be surprised when they find that no judicial or police authority can save our Country or Humanity from reaping the harvest."

**22 IS IT TRUE, AS CHARGED BY OPPOSITIONS, THAT SOUTHERN STATES THAT BELIEVED IN STATE PROHIBITION RESENTED NATIONAL PROHIBITION AS AN INVASION OF STATE RIGHTS?**

The reverse is the truth. The first State to ratify the Eighteenth Amendment was Mississippi, the home of Jefferson Davis; the second State was Virginia, the home of General Robert E. Lee; the third State was Kentucky, where the Doctrine of State's Rights originated in the "Kentucky Resolutions" of 1798; and the fourth State to ratify was South Carolina, the home of John C. Calhoun, the hotbed of nullification and the original secession State. Every Southern State was included in the 36 States that completed the ratification. The only States that objected to the Amendment as an invasion of State's Rights were Rhode Island and New Jersey and the Supreme Court overruled their objections unanimously.

**23 ARE ANY ARTICLES OTHER THAN INTOXICATING LIQUORS UNDER FEDERAL OR STATE PROHIBITORY LAWS?**

Habit-forming drugs are under the ban of the laws of the United States and of most States of the Union. The Federal drug prohibition law is known as the Harrison Act. New Jersey's drug prohibition law was approved April 19, 1915, and prohibits all possession or transportation of—except upon a physician's prescription—and all traffic in opium and cocaine or their dilutions or derivatives, just as the liquor prohibition law does with intoxicating liquor for beverage purposes.

Every argument against the Federal or State liquor prohibition laws applies with equal force to the laws prohibiting the drug traffic.

**24 CAN THE EIGHTEENTH AMENDMENT BE REPEALED?**

Yes. By the submission of a repeal amendment by a two-thirds majority of both houses of Congress, and ratification by three-fourths of the States.

**25 WHAT IS THE PROBABILITY OF EITHER THE PROHIBITION AMENDMENT OR THE VOLSTEAD ACT BEING REPEALED?**

A group of thirteen State Legislatures could prevent the repeal of the amendment, just as thirteen might have prevented its ratification. In view of the fact that thirty-three States had adopted "bone-dry" prohibition before the amendment became law,

and are enthusiastic for its support, its repeal is practically impossible. The 67th Congress voted to strengthen the Volstead Act, by an enormous majority; and as prohibition sentiment is growing by leaps and bounds, the people are not likely to elect a "wet" Congress.

## **THE NATIONAL PROHIBITION LAW, OR VOLSTEAD ACT**

### **26 WHAT IS THE VOLSTEAD ACT?**

This is the popular title of the National Prohibition Act passed by Congress to provide for the enforcement of wartime prohibition, and for the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution. It is, therefore, as provided by Article VI. of the Constitution, a part of "the Supreme Law of the land," to be supported and obeyed by all loyal citizens.

### **27 BY WHOM WAS THE VOLSTEAD ACT PREPARED?**

By the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives, Hon. A. J. Volstead, Chairman.

A skeleton draft was made by the Anti-Saloon League, but after months of consideration by the Committee, and public hearings, very little of the original matter remained.

The final vote over the President's veto was 176 to 55 in the House, and 65 to 20 in the Senate.

### **28 IS THE VOLSTEAD ACT CONSTITU- TIONAL?**

The United States Supreme Court has so decided on several occasions, covering every possible quibble that able lawyers could raise.

December 15, 1919—Hamilton vs. Distilleries; Dreyfus vs. Edwards.

January 5, 1920—Ruppert vs. Caffrey.

June 1, 1920—Referendum on Proposed Constitutional Amendment invalid.

June 7, 1920—Christian Feigenspan vs. Joseph Bodine; and numerous other cases.

The above are only a few of a long list of cases in which the constitutionality of the act is upheld.

### **29 DID THE SUPREME COURT SUSTAIN THE HALF-OF-ONE-PER-CENT. ALCO- HOL DEFINITION OF INTOXICATING LIQUOR?**

It did in the Ruppert vs. Caffrey case, in the following language. The Court said:

"For the legislation and decisions of the highest courts of nearly all the States established that it is deemed impossible to effectively enforce either prohibitory or other laws merely regulating the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors, if liability or inclusion within the law is made to depend upon the issuable fact whether or not a particular liquor made or sold as a beverage is intoxicating.

"In other words, it clearly appears that

a liquor law, to be capable of effective enforcement, must, in the opinion of the legislatures and courts of the several States, be made to apply either to all liquors of the species enumerated, like beer, ale or wine, regardless of the presence or degree of alcoholic content; or if a more general description is used, such as distilled, rectified, spirituous, fermented, malt or brewed liquors, to all liquors within that general description regardless of alcoholic content; or to such of these liquors as contain a named percentage of alcohol; and often several such standards are combined so that certain specific and generic liquors are altogether forbidden and such other liquors as contain a given percentage of alcohol.

"A test often used to determine whether a beverage is to be deemed intoxicating within the meaning of the liquor law is whether it contains one-half of one per cent. of alcohol by volume.

"The decisions of the courts as well as the action of the legislatures make it clear, or at least furnish ground upon which Congress reasonably might conclude—that a rigid classification of beverages is an essential of either effective regulation or effective prohibition of intoxicating liquors."

**30 HAS A STATE THE RIGHT TO ENACT LAWS THAT NULLIFY ANY PROVISION OF THE VOLSTEAD ACT?**

No. A State may enact laws that would be more stringent than the Federal law, but not that would weaken or antagonize any provision of the Federal statute. For instance, many State laws prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquors for medicinal use, which the Volstead act permits. The enforcement of Prohibition must always be the motive in both Federal and State legislation.

**OBJECTIONS ANSWERED**

**31 IS THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE PROHIBITION LAW AN EXPENSE TO THE TAXPAYERS?**

The fines and penalties assessed are far in excess of the expenditures, both in Federal and State courts. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, the total amount expended in Prohibition enforcement by the Federal Government was \$6,250,095.43; which was offset by civil penalties, special taxes, etc., of \$53,296,998.87, and several millions in fines. In New Jersey counties there is a large credit balance in the county courts.

**32 DOES PROHIBITION INTERFERE WITH PERSONAL LIBERTY?**

There is no such thing as absolute "personal liberty" in society. Every citizen surrenders his personal liberty in exchange for civil liberty. Every person's liberty ends where his neighbor's rights begin, or where he invades the prohibitions of law. From the Ten Commandments down, law is a mass of prohibitions: Thou shalt not kill, steal, trespass, commit assault, spit on the side-

walk, drive on the wrong side of the highway, keep your children out of school, be cruel to your beast, wear your wife's clothing in public; and in a thousand other ways you are prohibited. Nobody complains that "personal liberty" is invaded except the unlawful maker and seller of liquor.

### 33 HAS PROHIBITION PROMOTED IRREVERENCE FOR LAW?

There is only a small fraction of the liquor law violation that there was before prohibition.

The difference is in the publicity. The liquor traffic never did obey the laws. In New Jersey, before prohibition, 8,000 saloonkeepers, contrary to law, kept open on Sundays and Election Days; sold to minors, to drunkards, and to intoxicated persons; they harbored gamblers, prostitutes and thieves, and barrooms were crowded with patrons, who with officers of the law connived in the lawlessness; and press and public were silent.

Today a few bootleggers, chiefly aliens, are sneakily breaking the Prohibition law, and there is great clamor about Prohibition teaching disrespect for law.

### 34 IS MORE LIQUOR CONSUMED THAN BEFORE WE HAD PROHIBITION?

If so, all brewers, distillers and liquor dealers would be shouting for Prohibition instead of fighting it bitterly. One distillery, in the pre-Prohibition days, dispensed more liquor than all the "moonshine" stills of the nation are now doing; and one brewery turned out far more beer than can be made by fifty thousand "home-brew" outfits. The annual consumption then was over twenty gallons for every man, woman and child in the nation, dispensed through a quarter of a million barrooms running day and night seven days in the week, now closed. The present illicit consumption is only a small fraction of that of former times when six "Beer Express" trains left Milwaukee every night with the output of only a few of the hundreds of breweries of the nation.

#### CONSUMPTION OF LIQUORS

Amounts withdrawn for consumption in 1917, the last normal license year, compared with 1921, fiscal years ending June 30th:

	PROOF GALLONS	
	1917	1921
Domestic Spirits.....	161,012,068	3,366,278
Domestic Wines.....	37,640,495	19,551,595
Domestic Beer.....	1,881,964,835	
Domestic Fruit Brandy.....	3,668,669	104,083
Imported Spirits.....	3,059,588	166,456
Imported Wines.....	5,082,881	152,564
Imported Beer.....	2,300,542	

Total .....2,094,729,078 26,340,376

Reduced consumption 2,053,879,277 gallons.

To the consumption, 1921, must be added an indeterminate amount of illicit manufactured and smuggled liquor, the total of which would only be a small fraction of the former consumption.

**35 WHO ARE THE PEOPLE BACKING THE  
AGITATION AGAINST PROHIBITION?  
WHAT IS THEIR OBJECT?**

Pro-liquor commercial interests, and lawyers and politicians identified with them. Over thirty anti-Prohibition organizations have been announced, but most of them were names only, or groups trying to fleece the drinking public.

The most effective organization was the Association Opposed to National Prohibition, which was the lineal descendant of the "American Hotel Association," which organized the "Joint Anti-Prohibition Campaign Committee" in conjunction with the "Hotel Association of New York City," the "Society of Restaurateurs," and the "Hotel Association of New York State." This organization went out of existence in 1920, after flagrantly violating the Corrupt Practices Act of New Jersey, and from its ashes sprang the "Association Against the Prohibition Amendment," with the same methods and many of the same officers in close affiliation, in New Jersey, with the president of the United States Brewers' Association.

The Anti-Dry League of New Jersey was formed out of the remnants of several organizations of wholesale and retail liquor dealers known as the "New Jersey Federation of Liquor Interests." Its incorporators and officers were mere "dummies," the work being conducted by a "Director," the same man who for twenty-five years was the executive secretary of the organized liquor interests of New Jersey.

**36 WHAT IS THE ATTITUDE OF PHYSICIANS TOWARD THE USE OF LIQUOR AS A MEDICINE?**

A questionnaire sent out to 53,900 physicians by the Journal of the American Medical Association shows the following result, as printed in that journal for January 21, 1922:

Answers received 31,115 = 58% of those addressed.

Q. Do you regard whiskey as a necessary therapeutic agent in the practice of medicine?

A. Yes: 15,625 = 51%.

No: 15,218 = 49%.

The vote on wine stood:

No: 20,648 = 68%. Yes: 9,803 = 32%

The vote on beer stood:

No: 22,663 = 74%. Yes: 7,934 = 26%

**37 IS THE VOLSTEAD ACT UNNECESSARILY SEVERE?**

In two years of operation no law-abiding citizen has had reason to complain of it.

The law conserves every Constitutional right of every citizen. In many respects, the law is much less drastic than the laws of many Prohibition States. The hue and cry against it emanates from those who wish to evade punishment for crime on the principle that,

"No rogue e'er feels the halter draw,  
With good opinion of the law."



### 38 ARE THE SEARCH AND SEIZURE PROVISIONS OF THE VOLSTEAD LAW OPPRESSIVE?

The law provides the same regulations for search and seizure as does the Espionage Act, which provisions are usual in Federal practice, having been sustained as constitutional by the United States Supreme Court. The New Jersey Prohibition Enforcement Law copied its search and seizure provisions from tested statutes, such as the brewers' law for recovering bottles, cases and siphons.

### 39 DOES THE VOLSTEAD ACT PREVENT THE USE OF SPIRITS OR WINE AS A MEDICINE, OR WINE FOR SACRAMENTAL PURPOSES?

Positively not. Regulations that are sufficiently liberal make ample provisions for such supplies.

## BENEFITS OF PROHIBITION

### 40 WHAT INFLUENCE HAS PROHIBITION UPON THE VOLUME OF INSANITY?

Everywhere, in hospitals for the insane, the proportion of admissions of alcoholic insane is reduced:

In New York, Dr. H. M. Pollock, official statistician, reports admissions, per 100,000 population, for alcoholic psychosis reduced as follows:

	Males	Females
1910 .....	433	128
1920 .....	90	32
Total .....	561	122
Reduction .....		439 = 80%

In New Jersey, Dr. Henry A. Cotton, medical director of the State Hospital for Insane, in Trenton, reports that alcoholic cases in that institution have decreased from 21 per cent. in pre-Prohibition days, to 2 per cent. He attributes this reduction to Prohibition.

Alcoholic insanity admissions in Overbrook Hospital, the official institution of Essex County, N. J., as reported by Dr. Guy Payne, superintendent, were as follows:

Year	Number of Cases	Percentage
1916 .....	46	12.6
1917 .....	48	12.
1918 .....	20	4.7
1919 .....	11	3.1
1920 .....	9	2.5
1921 .....	4	1.1

The superintendent says Prohibition did it.

In Bellevue Hospital, New York, there has been an enormous decrease in the number of cases of alcoholic insanity treated, as is shown by the following table compiled from the Journal of the American Medical Association:

Total Cases			
Year	Treated	Alcoholism	Per Cent.
1910....	33,677	10,691	31.9
1920....	34,034	2,001	5.8
Decrease in alcoholic cases, 8,690—80%.			

## 41 WHAT INFLUENCE HAS PROHIBITION UPON DRUNKENNESS?

In the country at large an intoxicated person in public places is a curiosity.

The number of arrests for drunkenness are enormously reduced. In 59 cities, with a population of 30,000 or more (including New York, Chicago and Philadelphia) with a total population of 20,000,000, official and estimated figures show a decrease in arrests for drunkenness from 316,842 in 1917, to 109,768 in 1921, notwithstanding much bad liquor, temporary individual hard drinking by some, and a disposition on the part of the authorities to arrest all who cannot walk straight, whereas, formerly, only disorderly drunks were disturbed.

The inebriate wards in hospitals are practically empty.

Official inebriate asylums are closed.

Keeley Institutes everywhere are closed.

The Neal Institute Company, which treated 125,000 inebriates in the twelve years before Prohibition, has closed its institutions for want of patronage.

The Washingtonian Home, Chicago, an inebriate asylum, reports a falling number of patients from an average of 921 a year, for the previous ten years, to 125 in 1920.

In New Jersey, the Keswick Colony, in "The Pines," which for twenty years ministered to alcoholics, is closed.

These are only a few straws, out of a multitude, in the "dry" wind.

## 42 WHAT HAS BEEN THE EFFECT OF PROHIBITION ON THE SOCIAL UNDERWORLD IN OUR GREAT CITIES?

Missionaries and social workers are united in testifying to the wonderful benefits to home-life and children following the disappearance of the saloon and the beer can. The Salvation Army's testimony is convincing: Commander Evangeline Booth, in September, 1921, made the following statement regarding the disappearance of "Boozers' Day" in New York City. Copied from the Literary Digest:

"Year by year we have celebrated the Thanksgiving holiday from six in the morning collecting drunks from the park benches, feeding them, sobering them up, and saving them with lasting results. But last year they were not there, and so we gave the day to the poorest children in the city."

Major Edward Underwood, head of the Eastern Social Welfare Department of the Salvation Army, makes this statement: "Before Prohibition we had about 1,000 men constantly in our institutions in and about Greater New York devoted to the care of alcoholic cases, or of persons out of employment because of drinking. Today these institutions are almost vacant, the only inmates being aged men whom we dislike to cast adrift, and who are too old to make a living in the competitive fields."

Commenting on these conditions, Commander Booth says they mean to the city's

babies, "Better pre-natal care for the mother, more food, improved clothing, more money, and—above everything else—the absence of inebriation's brutalities are all in evidence, telling in the life-chances of these infants."

As a social question alone, apart from its moral, economic and patriotic benefits, Prohibition is the greatest charity the world has ever known.

### 43 WHAT EFFECT HAS PROHIBITION HAD UPON PUBLIC HEALTH?

The effect, as registered in hospitals, has been astounding to the physician. The superintendent of Christ Hospital in Jersey City makes this statement:

"As a hospital executive, I would have you know that I regard the Prohibition movement as a tremendous humanitarian blessing."

The printed reports of this hospital for the "wet" year 1919 compared with reports of the "dry" year 1920, give remarkable testimony in the reduced deaths, accidents, and cases incident to exposure and quarrels (with alcohol as a promoting cause). A few are tabulated below:

CASES	1919 Wet	1920 Dry
Medical—		
Alcoholism .....	37	0
Acute mania .....	11	0
Hysteria .....	11	2
Cerebral apoplexy .....	28	6
Neurasthenia .....	17	4
Bronchitis, acute.....	20	1
Pneumonia, broncho .....	52	3
Pneumonia, lobar .....	49	19
Epilepsy .....	7	2
Total .....	225	37
Surgical—		
Appendicitis, sub-acute .....	38	7
Erysipelas .....	11	0
Empyema .....	29	12
Burns .....	21	8
Contused wounds .....	55	29
Incised wounds .....	10	3
Internal injuries .....	7	2
Total .....	171	61
Fractures—		
Skull .....	19	9
Humerus .....	17	1
Forearm .....	24	0
Leg .....	24	0
Clavicle .....	14	1
Potts .....	5	1
Total .....	103	12
Deaths—		
Cerebral apoplexy .....	14	5
Pneumonia, broncho .....	34	2
Pneumonia, lobar .....	21	7
Total .....	69	14

Year	Total Cases	Total Deaths	Pct.
	All Causes	All Causes	
1919 .....	2,679	289	11
1920 .....	2,150	143	6

Reduction.. 529                      146 = 50%

This experience may be multiplied by hundreds of hospitals, and millions of individuals.

Weekly reports from the Health Department of New York City show remarkable decrease in the number of deaths from alcoholism, owing to reduced consumption of intoxicating liquors, as follows:

#### Deaths Due to Alcoholism

Year—	No. of Deaths
1916 .....	687
1917 .....	560
1918 .....	252
1919 .....	176
1920 (dry) .....	98

#### Death Rate, New York City, Per 1,000 Population

Year—	Rate
1910 .....	16
1920 (dry) .....	12.93
1921 (dry) .....	11.17

#### Infant Death Rate, New York City, Per 1,000 Population

Year—	Rate
1891 .....	241
1920 (dry) .....	85
1921 (dry) .....	71.1

## 44 WHAT INFLUENCE HAS PROHIBITION UPON CRIME?

In every State that adopted State Prohibition, crime immediately fell from 50 to 90 per cent., as is proved by official reports.

The City of Cincinnati's official report shows only 19 murders during the year 1920, as compared with an average of 48 for the preceding twelve years.

The Pennsylvania Society to Prevent Children from Cruelty reports that in 1920 in a total of 1,959 cases only 100 were due to drunkenness. In former years this class of cases was enormously greater, for instance:

1900 .....	455
1907 .....	486
1909 .....	428
1920 (dry) .....	100

There has been a decrease in major crimes and an enormous decrease in minor crimes. The Chicago Crime Commissioner's report on major crimes gives the following figure for major crimes:

	Murders	Burglaries	Robberies
1919 .....	330	6,108	2,912
1920 .....	194	5,495	2,782
1921 .....	190	4,774	2,558

It is an invariable rule that there is an increase in crime following a great war, but Prohibition has been a powerful deterrent.

An enormous reduction in arrests for drunkenness and disorderly conduct has fol-

lowed Prohibition. The following table covering Jersey City and New York City for 1907 and 1921 is illuminating. The figures for 1907 are copied from the official census tabulation, "Statistics of Cities;" and for 1921 the figures are from official police records:

	1907	1921
JERSEY CITY—	(Wet)	(Dry)
Population .....	243,205	298,103
Arrests for drunkenness and disorderly conduct .....	4,670	1,146
Population for each arrest .....	52	260

Increase in population, 54,898. Decrease in arrests for drunkenness and disorderly conduct, 3,524. Increase in population for each arrest, 208.

	1907	1921
N. Y. CITY—	(Wet)	(Dry)
Population .....	4,225,681	5,620,048
Arrests for drunkenness and disorderly conduct .....	95,529	11,472
Population for each arrest .....	44	402

Increase in population, 1,394,367. Decrease in arrests for drunkenness and disorderly conduct, 83,576. Increase in population for each arrest, 358.

In the ante-Prohibition days Jersey City had 1,000 saloons, and New York City, 12,000; and "drunks" were dumped in back rooms to sober up. The number of arrests compared with the volume of intoxication were very few, so that the volume of drunkenness noted above in 1907 might be multiplied several times.

The Boston Police Department reports total arrests during 1920 as 58,817, as compared with 67,947 during 1919.

Report of the Commissioner of Prisons for New York State shows a decrease of 1,862 in prison population, for 1920, as compared with 1919, and a decrease of 26,142 in the number of commitments during the same period.

Official reports to the Commission of Prisons for New York State show tremendous decrease in commitments, to the workhouses, for intoxication, from 4,926 in 1915, to 176 in 1920.

Like reports might be multiplied without limit.

#### 45 WHAT IS THE TESTIMONY OF EMPLOYERS OF LABOR REGARDING THE EFFECT OF PROHIBITION ON BUSINESS AND ON THEIR EMPLOYEES?

With practical unanimity they agree that Prohibition has reduced accidents; prevented absenteeism and "Blue Mondays;" minimized spoiled work, increased sobriety, cheerfulness and contentment of employes; and brought remarkable benefits to their families.

This is qualified in some places where there has been lax law enforcement, and where "home-brew" and stills have been permitted to thrive.

#### **46 WHAT ARE THE ECONOMIC BENEFITS OF PROHIBITION?**

Most saloons are closed, and premises occupied by legitimate business.

Money that went to buy debauchery now buys useful merchandise and home comforts; thus increasing the market for labor and merchandise.

Tradesmen report old debts cancelled, more cash customers, and fewer "bad accounts."

Savings bank deposits are greatly increased.

Breweries are transformed into warehouses and manufactories of useful articles, employing more people than before.

#### **47 SUMMED UP ALONG BROAD LINES, WHAT ARE THE TRIUMPHS OF PROHIBITION TO DATE?**

In the language of the Rev. Sam W. Small: "It has divorced our government from quasi-partnership with the liquor trade and emancipated politics almost wholly from its domination;

"Relieved countless homes from drink evils; made sober and useful men of thousands who were becoming dissolute; given new hopes of happiness and security to millions of mothers, wives and children, and guaranteed growing generations of healthier and more effective Americans;

"Abolished public drinking almost entirely; cleared the highways of offensive drunkards; enlarged trade in useful merchandise; improved labor efficiency; increased savings accounts;

"Augmented school attendance and college matriculations by thousands, previously prevented because of drink in their homes;

"Disbanded many vicious clubs and associations for dissipation, and substituted patronage of newspapers, magazines, books, music and movies;

"And made paramount a necessary national decision that the Constitution shall be the supreme and adequately enforced and obeyed law of the land."

### **LIGHT WINES AND BEER**

#### **48 WHAT IS ALCOHOL?**

"The intoxicating ingredient in all spirituous liquors, including in this term wines, porter, ale, beer, cider and every other liquid that has undergone the vinous fermentation," is the definition of the United States Dispensary. Its production depends exclusively upon the decomposition of vegetable or animal matters; so far as it is known, it is impossible to obtain alcohol without decomposition.

Ethyl Alcohol ( $C_2H_5.OH$ ) is what is the

usual ingredient of alcoholic beverages.

Heavier Alcohols are: Propyllic, amylic, butylic, etc., which are very deadly poisons classed as fusel oils, and require greater heat to distil them. They are found in much of the "Moonshine" whiskey.

Methyl Alcohol ( $\text{CH}_3\text{OH}$ ) is derived from wood. It is less intoxicating than ethyl or grain alcohol, but is more poisonous, and its use as a beverage is liable to cause blindness.

#### **49 WHAT IS THE EFFECT OF ALCOHOL UPON HUMAN BEINGS?**

Sir Lauder Brunton, in his classical work on *Materia Medica*, says: "Alcohol is a nerve-cell paralyzant, paralyzing the nerve cells in the inverse order of their development." This has never been disputed.

Scientists assembled at the International Conference on Alcoholism in London, 1909, gave the following definition of alcohol: "Exact laboratory, clinical and pathological research has demonstrated that alcohol is a dehydrating, protoplasmic poison, and its use as a beverage is destructive and degenerating to the human organism. Its effects upon the cells and tissues of the body are depressive, narcotic and anaesthetic; therefore, therapeutically, its use should be limited and restricted in the same way as the use of other poisonous drugs."

The International Convention of Alienists and Neurologists, July, 1914, in a resolution, said: "It has been definitely established that alcohol, when taken into the system, acts as a definite poison to the brain and other tissues, and that the effects of this poison are directly or indirectly responsible for a large proportion of the insane, epileptic, feeble-minded and other forms of mental, moral and physical degeneracy."

#### **50 WHAT ARE THE RELATIVE TOXIC QUALITIES OF WHISKEY, WINE AND BEER AS ORDINARILY SERVED?**

A one-ounce dram of 45 per cent whiskey, a 3.6-ounce wineglass of 12.5 per cent wine, and a 9-ounce glass of beer are equally intoxicating, as each contains the same amount of alcohol; the difference in volume is water.

The average beer drinker consumes more alcohol than the average whiskey drinker because he is less cautious.

#### **51 WHAT IS INTOXICATING LIQUOR?**

Dr. Harvey Wiley's reply to this question is: "An intoxicating liquor is one which when ingested into the stomach and absorbed into the blood creates a toxic effect (on any or all of the body-organs and functions). That effect may be unnoticed by the subject or by those who are round him. . . . Any attempt to define a certain quantity of toxic substances and call it intoxicating, while a less quantity would be defined as non-intoxicating, fails to take into consideration the remarkable variability of persons in respect to their resistance. . . ."

The question of quantity is not at all essential. If the effect is produced, that effect must have had a start. That start is effected by the intoxicating beverage which produces the effect."

**51-A IS BEER THAT CONTAINS 2.75 PER CENT ALCOHOL BY VOLUME INTOXICATING?**

To this question Dr. Wiley's reply is: "In my opinion, I have no doubt of that fact. It may even, as I have seen in my own experience, produce the third state of intoxication, namely, drunkenness."

**52 WHAT ARE DISTILLED SPIRITS?**

Alcoholic liquors obtained by distillation of fermented liquids, such as whiskey, brandy, gin, rum, etc., usually containing from 40 to 50 per cent of alcohol.

**53 WHEN WAS THE ART OF DISTILLATION OF LIQUORS DISCOVERED?**

Chinese traditions and records indicate that the art was discovered long before the Christian Era by one I-ti, who was disgraced and his name held in loathing by subsequent generations.

To the rest of the world distillation was unknown until the art was gradually introduced from Arabia, where it was discovered in the eleventh century, A. D., by a chemist, Albukessan.

**54 ARE "LIGHT WINES AND BEER" INTOXICATING LIQUORS PROHIBITED BY THE EIGHTEENTH AMENDMENT?**

They have always been recognized as intoxicating liquors in the regulatory and prohibitory laws of all the states, and of the United States, and were specially prohibited in Federal war-time legislation. In their opposition to legislation for regulating and prohibiting the traffic in intoxicating liquors, wine and beer makers always made common cause with makers and dealers in distilled spirits.

**55 ARE "LIGHT" WINES AND BEER INTOXICATING LIQUORS IN FACT?**

They are; and always have been the chief sources of drunkenness of the human race.

**56 WHAT IS THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN LIGHT AND HEAVY WINES?**

Light wines are such as contain only the amount of alcohol produced by natural fermentation, whereas heavy wines are fortified with distilled spirits. All wines that contain over thirteen per cent alcohol are fortified, because, in the process of fermentation, when that proportion is reached, the alcohol kills the yeast germ, and fermentation ceases.

**57 WHAT WERE THE SOURCES OF DRUNKENNESS, AS RECORDED IN HOLY WRIT AND ANCIENT HISTORY?**

Invariably light wines, not over 13 per cent alcohol, and beer; for there were no distilled spirits and no fortified wines.



**58. WHAT IS THE PERCENTAGE OF ALCOHOL IN THE ORDINARY WINES OF COMMERCE?**

The following table is copied from the New International Encyclopedia:

Cider .....	5 to 9	per cent
Claret .....	8 to 12	per cent
Hock .....	10 to 12	per cent
Burgundy .....	10 to 13	per cent
Champagne ....	10 to 13	per cent
Madeira .....	15 to 20	per cent
Sherry .....	15 to 20	per cent
Port .....	15 to 25	per cent

**59. WHAT IS BEER?**

The following definition is quoted from Professor Charles F. Chandler in the *Brewers' Year Book*:

"Beer is a beverage in the preparation of which malted barley, rarely malted wheat, rice and corn, or its products, are used. The malt is extracted with hot water, an addition of hops is made, it is boiled and the solution constitutes the wort. The wort is cooled, the yeast is added, and the whole fermented to a finish. The sugar is split into alcohol and carbonic acid gas, a little free acid, glycerine and aromatic bodies in small quantities result. The product is beer."

**59a. WHAT IS THE ANALYSIS OF BEER?**

The analysis of beer, as given in Horsley and Sturge's "Alcohol and the Human Body," is as follows:

Water .....	90	per cent
Albumen .....	0.5	per cent
Sugar .....	1.5	per cent
Mineral .....	0.4	per cent
Extractive .....	3.1	per cent
Alcohol .....	4.5	per cent

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100

**60. WHAT WAS THE PERCENTAGE OF ALCOHOL IN STANDARD AMERICAN BEER?**

An analysis made by the North Public Health Bureau of New York City for the New Jersey Anti-Saloon League of a bottle of Anheuser-Busch Budweiser lager beer showed the alcohol content to be 4.80 by volume.

**61. CAN BEER BE PRODUCED, AS A SATISFACTORY BEVERAGE, MINUS THE ALCOHOL?**

Millions of gallons are being made and consumed every year. The President of the United States Brewers' Association, in his displayed advertisement, says:

"Private Seal, 'as Good as Ever' "

"In days gone by it was Private Seal that quenched your thirst, steadied your nerves after a hard day's work, built you up in periods of recuperation.

"Private Seal, as mellow and tasty as ever, is still at your service. Tests have shown

that its taste and body-building qualities remain unchanged.

"And why not?"

"The same high quality of hops and malt still are used. It is still brewed and aged with the same infinite care. It is AS GOOD AS EVER."

And the Krueger Brewing Company of Newark, N. J., says, in displayed advertisements:

"A wholesome brew from high-grade malt and hops.

"KRUEGER'S SPECIAL is brewed and aged and fermented in the famous KRUEGER way, to give it all the old-time tang, snap and incomparable flavor.

"A REAL DRINK—You'll say it is!"

## 62 WHAT IS THE MEDIÆVAL RECORD OF BEER AS INTOXICATING LIQUOR?

History records that in Germany and Northern Europe beer was the chief intoxicant. Gibbon says: "Strong beer, a liquor extracted with very little art from wheat or barley, was sufficient for the gross purposes of German debauchery."

In the British Isles, long before distilled spirits were known, drunkenness was universal, and convivial meetings were of the most riotous description, special rules governing the drunken orgies of the clergy. Brewed liquors were the universal intoxicants, and after the Norman Conquest wines shared with beer in debauching the people. Says a contemporary of the time: "The land was filled with drinks and drunkards." ALL LIGHT WINES AND BEER.

## 63 WHAT EFFECT HAS FOLLOWED EFFORTS TO REDUCE DRUNKENNESS BY ENCOURAGING WINE AND BEER DRINKING?

The British Parliament, in 1830, under the leadership of Lord Brougham and the Duke of Wellington, enacted, "An act to permit the general sale of beer and cider in England."

Within a fortnight after its enactment Sidney Smith, who had urged the passage of the measure, said: "The new Beer Bill has begun its operations. Everybody is drunk. Those who are not singing are sprawling. The 'Sovereign People' are in a beastly state."

In one year the number of beer shops increased 30,000 without any diminution of the spirit stores. Sober people became drunkards, women became tipplers, and beer houses became nurseries of drunkenness, prostitution and crime.

Speaking for the repeal of the act, Lord Brougham said: "What could be the use of sowing a little seed here and plucking up a weed there if these beer shops were to be continued that they might go on to sow the seeds of immorality over the land, germinating the most frightful produce that ever had

been allowed to grow up in a civilized country?"

**64 BEFORE PROHIBITION WHAT WAS THE PROPORTION OF BEER, WINE AND SPIRITS CONSUMED IN THE UNITED STATES?**

In the year 1913, before the big Prohibition drive, the total consumption of liquor was 2,233,420,461 gallons. The per capita consumption, in gallons, was: Spirits, 1.50; wine, .56; malt liquors, 20.62; total, 22.68. Of actual alcohol the spirits drinkers consumed .58 gallons per capita; the wine drinkers, .07 gallons, and the beer drinkers, .82 gallons.

**65 WHERE WINE AND BEER ARE PLENTIFUL IS THE CONSUMPTION OF DISTILLED SPIRITS REDUCED?**

The reverse is true. The milder liquors lead to appetite for the drug alcohol. Boys and girls and the average drinker do not begin with spirits, and without beer and wine the drink habit would die out in a generation.

A popular fallacy, based upon misrepresentation, is the belief that drunkenness is rare in nations that drink great quantities of beer and wine, such as Germany and France. Another fallacy is that where the use of these fermented beverages is encouraged there is very little consumption of distilled spirits.

Official reports of the per capita consumption of wine, beer and distilled spirits in different countries of the world, covering the year 1913, show the following:

Country	Wine (Gals.)	Beer (Gals.)	Spirits (Gals.)	Total Absolute Alcohol (Gals.)
U. S.	.56	20.62	1.50	1.85
England	.50	38.	1.50	2.61
France	26.2	8.	2.50	4.95
Germany	1.75	31.	1.75	2.64

As will be seen from the above tabulation, the wine-producing countries of France and Germany each consumed more distilled spirits per capita than the United States; and in France more wine was consumed per capita than beer in the United States, and in Germany 50 per cent more beer was consumed per capita than in the United States, so that the per capita consumption of pure alcohol in these beer and wine countries was very much greater than in the United States.

**66 WHO ARE CHIEFLY CONCERNED TO RESTORE THE MANUFACTURE AND SALE OF BEER?**

The brewers who have not already transformed their breweries into other industries.

**67 WHAT EFFECT WOULD THE LEGALIZING OF BEER AND WINE HAVE UPON PROHIBITION ENFORCEMENT?**

It would paralyze enforcement. Beer saloons would reopen everywhere. The brew-

ers controlled 80 per cent of the saloons in the olden time, all notorious for law defiance. They would be no better now, and would sell whiskey freely. The 2.75 per cent maximum alcoholic content would be farcical, as it would be necessary to have chemical analysis made of evidence in every case.

The definition "one-half of one per cent of alcohol by volume" was the result of years of experience in prohibition states with law-defying brewers.

## **OBSTACLES TO BE CLEARED AWAY**

### **68 WHY DOES NOT PROHIBITION PROHIBIT MORE EFFECTUALLY?**

No law can enforce itself. When National Prohibition became operative, in many states the officers of the law were in friendly alliance with the liquor traffic, and remained so, and could no more be expected to enforce Prohibition than an Orangeman could be expected to enforce Sinn Fein edicts. There must be a change either in the persons or the principles of Federal, state and local officers responsible for law enforcement before ideal conditions can obtain.

### **69 WHAT WERE THE CHIEF CAUSES OF INEFFECTUAL ENFORCEMENT DURING THE FIRST YEAR OF THE VOLSTEAD ACT?**

Primarily, the appointment of Federal enforcement officers, agents and inspectors as rewards for party service, without regard to fitness. The question of attitude toward the law was not considered with the rank and file of appointees, and persons notorious as anti-prohibitionists and of bibulous habits were appointed on recommendation of "wet" political leaders. The rule should be, "Put enforcement in the hands of the friends, not the enemies, of Prohibition."

### **70 WHAT WAS THE SEVEREST BLOW GIVEN TO PROHIBITION ENFORCEMENT DURING ITS FIRST YEAR?**

A "regulation" made by the Internal Revenue Department authorizing the granting of basic permits to "wholesale liquor dealers" under which nearly 4,000 persons so authorized flooded the nation with illicit liquor at a time when there was no efficient force to control the output and check the deliveries.

### **71 WAS THERE AUTHORITY IN LAW FOR SUCH A REGULATION?**

It was without a word of legal authority. The only persons authorized under the Volstead Act to sell alcohol and liquors at wholesale for mechanical, medicinal and sacramental purposes were wholesale druggists.

### **72 DOES THIS IRREGULARITY STILL CONTINUE?**

No. Owing to an exposure and demands made by the Anti-Saloon League, the Attorney-General decided that the League's con-

tention was right. Now, in New Jersey, instead of 225 saloonkeepers, gamblers, gunmen and irresponsible aliens, having authority to sell and transport liquor, three wholesale druggists meet all legitimate demands.

### **73 IS "HOME BREW" A MENACE TO PROHIBITION ENFORCEMENT?**

Not seriously so. The fad was very properly permitted to die out. Householders in modern times are not willing to do such fussy, messy work, and the output was often a failure, and at best a most unsatisfactory and unwholesome beverage. What is left of the fad in families is chiefly among aliens. Some saloonkeepers are making beer with a "kick," but they are easily detected, and fines and imprisonment will surely root them out.

### **74 IS HOME BREWED BEER A HEALTHFUL BEVERAGE?**

Many physicians have given warnings through the press about the dangers of drinking these home brews, filled with yeast germs, bacteria, sediment and fusel oils, as being promotive of gastritis and intestinal trouble. Dr. Harvey Wiley, formerly chief of the United States Bureau of Chemistry, has made the statement that, "You might as well mix a lot of poisonous chemicals together and drink them down as to take into the stomach the vast majority of alleged beverages which have made their appearance in the homes since the advent of Prohibition."

### **75 IS "MOONSHINE" WHISKEY AND GIN A SERIOUS OBSTACLE IN THE WAY OF PROHIBITION ENFORCEMENT?**

Compared with the former output of the big distilleries, the volume of the product of secret stills can be likened as a millpond to the ocean. Nevertheless, both Federal and local officials have been negligent in permitting the open, unlawful sale of implements and materials for the making of illicit beer and spirits, thus encouraging our alien population in lawbreaking, and menacing life and health of the community.

This "moonshine" liquor, crudely made, and unrefined, is deadly poison, abounding in the heavier alcohols, known as "fusel oils," which cannot be separated in ordinary stills, and having possible chemical combinations that are causing sickness and deaths attributed to wood alcohol.

### **76 WHAT OTHER SYNTHETIC AND SHAM LIQUORS ARE BEING MARKETED?**

Most of the spirits now being marketed by bootleggers are concoctions made from alcohol, diluted, flavored and sometimes etherized to give the maximum of "kick" with use of a minimum of spirits.

Counterfeit labels and seals are attached to bottles, at times these being exact facsimiles of brands of fancy imported and bottled-in-bond goods. There is room for greater vigilance on the part of the Federal Govern-

ment in guarding the issues of grain alcohol for manufacturing purposes.

In the annual report of Bellevue Hospital, New York City, for 1921, Dr. Alex. O. Goetler warns against amateur distilled liquors, saying:

"More than 100 analyses made in Bellevue Hospital laboratory in the last twelve months disclosed that in many instances deadly mixtures are produced through use of such substances as acetone, ether, formaline and pyridine, but that products quite as deadly are turned out by still operators without using either wood alcohol or any of the other ingredients named."

## **77 WHEN HIGH OFFICIALS AND PROMINENT CITIZENS RIDICULE AND OPPOSE OUR CONSTITUTION AND LAWS WHAT IS THE EFFECT OF THEIR INFLUENCE UPON THE YOUNG, IGNORANT AND UNPATRIOTIC CITIZENS?**

It breeds disrespect for all laws, and its tendency is toward anarchy.

The American Bar Association, Judicial Section, issued solemn warning to such social scoffers at law, in its report at the Convention of the Association, held in Cincinnati August 31, 1921, stating that they were sowing dragons' teeth. The text is quoted in Section 21.

Attorney-General Harry M. Daugherty, in an address at the same convention, spoke patriotically as follows:

"As a citizen cannot choose what laws he will obey, so, likewise, those charged with law enforcement cannot choose what laws they will enforce.

"The only sound position for those who favor respect for law to take is that those charged with law enforcement must enforce all the laws, and all good citizens must obey all the laws; neither can exercise any right of choice in this matter without placing themselves above the law. It is the part of faithful officials to enforce, and the part of good citizens to obey them.

"The Government will endure on the rock of law enforcement, or it will perish in the quicksands of lawlessness.

"Those who do not believe in our Government and the enforcement of our laws should go to a country which gives them their peculiar liberty.

"To those who come to our shores to take advantage of American opportunities it is becoming to wave the hand of welcome. But it is our duty to warn them to stay away unless they intend to observe our customs and obey our laws."

# Reverence for Law

By Abraham Lincoln

In the United States, Prohibition is no longer an issue—it is fundamental law. The duty of every patriot is to revere and protect that law; and as an inspiration to that end, the eloquent words of Abraham Lincoln, quoted from an address on “The Perpetuation of Our Political Institutions,” delivered before the Young Men’s Lyceum of Springfield, Ill., on January 27, 1837. The entire address was printed in *Unity*, of Chicago, February 20, 1913:

“Let every American, every lover of liberty every well-wisher to his posterity, swear by the blood of the Revolution never to violate in the least particular the laws of the country, and never to tolerate their violation by others.

“As the patriots of ’76 did to the support of the Declaration of Independence, so to the support of the Constitution and laws let every American pledge his life, his property, and his sacred honor. Let every man remember that to violate the law is to trample on the blood of his fathers, and to tear the charter of his own and his children’s liberty.

“Let reverence for the laws be breathed by every American mother to the lisping babe that prattles on her lap; let it be taught in schools, in seminaries and in colleges; let it be written in primers, spelling-books, and in almanacs; let it be preached from the pulpit, proclaimed in legislative halls, and enforced in courts of justice.

“And, in short, let it become the political religion of the nation; and let the old and young, the rich and poor, the grave and the gay of all sexes and tongues and colors and conditions, sacrifice unceasingly upon its altars.”

# THE PROHIBITION QUESTION

Viewed From the Economic and Moral Standpoint

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The views of hundreds of Leading Men of Affairs—Manufacturers of Iron and Steel, Cotton and Other Products, Bankers, Lawyers, College and University Officials—as expressed in letters to the Manufacturers Record in reply to a questionnaire on the subject.

The most important publication ever issued in this or any other country on Prohibition.

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The First Edition of this pamphlet consisted of 84 pages: This Second Edition has 100, the additional pages being made necessary by the receipt since the First Edition was published of letters from many railroad presidents and others which will be found in the last 16 pages.

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Second Edition

Price 50c a copy



# Foreword to Second Edition.

The North American, the oldest daily newspaper in America and one of the ablest, in a two-column review of "The Prohibition Question Viewed From the Economic and Moral Standpoint," said:

"In arranging this symposium the MANUFACTURERS RECORD has performed a national service," and referring to the pamphlet, added:

"A copy should be in the hands of every manufacturer and business man, and of every citizen who is concerned for the maintenance of law and the promotion of the country's well-being."

This is in line with praise which has come from manufacturers and business men and from newspapers throughout the land. Typical of the way in which this pamphlet is regarded by business men is the following letter:

THE AMERICAN ROLLING MILL CO.  
MIDDLETOWN, OHIO.

June 10, 1922.

Dear Mr. Edmonds:

I wish to congratulate you on the pamphlet which the MANUFACTURERS RECORD has just brought out on "The Prohibition Question Viewed From the Economic and Moral Standpoint," covering the answers which you received to your questionnaire sent to men in all walks of life throughout the country.

The practical answers which you have received from professional and business men, giving account of their actual observation and experience in connection with this great movement, are unquestionably of very great benefit, as they will tend to clear the atmosphere which has been much clouded by propaganda intended to belittle the result of this great movement.

There has unquestionably been much cause for doubt in the minds of many people as regards the real result of the so-called Prohibition Law, as there have been many unexpected and regrettable reactions.

The imposing collection of statements and experiences which you have published is worth the reading of every business man. We, ourselves, are so impressed with it that we are sending for five hundred copies for general distribution. No doubt other business men will want to do the same thing.

I again congratulate you on your good work. With kind regards, I remain

Yours very truly,  
GEORGE M. VERITY, President.

Dr. W. W. Keen of Philadelphia, who was President of the Fifth International Congress of Surgeons held in Paris in July, 1920, thinks this pamphlet has been rightly characterized as:

"The most important publication ever issued in this or any other country on Prohibition."

Under the heading, "Preserving the Life of the Republic," the Montgomery, Ala., Daily Journal says:

"Perhaps there has never been a document more striking and interesting issued on an economic question in America than that just published by the MANUFACTURERS RECORD, that great business publication of Baltimore, Md. It deals with the fundamental question of preserving the life and eternal principles on which the American Republic was founded, and upon which it must rest if it is to long endure."

Atkinson-Mentzer & Company, publishers of school text books, of Chicago, writes:

"I congratulate you on the splendid way in which this material has been gathered and published by you. Its production is remarkable, and it will be a forceful asset to the Prohibition question."

Rev. W. B. Crumpton of the Alabama Baptist State Convention, says:

"I think you have written the last word on Prohibition. No need for anyone to have a library of books to write an article or make a speech on that subject if this pamphlet is at hand."

Rev. Jas. G. Chalmers, President of the Church Temperance Society of New York, says:

"By far the best thing I have come across in my lifetime is your splendid contribution, "The Prohibition Question". I borrowed a copy from Canon Chase yesterday, sat up 'til midnight, drinking in with joy the replies sent in to you. Your work is a service rendered not to this country only but to the world; a work for God and man. We can use ten copies and I enclose check for same and will probably need more later."

Rev. Robert Stuart MacArthur, President of the Baptist World Alliance, in a lengthy review of this pamphlet in the Watchmen-Examiner, says:

"This is assuredly one of the most important symposiums that has ever been issued in a newspaper or magazine. \* \* \* Every intelligent citizen ought to have it at hand for his information and for giving instructions to all inquirers. Every pastor in the land as well as every head of banks, factories and counting rooms and every member of the legal and medical profession, and indeed all men and women in all walks of life who are striving to eliminate forever the curse of the liquor traffic and to lift all classes to higher levels of humanity ought to possess a copy of this famous symposium. It is a contribution to the cause of humanity of enormous value, and it comes at the critical moment in the history of a great reform."

Almost without end, we could fill page after page with encomiums from business men of all classes and all sections; newspapers, ministers and others, who have been unstinted in their praise of the value of this publication. The first edition has been exhausted and in issuing this second edition we have added sixteen pages, making a hundred-page pamphlet.

In this second edition we are able to publish letters from many of the foremost railroad presidents of the United States, telling of the great benefit of the rule which has long prevailed on the railroads against the use of intoxicants by their employes and yet men who are protesting that their "Personal Liberty", is destroyed by Prohibition, would regard with the utmost horror any withdrawal by railroad officials of the rule against drinking by trainmen.

We invite the heartiest co-operation of business men and all others who are interested in the sobriety and the safety from Accidents of their employes and the public, and who are interested in the observance of law and order and the uplifting of humanity to join, as the American Rolling Mill Company and many other concerns have done, in the wide distribution of this pamphlet among their officials and employes and to the public generally.

RICHARD H. EDMONDS,  
Editor.

June 14th, 1922.

## The President of the United States Recently Said:

"In every community men and women have had an opportunity now to know what Prohibition means. They know that debts are more promptly paid, that men take home the wages that once were wasted in saloons; that families are better clothed and fed, and more money finds its way into the savings banks. The liquor traffic was destructive of much that was most precious in American life. In the face of so much evidence on that point what conscientious man would want to let his own selfish desires influence him to vote to bring it back? In another generation I believe that liquor will have disappeared not merely from our politics, but from our memories."

## THE REASON FOR THIS PROHIBITION PAMPHLET.

MANUFACTURERS RECORD.

Exponent of America

Baltimore

Some years ago railroad officials recognized that if they would safeguard the lives of their passengers they must safeguard their employees from the deadly influence of the liquor traffic, and engineers and others were forbidden on the penalty of dismissal from the service to partake of intoxicating drinks. Without a moment's question the public recognized the justice of this position, and no one ever presumed to suggest that the "personal liberty" of the railroad employees was interfered with because they were forbidden to drink, since the traveling public knew that soberness meant safety for themselves. Thousands of lives had been sacrificed in railroad accidents by the curse of drink. The public welcomed the elimination of this danger and the increased safety thereby secured, and since Prohibition railroad accidents have largely decreased.

Later on some employers of labor saw that accidents to workmen could be lessened by forbidding their employees to drink. No one questioned the wisdom of taking from these workmen the "personal liberty" so-called which permitted them to undertake to run machines while under the influence of alcohol, endangering their own lives and the lives of their fellow workmen, and in some plants accidents have decreased 75 per cent under Prohibition.

Thus from year to year the economic side of Prohibition, the safety of railroad travelers, the safety of factory employees, the increased efficiency of sober men as compared with drunken men or men even slightly under the influence of alcohol, steadily broadened in influence, thus mightily strengthening the forces which for 25 years or more had been aggressively fighting the liquor interests on moral grounds. The combination of these forces—the economic and the moral—finally resulted in the adoption of the 18th Amendment and the passing of the Volstead Bill for putting that Amendment into effect.

The liquor interests of this country, and of all the world, recognizing that if Prohibition worked successfully in America it would mean the doom of the liquor traffic throughout the world, have united in a tremendous propaganda against Prohibition. Men of supposed reputable position and ethics, preferring their own gratification to the welfare of humanity, and others misled by the liquor propaganda, have united with the vilest liquor interests in the country in fighting Prohibition from every standpoint. They have denounced it on the ground of interference with "personal liberty." They have denounced it because of the reported loss of revenue to the Government. They have denounced it on the claim that the law could not be enforced and that, therefore, since the criminal element was stronger than the National Government the Prohibition Law should be repealed.

For years the MANUFACTURERS RECORD, as the Exponent of America in what we believe to be the things that make for the highest development of the country, has aggressively fought the liquor traffic on economic as well as on moral grounds. Following out this campaign it recently asked a large number of leading employers, educators and others, as to their views on Prohibition and the results thus far achieved. The replies have been so overwhelming in number and in force that instead of publishing them in the MANUFACTURERS RECORD, or as a supplement to that publication, as we had at first intended, it has become necessary to this symposium in this special publication entitled "**The Prohibition Question Viewed from the Economic and Moral Standpoint.**"

In these letters will be found unanswerable arguments, based on actual facts, as to the value of Prohibition from every possible standpoint.

It is believed that the widest possible distribution of this pamphlet, both in this country and abroad, will be of immeasurable value in shaping the world's thought as to the evils of the liquor traffic and the benefits of Prohibition whether viewed strictly from the economic standpoint or from that of the economic and moral combined.

By reason of the fact that what is published in this pamphlet is made up almost wholly of contributions from others, the MANUFACTURERS RECORD feels justified in urging every reader to co-operate in extending its circulation, for the liquor interests are at present, putting forth their utmost power to repeal the Volstead Act and the 18th Amendment, or in some other way once more to gain the dominant power in politics, in morals and economics which they so long held over this country, and which today they hold over nearly every other country on earth.

It is believed that no wiser expenditure can be made by business men generally and by all who are interested in the betterment of humanity, than in buying and distributing copies of "**The Prohibition Question Viewed from the Economic and Moral Standpoint,**" price 50 cents a copy.

RICHARD H. EDMONDS.

Editor.

## President Harding's Ringing Appeal for Obedience to Law as Essential to the Nation's Life.

PRESIDENT HARDING recently made an appeal for obedience to law in an address before a Bible Class of Calvary Baptist Church, a copy of which has been sent to the MANUFACTURERS RECORD by Mr. George B. Christian, Jr., Secretary to the President, with the statement that there would be found in it "some matter that would quite precisely fit" into this Prohibition discussion and the enforcement of law connected therewith. In the course of his appeal to the nation for law enforcement and for righteousness as the only safeguards for the future, President Harding said:

"In spite of our complete divorcement of church and state, quite in harmony with our religious freedom, there is an important relationship between church and nation, because no nation can prosper, no nation can survive if it ever forgets Almighty God. I have believed that religious reverence has played a very influential and helpful part in the matchless American achievement, and I wish it ever to abide. If I were to utter a prayer for the republic tonight, it would be to reconsecrate us in religious devotion, and make us abidingly a God-fearing, God-loving people.

"I do not fail to recall that the religious life makes for the simple life, and it would be like a divine benediction to restore the simpler life in this republic.

"There is a good deal of loose talk nowadays about the cause of the spiritual demoralization of the community, which it has become popular to attribute to the abnormal conditions that were incident to the war. But in fact, the war is not wholly to blame. Before the war started or was dreamed of, we were already realizing the tendency toward a certain moral laxity, a shifting of standards, a weakening of the sterner fibers. I think we should do well to recognize that these tendencies are not a mere momentary incident, but a serious phase in the intellectual and moral evolution of the community. It would be a grievous error to allow ourselves to feel too confident that this is only a temporary and passing aspect.

"Take for example, the matter of regard for the law. Without giving too much weight to alarmist expressions, we must nevertheless recognize that there is a very apparent tendency to a lighter and a more frivolous view of the citizens' relations to both the state and the church. We can hardly hope for a restoration of the old ideals in religion and in moral conduct, so long as this tendency to disregard for the law shall continue. It is absolutely essential to the maintenance of a secure society and to the attainment of a proper moral plane, that the law should be recognized as sacred and supreme. It should have at its back, and enlisted in its support, every element of the community that realizes the desirability of sound, secure and stable institutions. Disregard of one statute inevitably must breed a lack of respect for the law in general. This tendency is obvious, and ought to give the deepest concern to people who have seen, in this world, the fearful results that may flow from the breakdown of respect for the social fundamentals.

"Whatever breeds disrespect for the law of the land, in any particular department of our community relations, is a force tending to the general breakdown of the social organization. If people who are known as leaders, as directing influences, as thoroughly respected and respectable members of society, shall in their respective communities become known for their defiance of some part of the code of law, then they need not be astonished if presently they find that their example is followed by others, with the result that presently the law in general comes to be looked upon as a set of irksome and unreasonable restraints upon the liberty of the individual. Every law involves more or less of this element of restraint. Nearly every individual will find some part of the code that to him seems an unreasonable inhibition upon his personal freedom of action. Our only safety will be in inculcating an attitude of respect for the law, as on the whole, the best expression that has been given to the social aspiration and moral purpose of the community. Unless we can accomplish this, in the domain of citizenship, and thereby sustain enforcement, we may well feel that the outlook is not encouraging for the achievement of those loftier spiritual purposes to which the church is devoted. Therefore, I can think of no higher service that the church, in a time like this, may render, than to put forth its utmost influence in behalf of frank and willing obedience to the law of the land. Therein I think will be found the largest contribution toward guaranty of the nation's safety, the most promising assurance of ultimate realization of the highest aspirations of the church in behalf of all humanity.

"Nations have left their lessons in the pages of history. This republic is yet youthful enough to learn from the study of these lessons. The failures of the past invariably have been preceded by contempt for the law, by spiritual paralysis and moral looseness, all of which had their earlier reflex in the weakened influence of the church. We know the helpful, exalting influence of our religious institutions. No one dares to dispute. We shall be made stronger as they become stronger, and we shall ever find greater pride and greater security in the nation which righteousness exalteth."

It would be difficult to present a stronger appeal in behalf of the responsibility which every man owes to his country and to civilization itself in behalf of rigid obedience to the law than this statement by President Harding. Rightly has he said that:

"Disregard of one statute inevitably must breed a lack of respect for the law in general. This tendency is obvious, and ought to give the deepest concern to people who have seen, in this world, the fearful results that may flow from the breakdown of respect for the social fundamentals.

"Whatever breeds disrespect for the law of the land, in any particular department of our community relations, is a force tending to the general breakdown of the social organization."

President Harding's appeal to people who are known to be leaders and directing influences to recognize their responsibility to obey the laws of the land should strike deep into the heart of every thinking man and woman in this country.

# As an Economic and Moral Issue Prohibition Justifies Itself.

AS an economic, as well as a moral issue, the Prohibition question demands the most serious study of every well-wisher of this country and of humanity.

If Prohibition produces great economic benefits, if it lessens accidents in factories and on railroads, if it increases the buying of homes and food and clothes for women and children, if it increases savings deposits, if it increases the ability of men to work on what in whiskey days was known as "Blue Monday," in which thousands of men were trying to sober up from the carousals of Saturday night and Sunday, then as an economic measure it is an unspeakable blessing, and no man having the welfare of humanity or of his country at heart can dare oppose it without seeking to increase immorality, to increase drunkenness, to lessen the buying of homes, to decrease savings accounts, to increase the accidents in factories and on railroads, and thus become responsible for increased criminality and an increase in deaths.

From this viewpoint of the economic side of Prohibition every business man must study the question, entirely without regard to what may have been his own preconceived notions as to his "right," as he thinks, to drink when and where he pleases and also outside of the moral issues involved, though the economic and the moral are in reality as closely united in this case as were the Siamese twins. Of all the flimsy arguments that have ever been advanced in defence of the liquor traffic, that of "personal liberty" is probably the flimsiest. It has less of a foundation than the house that is built upon the shifting sand.

No man lives amid civilization without having to yield for the general good of the community some of what he might call his personal rights or liberty. The "personal liberty" which some people demand in regard to the liquor traffic, if carried to its logical conclusion, would also demand the right to buy and sell freely without legal restriction cocaine, opium and other deadly drugs: it would give to every man the right to be a walking arsenal, ready at any moment to shoot down his neighbor who might perchance be in his way. The argument as to personal liberty which is advanced by its advocates is just as flimsy as would be the argument that a man had a right to do as he pleased, whenever he pleased and wherever he pleased, without regard to the rights of other men.

Civilization can only be founded upon the yielding of what some claimed as personal liberty, for the benefit of the community.

The man who demands his personal liberty must go to the desert, or into the trackless forest where no other human being is found; for the moment he comes in touch with humanity he must of necessity give up some of his personal liberties.

If Prohibition produces economic effects which justify its existence, then on that side alone, for the betterment of the people, it should be maintained, and Prohibition laws be aggressively enforced.

If Prohibition from the moral standpoint uplifts humanity, increases morality, increases the happiness and the comfort of women and children, and lessens the deadening immoral influence of the liquor traffic, then it has enough in its favor to demand that the entire moral forces of a nation should be united in upholding it even without considering the economic side.

No man dare say that the liquor traffic was not an unspeakable curse to the individual drinker, to his wife and to his children, and to the nation. It corrupted the individual man,

and it corrupted the politics of the country. Its tentacles stretched out into the homes of the poor and the rich alike and into the politics of every ward and precinct and every county in every state. The saloon was the open door to a hell of immorality and of corruption in individual and national life. It was the hotbed in which vice was generated; it was the breeding ground of rottenness in individual life and in city, state and national politics.

To eliminate the liquor traffic merely from an economic standpoint, if the economic betterment is as great as its advocates claim, would be an unspeakable blessing, worth all the energy of the country to enforce.

As the liquor traffic was responsible for immorality and the sorrow and the suffering and the broken hearts of women and children and the curse of rotten politics which it developed, its complete elimination would prove to be a blessing beyond the power of words to express.

The Prohibition Law is a part of our Constitution. It was put into the Constitution after more than a quarter of a century of aggressive campaigning for and against the liquor interests. Every man engaged in the liquor trade during the last 25 years has seen the inevitable trend of public sentiment against this business. An advocate of human slavery today could stand on higher ground than an advocate of the liquor traffic. There were some redeeming qualities in the slave trade in that men were taken from barbarism and civilized, and to a large extent Christianized. To that extent there might be some argument in behalf of the good accomplished by slavery. And yet no man today would dare to argue in favor of human slavery.

On the other hand, the liquor traffic cursed the individual drinker and the nation to a far greater extent than slavery ever cursed the individual slave or the country. The liquor trade has not one, single redeeming feature. It was the breaker of hearts to a greater extent than all the slave trade and all the wars in the world's history. It impoverished the women and the children. It brought shame and sorrow and suffering upon them. It enslaved the drinker. It besotted him. It destroyed millions of souls for time and eternity. And the men who upheld the liquor traffic gloated in the extent to which they could drive their accursed business which could only prosper by constantly feeding the appetites of boys and young men, so that as the old drunkards died new drunkards would come to take their places.

After more than a quarter of a century of intense activity in campaigning for Prohibition two-thirds of the States voted dry before the Passage of the 18th Amendment, and only lately New Jersey has been the 46th State to ratify the Amendment. The suggestion that this was made possible only because of the absence of the soldiers in Europe is a slander upon the soldiers.

As a matter of fact, if the soldiers had been home the vote in favor of Prohibition would in all human probability have been even greater than it was. No snap judgment was taken on the country, despite the incessant propaganda carried on by the vast liquor interests as they attempt to claim this while they are fighting a life and death struggle, backed as they are by the entire liquor interests of the world who see the certain downfall of alcoholic drinking if Prohibition finally wins—as it is certain to do—in America.

The whole world is watching this country. Every drinker on earth who wants to continue to be a drunkard, every wine grower in France, every beer maker in Germany, every whiskey producer in England and Scotland and every other

liquor interest in all the world is struggling with all possible energy to break down Prohibition in this country.

And here in America some men who profess to be men of morality, are guilty of violating the Prohibition Law, or of winking at its violation. Little do they seem to realize that in doing this they are seeking to break down all laws and destroy all morality. The banker who is willing to see the Prohibition Law violated, or who winks at its violation, is to the utmost extent of his power seeking to break down the law against bank robbery and the murder of bank clerks and cashiers. The lawyer who cooperates to see the Prohibition Law violated, is to the extent of his power aiding to destroy all law. And what is true of the banker and the lawyer in this respect is true of every other man however high his social or financial standing who connives at the effort of criminals to destroy our laws. The man who as bootlegger or the bootlegger's accomplice in buying or drinking the bootleggers whiskey has no right to expect honesty or morality in his own family since he sets the example of breaking down the laws of the land.

The most rampant anarchist or bolshevist, denouncing, as the bolshevists have done, all law and all government in their proclamation "to hell with churches, and synagogues and government", is not one half so dangerous to the welfare of this country and the maintenance of our government as is the so-called respectable law breaker who buys from the bootlegger, and thus becomes the bootlegger's accomplice. In proportion as his education or social position is higher than that of the bootlegger, is his criminality greater than that of the bootlegger.

No man can break the constitution of this government and join in the violation of its laws without becoming a criminal in reality, even though he may think that he is not a criminal in thought and act.

The most dangerous class in America today, guilty of the greatest crime so far as endangering the country's existence is concerned, are the so-called respectable people, or the smart set, young and old, who in a spirit of bravado boast of violating the Prohibition Law, boast of their drinking, boast of their being able to rob their government, and thus set an example which leads individually and nationally down the straight road to hell. Naturally their children and all others who are influenced by them will follow the same road. Upon the heads of these rich or smart set people will rest the blood of all who by their example or teaching become violators of law and ultimately breakers of all moral laws.

President Stone, of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, in his emphatic declaration in this issue in behalf of Prohibition, takes the ground that there is some advantage in the death-dealing qualities of the whiskey that is now being consumed by the "smart set crowd", on the theory that they are parasites and the sooner they are killed off by their whiskey drinking the better it will be for the country. That is a serious statement, but President Stone is probably not alone in that thought, for while these men are inviting suicide by their carousals and whiskey drinking proclivities they are so endangering this Government that disastrous as the eternity to which they are hastening will be to them, their departure to the other world would, according to President Stone, become a blessing to the country.

If men of this character want to know how the serious minded people of the nation are regarding them they can look to President Stone's statement and see in it a reflection of national sentiment as to them and their vices and their influences for evil on the nation whose laws they thus set at naught, so lost to all honor and integrity are they as to glory in their shame. The danger to our country from the violation of law by so-called respectable or in-

fluential people was never more forcibly presented than in the statement by President Harding published elsewhere.

Forty-six States have ratified the 18th Amendment, the order of ratification and the twenty-five year fight leading up to the adoption of this Amendment is clearly covered in an article on pages twenty-one and twenty-two.

#### An "Anti Waste Crusade" Is One View of Prohibition Held in Great Britain.

MORE than a year ago Lord Leverhulme, probably the foremost business man of England, after studying the effect of Prohibition in the United States, said that if England would adopt Prohibition it would thereby save enough in five years to pay its indebtedness to the United States. The enormous waste of money in Britain's drink bill is, however, only one side of the loss, for drink makes likewise an even greater loss in efficiency and in human achievements without regard to the moral issue involved. These facts are being stressed more and more vigorously in Great Britain, and the Pioneer of Brampton, Canada, in a discussion of this subject recently said:

"At the annual meeting of the United Kingdom Alliance in Manchester, there was much criticism and comment on Britain's spending of £470,000,000 on strong drink in the past year.

"Mr. Leif Jones, commenting on the government claim that it had got £200,000,000 out of the drinking part of the community, said that the government neglected to realize how much of it the government spent in undoing the evil that drink caused the nation. His own conviction was that no government in the world got a net revenue out of the drink traffic. That £470,000,000 represented roughly £50 a year for every family of five in the country.

"Hou. Geoffrey Howard said that surely any one who had taken the trouble to study the figures of the drink bill must realize that drink was a contributory cause to the great problem of unemployment. Four hundred and seventy million pounds were spent in drink last year by a poorer country, and not spent out of superfluities, but at the expense of necessities. We spent in eight days what would keep the hospitals going for a year. Four days of total abstinence would provide what Dr. Nansen wanted to feed the starving Russians.

"Rear Admiral Sir Harry Stileman (Director of Dr. Barnardo's Homes) said that if he could only have one half of the money spent in a day on drink in Great Britain he could feed, clothe, educate, and place out in life all the 7200 children in the Barnardo Homes and have a balance at the end of the year.

"Mr. Philip Snowden said that we were spending two and a half times more on drink than upon armaments and the result was at least two and a half times more destructive. We had too many nonproducers in our economic system, but worse than these were the producers who were engaged in destroying wealth and causing the mental and physical deterioration of the race. After all, then, the temperance movement was the greatest antiwaste crusade."

One-half the money spent on drink in one day in Britain would feed, and educate and clothe 7200 children for a year with some left over.

Will not every advocate of the liquor traffic stop for a moment to think how much prohibition of the liquor traffic will mean in saving women and children and clothing and feeding them? Our liquor bill prior to Prohibition was even larger than that of Britain. What an immeasurable waste of life, of efficiency, and of money it produced and yet some people would, if they had the power, bring that curse back upon our country.

# Prohibition as Viewed by America's Foremost Leaders

THE MIRACLES ALREADY WROUGHT IN BETTERING HUMANITY, IN LESSENING DRUNKENNESS, IN INCREASING THE COMFORTS OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN AND ADVANCING ALL CIVILIZATION.

THE CRIMINALITY OF THE SO-CALLED "SMART SET" IN BREAKING THE LAWS OF THE NATION, AND THUS ENCOURAGING ANARCHY MUST BE SUPPRESSED.

THE EFFORT OF THE LIQUOR INTERESTS TO RESTORE BEER AND WINE SHOULD BE VIGOROUSLY OPPOSED AS THE ENTERING WEDGE FOR THE RETURN OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

ABOUT five years ago Judge E. H. Gary of the United States Steel Corporation, Frank A. Vanderlip, Thomas A. Edison, and a thousand other leading men of affairs, scientists, educators, physicians and bankers and others signed a remarkable petition to Congress in behalf of Prohibition. Measured by the standing in the business world of these men, this was probably the most remarkable list of signatures ever appended to any petition to Congress, and the petition itself was one of the most clear cut statements ever made in behalf of Prohibition. With a view to seeing how these men now stand on the Prohibition question, and the enforcement of Prohibition laws, the following letter was mailed to every one on the list.

## MANUFACTURERS RECORD

Exponent of America

Baltimore, Md., March 16, 1922.

Dear Sir:

About five years ago you and a thousand other leading men in the country signed a petition addressed to Congress and worded as follows:

**"In view of the scientifically proved unfavorable effects of the use of alcoholic beverages even in small quantities;**

**"And in view, therefore, of the colossal, physical, mental, moral, economic, social and racial evils which the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquor entail;**

**"And in view of the inadequateness of all methods hitherto employed to check or regulate these evils;**

**"And in view of the great and rapid growth of public knowledge and sentiment on this subject as shown by anti-alcohol agitation and legislation through most of our national area;**

**"The undersigned believe the time has come for the Federal Government to take steps looking to the Prohibition in the United States of the manufacture, sale, import, export, and transport of alcoholic liquors." \***

\*With the understood exceptions for medical, sacramental, and industrial purposes.

The wisdom of the petition which you then signed is, I think, strikingly presented in a recent statement by President Harding on the Prohibition question which he has authorized to be published, as follows:

**"In every community men and women have had an opportunity now to know what Prohibition means. They know that debts are more promptly paid, that men take home the wages that once were wasted in saloons; that families are better clothed and fed, and more money finds its way into the savings banks. The liquor traffic was destructive of much that was most precious in American life. In the face of so much evidence on that point what conscientious man would want to let his own selfish desires influence him to vote to**

**bring it back? In another generation I believe that liquor will have disappeared not merely from our politics, but from our memories."**

That there would be a united effort on the part of the liquor interests in this country, indeed we might say the world, to break down Prohibition was in advance, of course, understood by every man who had studied the subject.

When America has been made free from the curse of the liquor traffic, then we will have gone a long way toward changing the thought of the world in regard to the wisdom of Prohibition and the elimination of this curse both on economic and moral grounds.

In view of the wide discussion throughout the entire country as to the enforcement of the Prohibition Amendment, I am interested in knowing whether you still favor Prohibition as vigorously as you did when you signed the petition which I have quoted, or whether you have seen any cause to change your view in regard to the matter. I am anxious to secure from you, and the one thousand other men who signed that petition, as well as from a number of other great leaders in industry and in general affairs, your views on the wisdom of Prohibition and its effect for the welfare of the country.

Dr. Charles W. Eliot in a recent letter has suggested the desirability of securing from owners and managers of industrial establishments their opinions as to the practical results of Prohibition. My own information leads me to believe that a vast amount of good has already been accomplished, and that with the hearty co-operation of men who realize the economic and moral injury of the liquor traffic there will be developed such a universal sentiment in favor of Prohibition as to make the enforcement of our laws a much easier proposition from year to year.

I shall be very glad, therefore, to have from you for publication a letter expressing your views on the subject along the lines indicated in the enclosed questionnaire.

An early reply will be greatly appreciated.

Very truly yours,

RICHARD H. EDMONDS,

Editor.

This questionnaire is only submitted to suggest the line of discussion desired. A letter from you would be preferable to a mere filling in of the answers if equally agreeable to you.

## QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Are you still opposed to the liquor traffic to the extent that you were when you signed the petition to Congress? If so, will you kindly give me your views on the matter either in a brief sentence or two, or in a more elaborate discussion?
2. If you have changed your views in any way will you kindly give me your reasons therefor in the same manner?
3. What has been your experience in studying this question as to the effect of Prohibition on labor or the saving of the money formerly spent for liquor, and its use in the betterment of homes and the better care for women and children of the men who formerly spent freely for drink?

4. Is drunkenness as common at the present time, so far as you can learn, as it was under the open saloon and the free liquor traffic?
5. If in addition to the questions which I have asked, you can give me any other information or expression of your views on the whole situation, I will greatly appreciate all that you can say on the subject.

Name .....

Profession, or business.....

Address .....

Some of the men who signed that petition are away from the country and could not be reached, and some are dead.

To several hundred other leading manufacturers whose views on Prohibition pro or con, were entirely unknown to us, a somewhat similar letter was sent worded as follows:

MANUFACTURERS RECORD,  
Exponent of America,

Baltimore, March 9, 1922.

DEAR SIR:

Dr. Charles W. Eliot has recently suggested the desirability of securing from owners and managers of industrial establishments their opinions as to the practical results of Prohibition. My own information leads me to believe that a vast amount of good has already been accomplished and that with the hearty co-operation of men who realize the economic and moral injury of the liquor traffic there will be developed such a universal sentiment in favor of Prohibition as to make the enforcement of our laws a much easier proposition from year to year.

You will probably be interested in the following statement recently authorized by President Harding as to his own views on Prohibition:

**"In every community men and women have had an opportunity now to know what Prohibition means. They know that debts are more promptly paid; that men take home the wages that once were wasted in the saloons; that families are better clothed and fed, and more money finds its way into the savings banks. The liquor traffic was destructive of much that was most precious in American life. In the face of so much evidence on that point what conscientious man would want to let his own selfish desires influence him to vote to bring it back? In another generation I believe that liquor will have disappeared not merely from our politics, but from our memories."**

I should be very glad to have from you for publication a letter expressing your views as to what Prohibition has accomplished in the way of encouraging laborers in the saving of the money formerly spent for liquor, and its use in the betterment of homes and the better care of women and children. Is drunkenness as common at the present time, so far as you can learn, as it was under the open saloon and free liquor traffic?

Needless to say the liquor interests are putting forth the utmost efforts to violate a law which is a part of our Constitution; and every violation of that law helps to break down the moral sentiment of the community and of the nation. It will take time to secure the full enforcement of the law, for the liquor trade of the world is bent on trying to break down Prohibition in America.

If you have seen any benefit from Prohibition in your community, or among your employees, I shall be glad to hear from you on the subject.

Very truly yours,  
RICHARD H. EDMONDS,  
Editor.

To about one hundred iron and steel men who had at different times written the MANUFACTURERS RECORD in favor of Prohibition as an economic measure a letter was sent ask-

ing if they still held the same opinion. Every letter received in reply to these inquiries whether favorable or unfavorable to Prohibition is published in the following pages with the exception of four or five who requested that their letters should not be published. Thus we have dealt with exact fairness in publishing both sides of the case as set forth in these replies.

### An Overwhelming and Almost Unanimous Demand for Prohibition and the Rigid Enforcement of the Prohibition Laws.

In a careful compilation of all replies received by the MANUFACTURERS RECORD on the Prohibition Question, the tabulation gives the following remarkable results in percentages to the total:

	Per Cent
For Prohibition in Some Form.....	98.50
Against Prohibition.....	1.50
For Strict Prohibition.....	85.50
For Beer and Wine.....	7.00
Against Volstead Law or Present Regulations.....	1.25
Wants Volstead Law Modified .....	.75
Advocates High License or Government Control .....	1.00
Advocates Dispensary System .....	.25
Undecided or Noncommittal.....	2.75

The most overwhelming answer ever given as to the value of Prohibition as an economic and moral factor in advancing the cause of humanity will be found in these letters. As a whole they comprise a symposium in behalf of Prohibition, viewed from every standpoint, which makes this publication we believe the most important ever issued in this or any other country in behalf of Prohibition as an economic and moral factor.

With two or three exceptions they all believe in some form of restriction or regulation of the traffic in alcoholic beverages. The effort to break down the Prohibition Law with wine and beer as the entering wedge is vigorously assailed by educators, business men and others.

If the facts—not merely vague theories—presented in these letters as to the lessening of accidents in factories and on railroads, the increase of savings deposits even where men have been working on short time, the betterment of the condition of women and children upon whom has been spent the money that formerly went into the saloon, the great lessening of drunkenness in every part of the country, can be brought directly to the attention, as they should be, of every man and woman in America it will be impossible for any patriotic or humanity-loving man or woman ever again to speak against Prohibition.

The man who in the light of these facts advocates the repeal of our Prohibition laws, or the lessening of their rigid enforcement, by that fact becomes an advocate of increased deaths from accidents in factories and on railroads; an advocate of greater poverty and misery and broken hearts of women and children; an advocate of the criminality of those who openly defy the law of the land, and wherever the opportunity avails commit murder in carrying on the bootlegger's diabolical work.

The man who winks at these violators, or takes no definite stand against them, or who becomes a participant in this criminality by buying of the bootlegger, is recreant to every responsibility to his own wife and children, to all humanity, and to civilization itself. No man can join with the bootlegger by buying of the bootlegger's whiskey, or drinking of

it, without becoming a co-partner in the bootlegger's crime of murder, and law violation, and anarchy, and the effort to destroy the things which make for American government.

Black as is the criminality of the bootlegger, who always goes prepared for murder and often commits it, black as is his criminality in the anarchistic campaign which he is carrying on looking to the breaking down of all law and order, the bootlegger himself is not as blameworthy as is the man of higher education, or social standing, or wealth, who becomes a co-worker and co-partner with the devil himself in this bootlegger's campaign, whether he buys the bootlegger's whiskey or drinks it.

Let no one for a moment think that this is an exaggerated statement. Blood-guiltiness rests upon the bootlegger no more strongly than it rests upon the man who participates in the bootlegger's crime. In proportion as a man who buys or drinks the bootlegger's whiskey may stand socially or financially above the bootlegger himself, in that proportion is his responsibility the greater, for "unto whom much has been given of him shall much be required."

The existence of our Government rests upon the maintenance of law and order. He who breaks the Prohibition Amendment or the laws for its enforcement, becomes in fact a traitor to the permanency of this Government and to the extent of his influence is creating an anarchistic condition which encourages the violation of all laws, and thus the destruction of government and of civilization.

The time has come when law abiding men who love their country and love humanity must recognize their responsibility in a definite call to join with the forces of righteousness and of the legal powers of the country in fighting with all their strength and influence the breaking of the Prohibition Law. That violation stands out as one of the menacing dangers of the country. The man who advocates the repeal of the Prohibition Law on the ground that it cannot be enforced is asking the National Government and the vast majority of the American people to repeal a law merely because they claim that the criminal classes are greater in power than the Government itself. The man who takes that position violates every sense of honor, of patriotism, and of the respect and the position which men of honor must take when it comes to a question as to whether the forces of hell or the forces of righteousness shall prevail. He who wants to stand on the side of hell and give his utmost strength to the breaking down of this Government need only stand idly by in the contest between right and wrong, between the Government in its enforcement of the laws and the criminal classes which seek to break those laws.

Dante found a hell beneath all other hells reserved for those who were neutral in the fight of right against wrong, and the man who is neutral in this question is neutral in one of the most momentous issues which the world has ever faced. The time has come to call for those who are on the side of the enforcement of law of economic benefit and moral righteousness, of better food and clothes for women and children, of fewer broken hearts from drunkenness, to stand up and be counted and thus show their colors, while the law breakers, whether they be classed as bootleggers or the buyers of bootleggers' whiskey or the drinkers of it, sink away, as they must inevitably do beneath the scorn and contumely of honest hearted men and women.

### Judge Gary of U. S. Steel Corporation Heartily Commends Prohibition.

In reply to question No. 1, as to whether he is still opposed to the liquor traffic to the extent that he was when he signed the petition to Congress some years ago, Judge E. H. Gary, Chairman of the United States Steel Corporation, writes:—

"Yes, results have fully justified Prohibition legislation," and he adds that he can see no reason to change his opinions, and says: "I endorse the admirable expressions of President Harding on the question."

The expression of President Harding to which Judge Gary refers is as follows:

"In every community men and women have had an opportunity now to know what Prohibition means. They know that debts are more promptly paid, that men take home the wages that once were wasted in saloons; that families are better clothed and fed, and more money finds its way into the savings banks. The liquor traffic was destructive of much that was most precious in American life. In the face of so much evidence on that point what conscientious man would want to let his own selfish desires influence him to vote to bring it back? In another generation I believe that liquor will have disappeared not merely from our politics, but from our memories."

In closing his statement Judge Gary adds that drunkenness is not as common at present, so far as he can learn, as under the open saloon and free liquor traffic.

### Prohibition Has Brought Better Home Life, Better Living Conditions, Better School and Sunday School Attendance—A Just Denunciation of Law Violators and Liquor Advocates.

The Jackson Iron & Steel Co.,

Jackson, O., March 13, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

Were President Harding in our city he could not more aptly have stated our situation here with respect to the effect of the Prohibition Amendment, than by his language which you have quoted.

With the coming of Prohibition our troubles from drink disappeared. Under the saloon system, for two or three days after each payday we had trouble to secure men to man our plant. This has been entirely eliminated, absenteeism from work at other times has been very greatly reduced and efficiency improved. The passing of "Hangovers from a sloppy night before" has created a better feeling, resulting in fewer grievances.

There is more interest taken in home life which is reflected in a greater number of men paying for their homes, improving its furnishings, providing better shoes and clothing for their little ones, and increased savings deposits.

School attendance both public and Sunday school has improved. Merchants as well as the families have been benefited in that sales have increased and the collections are better. The morale of the community has made wonderful progress.

Notwithstanding, the fact that all our principle industries were shut down by a strike in 1919 for six months, and these industries only operated about six months in 1920, three months in 1921, and none so far this year have resumed, there has been comparatively little suffering. Comparing the last twenty-seven months in which there has been only fifteen months of employment with any shut down of three months duration under the saloon régime; conditions in our city have been easily a hundred per cent better. In fact it has been the common speculation in our city, "what would be our lot if we had saloons with the great unemployment of such long standing".

Our community is a hot bed of Unionism yet the laboring



people are almost a unit in the support of the Constitution and Prohibition. We find this feature elsewhere predominating, which brings us to the belief that the demands for "light wines and beer" by the labor unions is almost wholly with the officers and is purely propaganda.

**It is our observation that the laboring man and the poor are not the lawbreakers, but that lies more largely with the rich and the well to do, who seem to think it smart; these are the real malefactors. Their smartness in this is the rankest stupidity for as a class they would suffer most should the lawless get control and break up all law.**

If the daily press by common agreement would turn its back on the liquor interests' gold, eliminate their paid-for propaganda, and do their whole duty to this great Republic, by giving the Constitution their unstinted support, the situation would clear up in a very short while. The great trouble is not with the people at large, it is the attitude of the daily press in its attempt to break down the Constitution, the Amendment being as much a part thereof as the original. Their attitude encourages law breaking, and makes spineless officials more lax. Maximum fines and prison terms is the best antidote.

**No good citizen will try to break down the Constitution for which millions fought and which is the foundation of the Republic.**

N. G. SPANGLER, General Manager.

#### **An Incalculable Moral and Economic Blessing.**

Standard Underground Cable Co.

Pittsburgh, Pa., March 17, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I have seen no reason to change my views in opposition to the liquor traffic, as expressed by my signature to the petition addressed to Congress five years ago, in favor of the Prohibition Amendment to the Constitution.

It is true, the law is being violated, but so are the laws against murder, theft, arson, etc. and no sane person advocates the repeal of the latter laws because of their continual and all too frequent violation.

**My observation of the effect of Prohibition, has been that it is an incalculable economic and moral blessing to millions of our people, and to the nation as a whole. There is far less drunkenness and waste of time and money; there is greater steadiness among laborers, more saving of money, better care of the homes and women and children of the men who formerly spent freely for drink.**

No conscientious man would vote to bring the liquor traffic back, and I am sure that there are very many men who are not Prohibitionists themselves, but who would nevertheless vote against the repeal of the Prohibition laws because they have observed and recognized the great benefits that such laws have brought to our people.

J. W. MARSH, President.

#### **Prohibition Has Done Wonders in a Manufacturing Town.**

McInnes Steel Company, Ltd.

Corry, Pa., March 9, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

We are certainly pleased we can go one better at this time, and are glad to advise you Prohibition has done wonders in our city, for the working man, not only in reducing accidents, but in bringing the workmen up to a higher standard of citizenship, where, heretofore, when he secured his wages, it was used for drink, and he came back to work Monday morning, nothing but a ruined man physically, as well as financially.

With the liquor traffic out of existence, he and his family are enjoying to a full extent what the American home stands for. It has bettered the conditions of our employees, and we hope never to see the liquor business in service again.

H. B. SMITH, Secretary and Treasurer.

#### **A Former President of the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce: A Manufacturer and Employer of Labor Contrasts the Crime and Poverty and Sorrow and Suffering of Liquor Days With the Improvement in Moral, Mental and Financial Physical Condition Under Prohibition.**

Birmingham Clay Products Co.,

Birmingham, Ala., March 11, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

Having been a "Prohibitionist" all my life, both by precept and in personal conduct, it is not surprising to me that the record of the recent years since the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment has fully sustained all our claims of what a Dry Nation would be.

I have been engaged in the mining and manufacturing business in the Birmingham District for over thirty years and remember most vividly the awful and tragic conditions prevailing in the days of the open saloon. Crime and poverty with their brood of shame, sorrow and suffering, stalked abroad in the land; inefficiency, ignorance and disease, impaired the earning power of labor, with a corresponding depression of output of mine and factory.

The evil was not confined to the laboring class, but the monstrous liquor traffic was gnawing at the vitals of all elements of society, rich and poor alike.

In my judgment, to the credit of the great middle class may be ascribed the overthrow of King Alcohol; though back of it all were of course the faith and prayers of the women of the land.

Since the abolition of the saloons in the Birmingham District, which antedated by several years the adoption of Nation-wide Prohibition, there has been a steady and marked improvement in the moral, mental and physical condition of the people, and no class has felt more beneficent effects than the laborer.

We have found they have become more industrious, efficient and thrifty. Their living conditions have vastly improved; peace and happiness prevail as a rule in their family life, and the children are enjoying greater and better educational opportunities than ever before. Drunkenness is almost obsolete and would be entirely but for the persistent efforts of itinerant "bootleggers," though our most capable and faithful sheriff is making their profession a most precarious and hazardous one.

The increase in trade of the merchants and the highest levels ever known in savings deposits are incontrovertible evidence of the great blessings that have come under the regime of "Sobriety," notwithstanding the baleful effects of war and the drastic deflation that followed in its wake.

Just before Alabama went "dry" Birmingham built a new jail at a cost of over a hundred thousand dollars, on account of the overcrowded condition of the old one. Soon after, the decrease in crime was such, that the old jail could easily accommodate the demands, and the new one has been converted into a reform school.

From an industrial standpoint alone, the employers of Alabama have found Prohibition one of their most valuable assets, as well as safeguard to property and person of themselves and employees. Any effort on the part of the Liquor Interests to repeal or overthrow the law will be resisted to the last ditch. I endorse most cordially the sentiments on the subject of our Christian President.

JOHN W. SIBLEY, General Sales Manager.

**Diabolical Character of Whiskey Traffic Evidenced by Disregard for Law and Decency Which Has Characterized Its Struggle for Life as Described by a Great Industrial Leader.**

Lebanon Woolen Mills,  
Manufacturers  
Woolen Blankets.

Lebanon, Tenn., March 27, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I am very glad to give you my personal views with reference to Prohibition at the present time.

I am stronger in my advocacy of Prohibition today than I ever was before, because I am more thoroughly convinced of the diabolical character of the whiskey traffic as evidenced by the disregard for law and decency which has characterized its struggle for life. This struggle has found its chief encouragement and perpetuation in an atmosphere of discontent and restlessness which naturally followed the world war.

The poorer classes of people throughout the country and all those of every class living in the smaller cities, towns, and country districts are those who have been chiefly benefited by Prohibition. In the smaller cities and towns and in the country districts thousands of homes have been built which would not have been built, and millions of women and children have been provided with food and clothes who would have suffered for these necessities if there were no Eighteenth Amendment. Because of the inflations and depressions and of disturbed conditions in general since the war it is difficult to appraise the economic effects of Prohibition. But those who are influenced by their own appetite or are not prejudiced

by the propaganda of the liquor interests are bound to know that except for the absence of the open saloon these days of reconstruction would be attended by conditions which would make much more difficult the task of rehabilitation. It is true that breaking the Law has become a sport for some who were previously law abiding, but it is equally true that many more have become law abiding who were not prone to be so before the days of Prohibition. To me it is unthinkable that a good American should contemplate or wish for the repeal or modification of any of the laws intended to curb this cursed business.

J. E. EDGERTON, President, Treasurer and Gen. Manager.

[Mr. Edgerton is also President of the National Association of Manufacturers of the United States.—*Editor Manufacturers Record.*]

**The Lawless Booze Interest "Dies Hard," But "It Is Going, Going and Going Forever."**

The Tulsa Tribune.

Tulsa, Okla., March 22, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

Prohibition is here to stay. It has put the country ahead financially and morally and increased efficiency. Credit has improved. Drunkenness is uncommon. To be sure the Law is violated but it is not as easy to get liquor now as formerly when you could walk into any corner saloon and buy your drink or carry a bottle unwrapped into the street.

The demoralizing business of booze dies hard. It always defied law. It defies it now but it is going, going, going, and going forever.

RICHARD LLOYD JONES, Editor.

**An Unanswerable Statement From President Stone of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers—75 Per Cent Less of Drunkenness, More Food and Better Care of Families—Thinks the "Smart Set" Drinkers Are Parasites Whom Liquor Is Destroying to the Nation's Benefit.**

Grand Office  
Brotherhood Locomotive Engineers,  
Executive Department,  
Warren S. Stone, Grand Chief

Cleveland, O., March 28, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

In an accumulation of mail, I find your letter of March 16, enclosing a questionnaire regarding Prohibition, to which I shall reply as follows:

1—"Are you still opposed to the liquor traffic to the extent that you were when you signed the petition to Congress? If so, will you kindly give me your views on the matter either in a brief sentence or two, or in a more elaborate discussion?"

**Answer,—The longer I live, and the more I see of it, the more bitterly I am opposed to the entire question of the manufacture and sale of liquor, because I look upon it as the basis and foundation of ninety per cent of the crime and criminals we have in the country today.**

2—"If you have changed your views in any way, will you kindly give me your reasons therefore in the same manner?"

This is answered by my reply to question 1.

3—"What has been your experience in studying this question as to the effect of Prohibition on Labor or the saving of the money formerly spent for liquor, and its use in the betterment of homes and the better care for women and children of the men who formerly spent freely for drink?"

**I have had no personal experience in this, but in the study of the Labor problems, I find a marked improvement in the number of men who are saving their money and who own their homes or are buying their homes, and I find a decided improvement in the home life of the workers due to the fact that the women and children have more food, more clothing and better care in every way. Back of all that, the worker takes his family and goes to the picture show or to the park now, when he formerly spent his evenings in the saloon drinking and spending his money.**

4—"Is drunkenness as common at the present time, so far as you can learn, as it was under the open saloon and the free liquor traffic?"

**No, there is a decided improvement, and while it is true we have the illicit manufacture and sale of liquor, yet it is largely used by those of the leisure class, and it has the decided advantage of destroying many of these parasites because much of the manufactured liquor of today is deadly poison. Liquor is also used and there is much drunkenness among the class of our young people who desire to believe, or make the world believe, that they are "fast" or "tough."**

**Back of all that, I think I can truthfully say that drunkenness has decreased at least 75 per cent among the workers.**

W. S. STONE, G. C. E.

**Oath of Office Requires Congressmen to Stand for Strict Enforcement of Law and Order in Prohibition. Saloon and Saloon Influence Had More To Do With Influencing Labor To Act Wrong Than All Other Influences.**

Dairy Cream Separator Co.

Lebanon, Ind., March 23, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

Permit me to say that I consider it a privilege and a pleasure, as well as a real duty, to reaffirm my views on the Prohibition question, made five years ago, as one of the one thousand that signed a petition, addressed to the Congress of the United States.

It has been my good fortune to operate a factory in the small City of Lebanon, Ind., which has been bone-dry for more than fifteen years and this is a county seat town and, I am sure it would be impossible to re-establish the saloon system or places in which intoxicating liquors would be sold.

My home is in the City of Lafayette, Ind., some forty miles from where my factory is located. The City of Lafayette went dry under a Statutory Prohibition Act, April 1, 1918. In this city, we had more than one hundred saloons, two breweries and numerous bottling houses and, also, several clubs that operated under Government license and, in just sixty days after our Indiana Statutory Prohibition Act became effective, our jail was without a prisoner—something unheard of before in the history of the Tippecanoe County jail.

I had advocated prohibition to the business men and manufacturers of the City of Lafayette, for a great many years, as an economic proposition. I insisted that the saloon keeper and his bartender, who operated saloons in the district where working people lived, were, without question, the greatest labor agitators in existence and were much more dangerous than the walking delegate, or labor agitator, who represented the Unions.

When splendid mechanics, who frequented the bar rooms were under the influence of drink, the saloon keeper and bartender made their appeals to him and insisted that he was not receiving a fair wage and that he should demand more money or resort to the strike.

They were appealing to the conscience of the drunken man. Their interests, of course, were always selfish. They knew when the man received more pay it meant better business for the saloon keeper and the same starvation conditions for the mechanic's family.

In presenting this argument to one of my personal friends, a large manufacturer, who called me a crank, he declined to make a contribution to the Indiana Dry Federation, of which I was an Executive Member, and said I was mistaken about the saloon wielding any influence with labor. He said he thought the working man was entitled to his club, which was the saloon.

After the saloons were out of existence, in Lafayette, I again called on this friend, informing him that we were going to keep the Indiana Dry Federation intact until the Indiana Legislature ratified the Eighteenth Amendment, and asked him if he would listen to me for just a few minutes, as I wanted to again present to him my reasons why the Eighteenth Amendment should be ratified and booze with all of its demoralizing and prostituting influences should be driven from the Nation. His answer was: "You need not make any further argument," and reached for his check book and wrote a check payable to the Treasurer of the Indiana Dry Federation for \$50.00, saying that my statements in the past had been entirely too conservative. He said the saloon and the saloon influence has had more to do in influencing

labor to act both wrong and unwise than all other influences that affect labor.

This man then told me about the improved conditions in so short a time after the saloons were out of existence. He said their men were buying and building homes; that they were establishing savings accounts and that their home life was changed; that their families were much happier and that his labor difficulties had practically disappeared. This was only a few months after the passing of the saloons.

Drunkenness is not common at the present time; in fact, you seldom see a drunken man. There is some liquor being sold, but now they are carrying it only in suitcases, where they used to transport it in train loads.

We know that savings accounts have increased enormously since Prohibition became effective. Women and children are better clothed and better fed. Men are much happier and I am of the opinion that the manufacturer, above all other men, has been the greatest beneficiary on account of prohibition.

When men have the proper rest at the week-end period and remain sober they come to work on Monday morning in a splendid frame of mind. Their efficiency is much greater than it was when they were spending their money for drink and, when the working man knows that his wife and children are better contented and that he is capable of rendering a real service not only on the first workday of the week, but throughout the entire week, he is certainly rendering both to himself and to his employer a much higher efficiency than he rendered when he was squandering his earnings in the saloon and I am sure that the great majority of the working men fully realize, at this time, that the place they once called their club—the place that took their earnings and sent them home in a drunken condition to terrorize their families, is happy indeed now to know that the saloon is gone and that drink is fast passing from his memory. Yes, I believe the benefits that people of the United States have received, on account of National Prohibition, are beyond estimate.

I believe that every member of Congress and the Senate should stand for the Eighteenth Amendment. Their oath of office commits them to uphold the Constitution of the United States. They should stand for the Volstead Act, because it is the enforcing act of the Eighteenth Amendment. They should stand for the present Alcoholic Content, because this is the maximum agreed upon to render soft drinks un-intoxicating. They should stand for the strictest law enforcement, because our Government is founded on law and order.

Thanking you for the opportunity afforded me in replying to your letter of March 16th, I am

JAMES K. RISK,  
Treasurer and General Manager.

**Prohibition Rightly Enforced Would Be the Best Thing That Ever Came to America.**

Hampton Cotton Mills,  
Hampton, Ga., March 21, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

Prohibition is undoubtedly the best thing that ever happened to America if the law could be enforced. Apparently neither the Federal nor State authorities try to enforce it in this section of the country, so we have an avalanche of "rot-gut" which not only makes drunk but crazy and at times almost kills.

In this connection will you not accept a word of gratitude from me on the wonderful work you and your paper are doing in an effort to show the world our "Great Southland" and her possibilities; and in demanding from the powers that be the recognition that we earn and are entitled to along industrial lines.

Keep up the good work.

R. O. ARNOLD, President.

### The Cause Is Winning and to Allow Wines and Beers Would Undo the Work.

Kalamazoo Paper Company,

Kalamazoo, Mich., March 20, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I certainly am still opposed to the liquor traffic as much as when I signed the original petition. It would be a poor time for anyone who signed that petition to change their views in any way as the cause is really winning, and any yielding now would undo all the work that has been done.

To allow light wines and beers to be made would be to unlock a door that is now securely locked,—and once unlocked,—the door would soon be wide open and we would go back to the same old rotten conditions.

Our city has a population of about 50,000 and the banks and merchants are unanimous in the opinion that men are saving more money and paying their bills more promptly than ever before. This is not guess work as the bank statements show it conclusively.

Drunkenness is not nearly as common at present as it was. There are some who try to manufacture a drink with a *kick* to it, but they are beginning to find out more and more, that the *kick* is very apt to land them in the grave so that the home-made stuff will, in time, take care of itself.

I know of nothing further to add except to repeat that any giving way now, however slight it might seem to be, would be the greatest mistake, as, even although the concession was very slight, it would encourage the liquor interests to still further efforts and the spending of more money to bring back the old conditions.

F. M. HODGE, President.

**A Leading New York Attorney States the Case When He Says: "There Are, of Course, Still Those Who Prate About Destruction of So-called 'Personal Liberty'; but no One Who Has Studied History Will Pay the Slightest Attention to That Outcry, for the Reason That It Has Been the Slogan of All Those Who, From the Beginning of Time, Were Eager to Give Some Excuse, However False and However Empty, for Indulgence in Their Own Appetites, and for Violations of the Laws of God and Men."**

100 Broadway,

New York, April 10, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I have not changed my judgment, in the slightest degree, from what it was five years ago, except that I have been confirmed and strengthened in the conviction that Prohibition is one of the most beneficent influences which this country has ever enjoyed.

It has destroyed the corner saloon, it has to a very large extent caused the pay envelopes of the bread winners of families to be taken home intact and used for the legitimate purposes of the support of the family, instead of being wasted for liquor, as in days past. It has relieved jails and poor-houses to a very large extent of their former occupants, and resulted in a consequent decrease, as far as those purposes were concerned, in the taxation burdens of the various communities.

There are, of course, still those who prate about destruction of so-called "personal liberty"; but no one who has studied history will pay the slightest attention to that outcry, for the reason that it has been the slogan of all those who, from the beginning of time, were eager to give some excuse, however false and however empty, for indulgence in their own appetites, and for violations of the laws of God and man.

One also hears complaints that the Prohibition measures were enacted through unfair methods and at a time when people of the country were off their guard; but I confidently believe that if the question were now put to a nation-wide

referendum, there would be an overwhelming majority in favor of a continuance of the Prohibition measures. I hear no one except those who were of such circumstances as to be able to a greater or less extent to fill their cellars with liquor in anticipation of Prohibition, giving anything but praise to the Prohibition enforcement. Even those who formerly were too much addicted to the use of the brewed and distilled drinks, have come to the conclusion which they are willing to state, that Prohibition was a beneficent thing even for them, because it has made very difficult the acquisition by them of the means wherewith to satisfy their destructive thirst.

When those who now seem to be unmindful of the obligations of their citizenship, and many of whom are of the so-called "better classes", shall cease to encourage disobedience to law, and shall cease to violate the Prohibition statutes, and have awakened to a realization of the enormity of the offense, and shall, as good citizens, uphold the Law and cooperate in its enforcement, and be properly ashamed of themselves for the violation of their duties as citizens, then will the enforcement of the Prohibition statutes become thoroughly effective, and the disregard for all law which has been born to some extent at least of the disregard of law, embodied in the Prohibition statutes, in higher places, be commensurately diminished and the country become again a body of citizens, with respect for the law, as preservation and peace and prosperity demand.

CHARLES THADDEUS TERRY.

**Liquor Traffic Was a Brake on the Wheels of Progress and Like a Millstone on the Neck of Our Civilization; Enemies of the Volstead Act Are Running Contrary to the Constitution.**

Office of General Superintendent  
Menominee Range

The Verona Mining Co., Caspian, Mich.  
Hemlock River Mining Co., Amasa, Mich.  
The Balkan Mining Co., Alpha, Mich.  
Calumet Ore Co., Felch, Mich.

Caspian, Iron Co., Mich., March 28, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

It is a source of pleasure to feel that you are still using your great influence in the interest of the American home. The liquor traffic has robbed industry of a great number of its most efficient men, and homes of what otherwise would have been a kind father and a good provider. It has been a brake on the wheels of progress and a millstone suspended from the neck of our marvelous civilization. That we have advanced in spite of it is greatly to be wondered at, when we consider how far its activities had reached into the industrial, political and home life of the country.

Are we opposed to it? We surely are. While its knock out has not been accomplished completely, we believe that law enforcement and education will do much toward the entire abolishment of the evils of intoxicating beverages. We are optimistic enough to believe that another generation will know but little of its actual evils.

In spite of present low tide in industry we believe that homes have been greatly benefited by Prohibition. Conditions would have been much worse had we the saloons in the preceding period of prosperity. Families would not have had savings to fall back on in the slump which we have witnessed in the past year.

The usual absence of several employes on Monday morning during the regime of the saloon is not noticed now. Men are more regular in their attendance at work.

Visible drunkenness has decreased. With the open saloon, it was common to find intoxicated men on the street, while the front door of the saloon with its human signboards, was

a place past which a respectable man dreaded to take his wife or daughter.

We believe that vigilance is necessary in the enforcement of law and believe the Federal Government should provide properly for the enforcement of the 18th Amendment and Volstead Act.

Light wines and beer would bring up the much debated question as to what per cent intoxicates, and if the enemies of the Volstead Act don't want intoxication, then they are perfectly safe with the prescribed one half of one per cent. If they do want intoxication they are running contrary to the National Constitution and are laying themselves open to the criticism that they are not good Americans nor in harmony with the majority of the voting population of our country.

CHAS. E. LAWRENCE,  
General Superintendent.

**The President of One of the Greatest Cotton Mill Companies in the Country Voices His Enthusiasm for the Good Results of Prohibition.**

Riverside & Dan River Cotton Mills,  
Danville, Va., March 25, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I am just as much opposed to the liquor traffic as I was when I signed the original petition to Congress.

I am convinced that the Prohibition of the liquor traffic is invaluable not alone from the moral viewpoint but also from an economic and industrial standpoint; that conviction has become a practical demonstration through its application to the many men and families in our community as well as other places in our State. Labor is much more certain and trustworthy and the families of the men whom we employ are better cared for as well as receiving much more considerate treatment than in the old days when drinking was a curse.

The drinking of alcoholic liquor has greatly decreased among the working people, which means that they have increased in efficiency as well as in their living standards, and I can confidently say that the Prohibition sentiment is stronger among our people than ever before and that very few of them would want the old regime back again.

We would consider it from a business standpoint a great calamity if drink were made accessible as it was before the enactment of Constitutional Prohibition. I am thoroughly confident that, throughout the South where the cotton mill industry has been developed to such a great extent in the last quarter of a century, there can be found no mill owner who would not agree that the Prohibition of the liquor traffic had added greatly to the well-being of his people as well as assuring them a much better living and many happier homes—therefore, I am more completely committed to the program of Prohibition than when I first signed the petition.

R. A. SCHOOLFIELD,  
Chairman of the Board.

**Enthusiastic About Eighteenth Amendment.**  
Beloit College,

Beloit, Wis., March 20, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

We are enthusiastic about the 18th Amendment. However, we have been greatly distressed because of the disposition to ignore Federal and State laws, and the extensive use of liquor since the passing of the Amendment. We are hoping, however, that this is but a temporary reaction, and that the sound economics and the ethics and constructive merits involved in Prohibition may assert themselves a very definite and increasing degree at an early time.

MELVIN A. BRANNON, President.

**A Miracle Has Been Wrought—A Call to the Nation Such as Even Lincoln Never Had for Men Who Will Lead Us "Into the Purer Air and the Glow and the Splendor of a Better Humanity."**

New Haven Journal-Courier,  
New Haven, Conn., March 21, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

We have seen the impossible come to pass in our time. Whenever one goes to a banquet of perhaps a thousand men and sees them spend hours without alcoholic beverages where five years ago each "cover" was circled with glasses—spend hours without even mentioning alcohol, he should revise his opinion that miracles cannot occur. He has seen one occur.

The passing of the social glass registers the substitution of one social ideal for another. The men and women who drink water are not better than those who drank wine; they are simply enjoying a new condition, a new social usage. Like all the betterments in civilization, it did not just happen; it was fought for, prayed for; it represents the sacrifice and crucifixion of noble men and women now rapidly being forgotten. One meets people who say casually that "Prohibition came in just as drinking was going out;" "it was driven out," they say, by the efficiency cry, etc. It was driven out by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, by Mother Nation, by the faithful Prohibition party, by neglected and ridiculed temperance champions in every city and at every cross-roads who during a century finally informed the mind and aroused the conscience of the American people.

The task now is to complete the work. Enforcement is the duty and the opportunity of the hour. It affords as large chances for sacrifice, for adventure, for political career, for patriotic ardor as any emergency in national history. Listen—from time to time in the States, individual men will lift the banner of enforcement. Some of them will grow with the issue; they will take the country with them; some will fall in the battle gloriously; you and I will yet see great American reputations made, even presidents, on this supreme issue of our time—the entrenching of the non-alcoholic ideal in the daily life of the people, reinforcing the legal requirement which was the goal set up by the nation in response to its inner aspiration. It is one of the big tasks of civilization. It will rank with the Reformation, with the overturning of "divine right", with the abolition of slavery, with the doctrine that might makes right. It is a great age in which to be alive; especially to be young. Every college campus should be an equipping station; the young lawyers, Salmon P. Chase and Charles Sumner, the boy politician, Abe Lincoln, had no such field for ambition and a career satisfying the highest demands of manhood as the youth of today who gets the vision of a world without alcohol, equips himself with the facts, and then says to his generation—"This is the way, follow me." It leads into the purer air and the glow and splendor of a better humanity and paves the way for newer achievements to be wrought by the sons of men of which we have not yet even dreamed.

AMOS P. WILDER,

(Former Consul General at Shanghai.)

[In the light of such a great truth stated with burning eloquence, how puny and weak are the claims of those who cannot catch such a vision and who would have the nation surrender to the criminal element.—*Editor Manufacturers Record.*]

**Dr. Harvey W. Wiley Says, From Viewpoint of Public Health Prohibition Has Been a Wonder Worker.**

Good Housekeeping  
Bureau of Foods Sanitation and Health  
Washington, D. C., March 22, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I have not changed my mind in regard to Prohibition. I am unalterably opposed to a resumption of the liquor traffic, even the reentry of light wines and beer. I think beer is probably the most dangerous to health of all the pure ordinary alcoholic liquors. I do not know anybody that favors the return of the saloon, and beer without a distributor is a useless commodity, and with a distributor it is a dangerous commodity.

I have not had much opportunity to study the effect of Prohibition on the laboring man. I regret that officially labor is opposed to Prohibition, yet no class of citizens are so benefited by Prohibition as the laboring class. What the laboring man does with the savings on beer and whisky I am unable to say, but a very right thing would be better clothes, better food, better schools for his children, and less labor and worry for his wife.

In regard to item 4 on your questionnaire I can speak with the authority of personal observation. I have not seen a single drunken man in Washington since Prohibition went into effect. There is not so much drunkenness, at least openly, by any means as before, but what there is is more deadly. The bootlegging industry will gradually kill itself by killing off all its patrons. This is heroic treatment, but probably deserved.

My sincere conviction is that the economic value of Prohibition is so great that no effort on the part of the laboring men or would be drinkers will ever be able to restore the old conditions. There is a possibility that there may be a relaxation of the rigidity of the Volstead Act, but the reaction, in my opinion, will not go farther than that.

From the point of view of public health Prohibition has been a wonder worker. I am not a believer in the use of distilled spirits as a remedy. Alcohol is never a stimulant, but always a narcotic. My belief is that the death rate in such diseases as pneumonia and influenza is much higher where alcohol is used as an internal remedy than where it is not. Long since the medical profession has ceased to regard alcohol in some of its beverage forms as a remedy for tuberculosis, and it is now practically the universal belief that it is on the other hand an aid to speedy dissolution.

HARVEY W. WILEY, M. D.

**All Formerly Said in Favor Prohibition Fully Confirmed.  
Fewer Accidents, Less Lost Time and Better Social Conditions.**

Sweet's Steel Company,  
Williamsport, Pa., March 15, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

Anything that has been said in favor of Prohibition in days gone by, in my judgment, has been fully confirmed by the experience through which we are now passing. While there may be drawbacks in a general way (which I am disposed to think are magnified to the fullest extent that the conditions will allow), as far as the concrete results coming under my observation as a manufacturer, they are all to the good. We have less lost time, fewer accidents and greatly improved social conditions in the families of our employees and their environments. The best results of radical changes such as this are brought about by evolution, rather than revolution, and I look for an improving condition as the years go by.

JOHN M. YOUNG, President.

**The Liquor Traffic Was Tried Before the Bar of Civilization and Condemned—Its Dastardly and Anarchistic Outlawry Demands Full Punishment.**

University of Southern California,  
College of Commerce and Business Administration,  
Los Angeles, Cal., March 28, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I am enclosing herewith a brief statement on the effects of Prohibition, in response to your letter of 16th instant. This might have been extended indefinitely in length, but will, I trust, meet your requirements, while expressing briefly my own views in the matter.

I am still as thoroughly opposed to the liquor traffic in the United States as before the enactment of the Eighteenth Amendment,—and for the same reasons.

The liquor traffic was long before the bar of civilization. As a problem of first magnitude it was compelled to submit to the scrutiny of all who would make inquisition. An impressive procession of investigators including biologist and chemist, pathologist and eugenicist, economist and sociologist, business man and labor leader, moralist and religionist,—and all the rest,—probed the problem from every angle. The evidence was in. The day of reckoning came. The verdict "guilty, as charged", was entered.

The desperate effort to evade the sentence would be ludicrous if it were not so dastardly and anarchistic. The spirit of outlawry exhibited confirms the verdict reached and gives additional reason for exacting the full penalty.

In spite of exhibitions of lawlessness here and there, the beneficent effects of Prohibition are being felt more and more. Literally millions of persons have quietly given up drink altogether, thus adding to their happiness and prosperity. The American saloon, with its baneful "treating" habit and all evil concomitants,—malignant cancer that it was,—has been cut out of our body politic. Best of all, a generation of American boys and girls are growing up in our midst who will soon come to maturity without the taint of alcohol.

Candor compels the fairminded to admit that Prohibition is already a great though not perfect success. Dr. William H. Welch, Irving Fisher, George Kneeland, George Elliott Howard, Professor Kraepelin, and their coadjutors were right from their various standpoints.

The insistent demand for National Prohibition was a just demand, strictly in the interests of prosperity and civilization. But a few years are only as a day in the life of a great nation, a mere fleeting moment of time in the history of the race. Let us never surrender the benefits derived from the banishment of King Alcohol; but above all, let us hold fast to the faith that will bring permanent blessing to posterity.

ROCKWELL H. HUNT,  
Director of the College of Commerce,  
and Dean of the Graduate School,  
University of Southern California.

**Advantages of Prohibition No Longer Matter of Speculation.**

Wellesley, Mass., March 18, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

Some six years ago endorsement of Prohibition was based on the claim of advantages believed to be bound up with it. To-day these advantages are no longer a matter of speculation. Prohibition can already show a record of actual and far-reaching benefit. An abandonment of all this gain and a return to the liquor traffic and its results would seem to me most deplorable and unworthy. It is now the part of all good citizens to rally to the defense and enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment.

ELLEN HAYES,  
Retired Professor, Wellesley College.

**Would as Soon Think of Returning to Human Slavery as of Returning to the Domination of the Distiller, the Brewer, and the Saloon Keeper. It Would Be a Great Deal Easier to Sell Whiskey, Brandy and Gin as the Illegitimate Side Partners of Legalized Beer and Wine Than it Is Today and Thus Revive the Whole Foul Horde of the Liquor Industry.**

Austin Manufacturing Co.,

Chicago, Ill., April 24, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

Yours of the 16th ult. came during my absence in California, which is the only reason for delaying my reply, as I am very glad to answer your inquiries.

My attitude on the liquor question has not changed in the least since I signed the petition to which you refer except that the foolish effort to have this Law repealed on the ground that it has not been enforced has made me more positive than even before.

To one who was born, as I was, just before the abolition of slavery, it seems incredible that in my life time human beings were bought and sold as chattels. It will seem just as incredible to the next generation to be told of all the poverty, disease, vice and general corruption, both social and political, that were the dominant features of the liquor era but a few years back.

When I see the long rows of low, doggerel saloons that partially surrounded our own and other factories but a year or two ago and think of the low-browed gang that contended with our working men for their wages before they could get home with them to their families, and the scenes of violence and crimes of every sort that occurred on pay nights, I am amazed that any decent, intelligent man should want to return to such conditions.

That more or less people are killing themselves with vile substitutes for liquor that are being peddled around in dark corners occasions me no concern. Such a tremendous reform as we have put into effect must leave its wreckage, which will show for some time and the full benefits will only be reaped by coming generations. The present benefits, however, are worth one hundred times all they cost and I would as soon think of returning to human slavery as of returning to the domination of the distiller, the brewer, and the saloon keeper.

But a few years ago nothing of value, either political or social, could be put through most of our municipal legislatures without the previous consent of the organized saloon element. Thank God that is past and thank God there is just as much likelihood of Prohibition being abolished in this country or of the return of intoxicating liquors by having them declared non-intoxicating, as of the restoration of slavery.

The idea that the present evils of bootlegging could be mitigated by restoring the sale of wines and beers, if such a thing were possible, is pure rubbish. It would be a great deal easier to sell whiskey, brandy and gin as the illegitimate side partners of legalized beer and wine than it is to-day and no man yet has suggested a method of legalizing the sale of beers and wines that would not bring back on our heads the whole foul horde of the liquor industry.

I hope I have succeeded in making myself plain.

W. T. Beatty, President & General Manager.

**Would Be Calamity to Go Back to Old Way.**

American Yarn and Processing Company

Mount Holly, N. C., March 18, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

We beg to state that the practical results of Prohibition in our section have been very beneficial from every point of view. The people are better and are living better, and it would be a calamity to go back to the old way before Prohibition.

C. E. HUTCHISON, President.

**Fighting Bitterly Against Wines and Beers; Prohibition a Success in Milwaukee Even With Its Foreign Population.**

Lindsay Bros., Inc.,

Agricultural Implements; Binder Twine, Cordage, Vehicles, Pumps and Hardware Specialties.

Milwaukee, Wis., March 20, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I think likely there are few cities in our country where the enforcement of this Act has been more difficult than in Milwaukee, but even here with the strong sentiment against it growing out of our large foreign population, there have been unmistakable advantages and relief, and when enforcement can be made more thorough, the relief and benefit at present experienced will be largely increased.

I am still as thoroughly opposed to the liquor traffic as when I signed the petition to Congress. In fact, my judgment on this question has grown stronger since that time. There has been such evidence even with the imperfect enforcement of the new laws governing this question that the advantage of the act seems to me beyond question. Drunkenness is not as common as before the act became effective, although there is much of it yet. A great deal of this, however, is from the use of the vile home-made moonshine, which has taken the place of regular whiskey. In our own State, we are fighting against a very bitter and strongly organized effort to amend the Volstead Act, which will provide for the use of light wines and beer. It is hoped, however, that we may still be able to rally sufficient strength to defeat this effort.

E. J. LINDSAY.

**Drunkenness and Liquor Are Outcasts by Nature and Must Be Treated as Such.**

The Keyless Lock Company  
Manufacturers

Complete Steel Post Office Equipments &  
Automatic Keyless Lock Boxes

Indianapolis, Ind., March 20, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I am certainly as bitterly opposed to the liquor traffic today as I was when it was legally abolished and I see now that it was a more deadly and dangerous peril than we even imagined. Its lawlessness before is only equaled by its lawlessness now in breaking every law having to do with it. Essentially drunkenness and liquor are outcasts by nature and must be treated only as such.

However seriously I may be opposed to the liquor traffic on moral grounds, I am perhaps more deeply interested in it for economic reasons. Having to do with the handling of workmen, I can see the wonderful difference now and before Prohibition. It is said that Prohibition does not prohibit, but it does. It prohibits as far as the ordinary man who does not deliberately plan and scheme to break the law and workmen ordinarily do not do this. Monday now is as stable a day with us as any other day in the week. Before Prohibition, Monday was a day for absentism, besides our men are happier all the time and I know by careful census that their families are infinitely better situated and happier in every way. They live better, reside in better houses and most all of them have a little money in the bank.

As to actual drunkenness, we seldom see anything of that kind in this city. I have only witnessed a few such cases during the last year. There is still a great deal of drinking, but it is confined to those who can pay the heavy expense and who are willing to run the heavier risk. The working man is not drinking to any extent and he positively is not getting drunk.

ARTHUR R. BAXTER.

**Every Person Who Violates Prohibition Law Is Branded as a Law Breaker and a Criminal and the Time Will Come When It Will Be as Much of a Disgrace to Violate the Prohibition Law as It Now Is to Steal or Commit any Other Crime.**

The Interstate Trust Company.

Denver, Colo., March 20, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I am still opposed to the liquor traffic not only to the extent that I was when I signed the petition to Congress asking for the enactment of a Prohibition Law, but even more than I was at that time. No one expected the enactment of prohibitory laws would immediately put a stop to all use of intoxicating liquor in this country. Wonderful results have already been attained and more will be as the years go by. There is less drunkenness than ever before, but in this country it is becoming more and more of a disgrace to be known as a law violator even against the Prohibition Law and this sentiment will spread more rapidly in the future than it has in the past. Every person who violates the Prohibition Act is not only disgraced by reason of giving way to appetite and temptation but is branded as a law breaker and a criminal in the eyes of the public. It will be necessary more and more for law abiding people to create a sentiment throughout the country in favor of law enforcement and cultivate a belief in the minds of the general public that it is a disgrace and a crime to violate even the Prohibition Law. The middle class people of the country are abiding by the Prohibition Law and respecting it. There are two classes who are trying to bring it into disrepute, namely; those who consider themselves above the law and those who are anarchistic and defiant of all law. These two classes must be taught that they are no better and have no superior rights to those of the average law abiding citizens of the land and that the Prohibition laws are going to be enforced more strictly than ever as time goes by. Gradually the appetite for intoxicating liquor will disappear throughout the land. The liquor interests will tire of spending their funds in propaganda work and law breaking methods and in due time a sentiment will be created throughout the country making it as much of a disgrace to violate the Prohibition Act as it is now to steal or commit any other crime against the public welfare.

The effect of Prohibition on labor and saving of money formerly spent for liquor, has been wonderful. Savings deposits have increased more than 33½ per cent throughout the country. Families are better cared for, homes are better taken care of and furnished, women and children are better dressed, men are saving their money and are better citizens.

Under the old open saloon and free liquor traffic there was drunkenness on all sides and it was becoming worse and worse from year to year. Now one seldom sees a drunken man or woman on the streets. Of course, it has not ceased altogether as we read in the daily papers of arrests for drunkenness, but it should be remembered that all drunken people are now arrested whereas formerly they were allowed to roam at large and at will unless they committed some open act of violence.

I am not only in the banking business where I can observe the financial effects of Prohibition, but I am in the manufacturing business where we employ large numbers of men. We used to be constantly annoyed and our business interfered with, after pay day by drunkenness and absentism. Under Prohibition we have none of either. The men are always on duty and ready for work. They hold their heads up, nearly all of them save money, they take a pride in their families, and they get large enjoyment out of life. The open saloon and the liquor traffic were the greatest curse to American morals, American citizenship, thrift, comfort and happiness that ever existed in this land. They are now banished, let us never think of letting them return.

F. N. BRIGGS, *President.*

**Unthinkable to Permit Beer and Wines Again.**

Waverly Oil Works Co.,

Pittsburgh, Pa., March 17, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

There is undoubtedly in some quarters more drinking than there was before the Amendment was passed, but, in general, the drinking is not a fraction of what it was previously.

We have no trouble whatever among our employees and all manufacturers in this district agree that trouble among employees from liquor has almost disappeared.

**It would be unthinkable for any amendment to be adopted permitting beer and light wines, because it would be nothing more or less than an acknowledgement of the inability of America to enforce her laws.**

The Law has never had enough chance, in Pennsylvania particularly. Some people in charge of enforcement have not only been crooked, but largely engaged in bootlegging themselves.

HARRY H. WILLOCK, *Secretary and Treasurer.*

**Wives and Children No Longer Abused as Formerly—It Is Un-American, Unpatriotic, Not to Uphold Our Laws.**

Reo Motor Car Company  
Manufacturers

Motor Cars, Speed Wagons

Lansing, Mich., March 22, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I am still opposed to the traffic in intoxicating liquors and after several years experience with local option, state-wide and National Prohibition, I am convinced more than ever that there is no place in our American life for the saloon. Its evil influence is too well known to need any discussion at this time. Early in life I learned first-hand the effects of intoxicating liquors upon my fellow men, and in the shops where I was employed I have seen many young men with a bright future before them go down to ruin on account of drunkenness.

Since Prohibition went into effect we do not see drunken men on our streets; neither do we hear of drunken men abusing their wives and children.

Under the open saloon plan, large numbers of our employees would be absent from one to three days following each pay day. This left many machines standing idle, and disorganized our production to such an extent that provision had to be made to make up for the inefficiency of the employees who were absent on account of drunkenness. This added an extra cost to manufacturing both from the slowing up of production, and a lowering of the quality of work produced.

It also meant a great loss of income to the workman and his family. Money formerly spent in the saloons is now spent for the necessities of life. I believe the United States of America was very fortunate in having Prohibition following the war, as one can imagine the effect the open saloon would have under existing conditions.

The Eighteenth Amendment is not enforced one hundred per cent, neither is any other law in the United States, and if Prohibition is as much of a failure as the liquor interests would make us believe, we cannot understand why there should be any demand for the return of the saloon. There are no more bootleggers in the United States today than there were during the time of the licensed saloon, and the number is growing less. If the citizens of the United States would demand that the constitution be upheld, and that those who are un-American enough to disregard our Constitution were given the treatment they deserve, it would not be long before there would be just as much respect for the Eighteenth Amendment as there is for any other part of the Constitution of the United States of America.

R. H. SCOTT, *Vice-President and General Manager.*



**To Allow Sale of Beer and Wine Would Mean the Breaking Down of the Whole Barrier Against Strong Drink.**

Harrisburg Telegraph  
Office of the President,

Harrisburg, Pa., April 15, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

In my judgment the Prohibition of the liquor traffic can only result in good. I am as much opposed to it as I ever was and the propaganda in favor of limitation of the restriction to beer and light wines would simply open the doors to a breaking down of the whole barrier against strong drink. As the outlaw saloon aroused the people against the whole saloon system, involving the more reputable liquor traffic in trouble and finally in the overthrow of the entire business, so any amendment tending to limit the Prohibition Act would have a tendency to destroy its whole purpose.

I have had no reason to change my views in any way since the movement was inaugurated several years ago, and while those who are in favor of the liquor business will doubtless continue their efforts in the hope of having the law repealed, there is not a shadow of doubt in my mind that they will utterly fail.

Of course, there will be violations of the Law until such time as those who favor an enforcement of all laws are aroused to the necessity of stopping the violations which are in many cases allowed to pass through official negligence. There has been a wide improvement in the home life of the nation under Prohibition and a betterment of the conditions of the people through savings; and a more sane attitude of those who had been previously in favor of unrestrained use of liquor.

The granting of suffrage to the women of the country is an absolute assurance of a continuance of the Prohibition Law and a more rigid enforcement of the measure. Drunkenness is not so common and while there are unfortunate developments which are attributed to Prohibition, these are frequently magnified for propaganda purposes and should not be taken too seriously in any consideration of the subject. Also it should not be forgotten that the reaction of the war was largely responsible for a misinterpretation of the Prohibition of liquor and the unrest that followed the great struggle has had somewhat to do with the attitude of antagonism in some quarters.

E. J. Stackpole, President and Editor.

**Drinking of Alcoholic Beverages Next to War Greatest Curse to Mankind.**

A. B. Farquhar Co., Limited,

York, Pa., March 17, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

With regard to Prohibition of the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors for beverage purposes, my views are unchanged.

The drinking of alcohol is an unmitigated curse—next to war the greatest curse that afflicts mankind. We have millions of men out of work throughout the country, and yet soup kitchens have not been necessary. I am convinced that this is largely if not entirely due to the absence of the saloon. The excellent showing made by the savings banks, notwithstanding the depression, is another evidence of the advantage of Prohibition.

It is now a rare thing to see a drunken man on the streets. It is an indubitable fact that absence from places of employment on account of drunkenness has been largely eliminated.

In my opinion, Prohibition, notwithstanding violation of the Law, which is more or less a passing phase, has already proved to be of the greatest benefits to the country.

A. B. FARQUHAR.

**Good Effects of Prohibition Found Everywhere and Greatly Exceed So-called Bad Effects.**

B. F. Sturtevant Company, Inc.  
Branches in all Principal Cities,  
Hyde Park District.

Boston, Mass., April 18, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

Permit me to say that my observation and experience since the adoption of the Prohibition Amendment amply justify my position and confirm my predictions concerning the great moral, social and economic benefits to be derived from the Prohibition of the intoxicating liquor traffic.

The good effects of National Prohibition are to be found all about us, on every hand, and greatly exceed the so-called bad effects. At a recent conference held at the Twentieth Century Club in Boston, an impressive mass of personal testimony, led by Mr. Robert A. Woods, the well-known social worker, gave facts and figures proving the sobriety, prosperity, improved health and home conditions that have come with National Prohibition. At the same conference the Hon. Sanford Bates, head of the Massachusetts Department of Prisons and Corrections, presented evidence of the police, the Courts and the penal institutions, which showed great improvement over pre-Prohibition days.

We appear to be in the midst of a most determined effort to break down and discredit the Eighteenth Amendment. The selfish, lawless, and indifferent classes are setting a bad example to the less privileged classes, with their private stills, their various varieties of "hooch" and their private stocks of costly liquors secured from law breakers or stored away before the liquor drouth began.

The question today is not whether or not we shall stop the great world-wide sound and sane Prohibition movement that the human race is now engaged in and in which the American people were the pioneers. It would be as rational to deliberate whether or not we shall permit the planes to keep up their march around the sun. All the known powers of money, church and state cannot keep humanity still. In Lowells immortal words, "New occasions teach new duties, time makes ancient good uncouth".

E. N. Foss, President.

**Conditions Better and Accidents Reduced—Would Dread Return to Liquor of Any Kind.**

The Canton Malleable Iron Company

Canton, Ohio, March 10, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

With reference to Prohibition and to what effect the Prohibition Amendment has had on the bettering of the condition of our employees, we do not have much to add to our letter to you some years ago, except that we find conditions still better and employees as a rule have accepted Prohibition as a fact that has come with us to stay.

"Bootleg" liquor is something we seldom see the effects of on our employees as they are pretty well scared out by the reports of so many deaths from drinking liquor bought from irresponsible parties.

On the whole, we are extremely pleased with the results and we are confident if it was put to a vote of our men in our factory today, our factory would vote "dry" by a large majority.

There is no question that our accidents have been reduced materially since Prohibition has been in force, and we personally would dread to see the day when liquor of any kind would be put into general use through Legislation, which the writer is sure will never be.

CHAS. ZORM, President and Manager.

**Former Governor of Alabama and U. S. Senator, and Large Labor Employer Tells of Prohibition's Benefit and Warns the Criminal Law Breakers in Society and Business Circles of the Dangers They Invite in the Breakdown of All Law.**

Birmingham, Ala., April 7, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I congratulate you on the splendid fight you are making, not only for the good of America, but for the good of mankind and every life and interest therein, that our liquor laws should be maintained and that Prohibition should prevail.

From every experience of life and business you have my earnest cooperation. In business, not only as an extensive farmer, but an extensive cotton mill man, managing more than 200,000 spindles, having more than 2500 employes with their families, myself, the father of nine children—five daughters and four sons—all grown and married with families—taking all of this with that appreciative citizenship we should all love to do those things which are best for our fellow man and for our country, makes me an earnest colaborer with you you trying to accomplish these very best things.

As Governor of Alabama in 1907 I signed the Prohibition Bill and while in the revolution there was much trouble, yet the good accomplishments were very great. Quoting from a recent speech delivered by me at the Semi-Centennial of the Alabama Polytechnic Institute at Auburn, Ala.:

"There are two monsters today threatening the youth of the land. The one anti-Prohibition—in plain language not only that low order of human beings who run the moonshine still, the wildeat trade, the booze flivver and the bootlegger, but also that high order of law defiers, that order which possibly has caused more harm even to themselves than they can contemplate, because law debauchery inevitable at last hurts them the most.

"My conviction is that the Courts have long enough thrown turfs of grass at these defiers of our laws. It is high time the rocks of jail and penitentiary conviction should be cast for the purpose of having convincing effect.

"Inane antiseptics are not worth while. The Government to stop postal robberies put the marines on the cars with sawed off shot guns loaded with buck shot, with instructions to shoot to kill. Is it worse to rob the Government of money, or to rob the people of moral foundations? Which, in your opinion, would have the more far reaching bad effect? It is in the highest sense debauching the youth of the land that they should witness or be a party to a wide spread debauchery of our laws."

Mr., Gary, President of the Steel Corporation, whom I regard as one of the most comprehensive business minds in America, in an interview thoroughly endorsed the good effect of Prohibition on laborers, on business interests and he is the largest employer, the largest business representative we have.

Personally acquainted with the United States Steel management here, I have heard them state that the number of accidents and best operations in their works ebb and flow with the execution of the Prohibition laws.

In our cotton mill interest, the old, old plea against child labor was that the old father would carry his family to the mill village, hire them to the mills and weekly or bi-weekly draw their wages and drink it up, debauching the family. There was some truth in this but the truth went further and it was not only the cotton mill daddy but the daddies everywhere, the heads of families, the sons in families, the sons-in-law in families, and what greater curse can fall anywhere than liquor drinking in these. A great Anti-Saloon speaker has truly said there is no greater curse than a drunken son-in-law.

There is nothing which has so helped cotton mills as the

effect of Prohibition on the cotton mill families and every cotton mill interest, regardless, should stand by the Prohibition laws.

As stated, I have five daughters and four sons and I esteem it the greatest blessing in my family that they are all sober and trying to raise sober families.

**The biggest folly in my view is the heads of big business and their immediate following having stores of liquor and service of liquor, no matter in what shape at their homes, at their dinings and at their banquets, because the debauching of the law, the Bolshevism in law defiance, no matter what, if successful, comes to them the hardest and comes to them in the most costly shape, and it is the most shortsighted folly that they should encourage defiance of our anti-liquor laws because inevitably that defiance will be the most costly to them and the reverse of this would prove to them the very greatest blessing, business and otherwise.**

Speaking directly to those people representing business above the ordinary, to those people having more or less employes, to those people having direct interest in the betterment of their fellowman, is it not worth while to practice such denials over your momentary society and otherwise good fellowship pleasures, that you will be an example of that high order of citizenship who will dare obey the laws of the land? Will you exercise such control of your free will, of your self determination, as to be a good citizen? It does not take much common sense to tell you that this smothering of your appetites will be the very best for you in every department of life whether of business, family or citizenship.

**To repeat, the danger to the Eighteenth Amendment, to our Prohibition laws, to this greatest predicate ever laid for human advancement, is not in the wildeatter, the booze flivver, the booze runner, not the man who makes money from whiskey selling, but it is in that supposedly higher class of our citizenship who think they cannot do without their gin ricky, their cocktail, their here's-at-you, and the animal exhilaration that comes around the table or in a party when their tongues are loosened, from that class of people who from the very facts in the case will suffer the greatest consequences from this widespread lawlessness which they alone make possible.**

B. B. COMER,

President and Treasurer Avondale Mills,

**Unquestionably Prohibition Great Thing: From Standpoint of Industry Alone It Is More Than Justifiable—Prohibition the Greatest Thing in Many Years.**

The Ohio Cultivator Company.

Bellevue, O., March 27, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

We are still opposed to the liquor traffic to just as great an extent as we were when we signed the petition that went to Congress.

In fact, what we experienced in our own factory, as well as city, has given us further evidence that Prohibition is unquestionably the greatest thing that has happened in many years. We know of many laboring men who have paid their bills, been able to buy clothes for their family, and in fact a number of them have started bank accounts since Prohibition came into effect.

We have now in our employ a number of men who were habitually off from one to three days after every pay-day and their records now show that they have missed practically no time for over a year.

From the standpoint of industry alone we feel that Prohibition is more than justifiable and we will continue to take as strong a stand against it as we ever have in the past.

D. SELTZER, Vice-President and General Manager.

# The Order in Which the States Ratified the Eighteenth Amendment.

## THE FACTS WHICH SHOW THAT THE PROHIBITION LAW WAS THE OUTCOME OF YEAR'S OF ACTIVE WORK.

By William H. Anderson, State Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League of New York.

Prohibition, the most important social legislation in the history of mankind, came as an expression of the will of an aroused and intelligent electorate. It stands alone as an example of legislatively expressed self-denial on the part of the people for the benefit of the nation as a whole.

The Eighteenth Amendment does not represent the reluctant expedient of a harried and distracted legislature. It did not come suddenly, or in the dark. It is the effective expression of the slow, sure growth of a mighty conviction on the part of the American people. Prohibition sentiment in the United States was strong before the Civil War and after the reaction following that war it became more intense and more practical. For twenty-five years before the submission of the Eighteenth Amendment, the church and moral forces through the Anti-Saloon League made this question an issue in nearly every political campaign. For ten years prior to the submission of the Eighteenth Amendment, many leases of premises to be used in connection with the traffic in intoxicating liquors contained provisions which took cognizance of the imminence of Prohibition. The official record of the proceedings of brewers' conventions prove they knew it.

It is charged in an effort to incite to resistance, that the Eighteenth Amendment was submitted and ratified in some unusual, occult way. Special emphasis has been placed upon the fact that the Amendment was not submitted to a popular vote. The method provided in the Constitution was followed with respect to the Eighteenth Amendment which was submitted and ratified in precisely the same manner as the seventeen preceding amendments. Every objection to the mode of ratifying the Eighteenth Amendment must apply with equal force to every other amendment to the Constitution.

The amendment of the Constitution of the United States is the most difficult matter of legislative procedure in the world. It is necessary first to secure a two-thirds vote of both branches of congress. It is then necessary to secure a majority vote of both branches of the legislatures in three-fourths of the states in the Union, that is, to secure a majority vote in seventy-two legislative branches in thirty-six states. All that the opponents of a constitutional amendment need to do is to hold an adverse vote in one legislative branch in thirteen states.

The Eighteenth Amendment was submitted to the states in 1917 by a Congress elected in 1916, five months before the United States declared war on Germany, when with Prohibition a leading issue, every citizen of voting age who was subsequently called to the colors, had an opportunity to vote. In thirteen months, the shortest period of time in which any amendment to the constitution was ever ratified, the Eighteenth Amendment became a part of the Constitution through ratification by all of the largest states. With ratifi-

cation by New Jersey, a supposedly hopelessly wet state, as the 46th State, more than three years after the other states had ratified, in spite of the alleged "reaction" against Prohibition, instead of the necessary three-fourths of the states the proportion is twenty-three twenty-fourths.

The following are the States ratifying and the dates on which they ratified, together with the total vote of the legislatures for and against ratification:

Mississippi ..Jan. 8, 1918	California ....Jan. 13, 1919
Virginia .....Jan. 11, 1918	Indiana .....Jan. 14, 1919
Kentucky ...Jan. 14, 1918	Illinois .....Jan. 14, 1919
S. Carolina ..Jan. 28, 1918	Arkansas ....Jan. 14, 1919
North Dakota Jan. 25, 1918	N. Carolina ...Jan. 14, 1919
Maryland ...Feb. 13, 1918	Alabama .....Jan. 14, 1919
Montana .....Feb. 19, 1918	Kansas .....Jan. 14, 1919
Texas .....Mar. 4, 1918	Oregon .....Jan. 15, 1919
Delaware ...Mar. 18, 1918	Iowa .....Jan. 15, 1919
South Dakota Mar. 20, 1918	Utah .....Jan. 15, 1919
Massachusetts Apr. 2, 1918	Colorado .....Jan. 15, 1919
Arizona .....May 24, 1918	New HampshireJan. 15, 1919
Georgia .....June 26, 1918	Nebraska .....Jan. 16, 1919
Louisiana ....Aug. 8, 1918	Missouri .....Jan. 16, 1919
Florida .....Nov. 27, 1918	Wyoming .....Jan. 16, 1919
Michigan ...Jan. 2, 1919	Wisconsin ....Jan. 17, 1919
Ohio .....Jan. 7, 1919	Minnesota ...Jan. 17, 1919
Oklahoma ...Jan. 7, 1919	New Mexico ...Jan. 20, 1919
Maine .....Jan. 8, 1919	Nevada .....Jan. 21, 1919
Idaho .....Jan. 8, 1919	Vermont .....Jan. 29, 1919
West Virginia Jan. 9, 1919	New York .....Jan. 29, 1919
Washington ..Jan. 13, 1919	Pennsylvania Feb. 25, 1919
Tennessee ...Jan. 13, 1919	New Jersey ...Mar. 9, 1922
Total Senate vote—1,299 for to 217 against; total House vote—3,775 for to 955 against. Senate 86% for, 14% against; House 80% for, 20% against.	

This overwhelming legislative vote of more than 4 to 1 in favor of ratification when only a majority was required, can be explained only as a popular expression in favor of Prohibition. By the time the Eighteenth Amendment was ratified thirty-two states had adopted Prohibition for themselves upon a state basis. In addition to these entire states, there was sufficient territory dry under local option so that 90 per cent of the territory of the United States containing 65 per cent of the population, was dry before National Prohibition became effective. Since the passage of the Webb-Kenyon Act in 1913 which for the first time gave the states a chance to enforce their own Prohibition laws against liquor from outside, not a dry state went back wet, while the dry majority increased, in some cases tremendously.

Upon the ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment, Congress passed a law for its enforcement. This law was vetoed by the President and repassed by Congress by more than the necessary two-thirds vote. It has since been upheld by the United States Supreme Court as a constitutional and reasonable exercise of the power of Congress. This law, the "National Prohibition Act", commonly known as the Volstead Act, defines as intoxicating any liquor containing so much as one-half of one percent of alcohol by volume.

The same interests which attacked the validity of the

Amendment itself until every possible resort known to law had been exhausted without avail, are now attempting to undermine the enforcement of the Amendment by striving to create an impression in the popular mind that the National Prohibition Act is unprecedented, drastic and unreasonable. As a matter of fact, the half of one per cent standard is taken from the Internal Revenue Law where it has been the test for the intoxicating properties of beverages for a generation, fixed by the liquor men themselves to protect their monopoly. During all this time the standard has never been attacked on the ground of its alleged unreasonableness. Prior to the adoption of Prohibition, forty-two states, not necessarily prohibiting intoxicants, nevertheless defined them. Seven of these states set various odd standards—two of them for example at one per cent. Thirty-five of the forty-two states did not permit an amount of alcohol in excess of half of one per cent without defining the beverage as intoxicating, and seventeen of this thirty-five defined a beverage containing **any alcohol at all** as intoxicating. For the National Prohibition Act to have set a standard other than half of one per cent would have been to upset the precedent of a generation and to have gone contrary to the standard then prevailing in three-fourths of the states in the Union.

Those who object to the present standard are demanding a beverage containing 2.75% of alcohol by weight. This is the mathematical equivalent of 3.5% of alcohol by volume—an amount equal to or exceeding that of most of the beer sold before Prohibition. This percentage is urged in face of the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of *Ruppert v. Caffey*, holding that the experience of the states in enforcing Prohibition has demonstrated that if the frauds and the subterfuges always attendant upon the enforcement of any Prohibition Law are to be prevented, it is necessary to set a rigid standard even though that standard includes beverages not of themselves intoxicating.

The half of the one per cent standard is in accordance with a principle as universal in legislation as in engineering, that is, the recognition of the necessity of a margin of safety. No sky-scraper is built to withstand the average wind, nor yet the stress merely of the highest wind the city has ever known. Beyond this a margin of safety is provided. The same is true in legislation and it matters not whether it be the speed limit for automobiles or the alcoholic content of beverages. The reason for a margin of safety is especially imperative in the case of the alcoholic content of beverages. Dr. Harvey W. Wiley has said, "You may standardize the content of the beverages but you cannot standardize the content of the American stomach". No two individuals react in the same way to the same amount of alcohol so it is necessary to set a very low standard as to the amount of alcohol which will make a beverage intoxicating, in order to include the great majority of the individuals of the nation, and then the standard must be set enough lower to include the unusual individuals. Even then consideration has not been taken of the habit forming properties of alcohol. Alcohol is scientifically defined as a habit forming, irritant, narcotic poison and therefore the margin of safety must of necessity extend far enough to prevent the presence of a sufficient amount of alcohol even to start a habit which would demand an increasingly greater amount of the drug. The beer experiment has been tried and always failed.

The people have declared for Prohibition as the policy of the nation, and their representatives have passed a law to carry it into effect. The test is now between the people and those whose appetites control their powers of reason or who have a personal financial interest, who have been defeated at every point in their direct attack and who are now attempting nullification by indirection.

### American People Should Unite To Teach the Inestimable Value of Prohibition.

The Dayton Malleable Iron Co.

Dayton, Ohio, March 22, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I am still opposed to the liquor traffic to even a greater extent than I was at the time referred to in your inquiry. Then it was legalized, now such traffic except to a very limited extent is unlawful and my opposition therefore is threefold. First, per se; second, because it is in violation of the laws of the Federal and State Government; third, where you find trouble you usually find liquor also.

I have undertaken to ascertain as to the extent of the improvement of the individual economic status in-so-far as savings are concerned but I learn that it is rather difficult for financial authorities to state it as a fact that the savings accounts have increased because of Prohibition. Prohibition came at a time when employment was plentiful and compensation for services rendered was high and when prudent and thrifty individuals because of these circumstances laid aside some of their earnings. It is the opinion however of local financial authorities that a very considerable part of the increase in the savings accounts were due largely to the closing of the saloon, etc. Drunkenness certainly is not as prevalent at the present time as it was during the days of open saloons and existence of legalized liquor traffic for the attendance records of the plants that are under my personal direction and observation do not show the vast numbers of absentees particularly on Monday of each week. I know that substantially all of the absences on Monday were generally due to excesses after the pay day and week end.

I also find that it is only occasionally that our local social agencies find it necessary to get in touch with us because of any of our men's mistreatment of their families while under the old order of things this was almost a daily occurrence.

It seems to me that due to the character of the American people that some governmental agency should in addition to the enforcement undertake in every way possible to educate our people to the evils and dangers of the traffic as it now exists and it seems to me that the public schools would be the place to start. Usually what is impressed upon the child remains with it and the newer generation instead of being possibly luke-warm on the subject will join with the Government in actually stamping the traffic out.

JOHN C. HASWELL, President and General Manager.

### Theory of Prohibition Proven in Fact Is View of a Manufacturer Not Himself a Prohibitionist.

Holeproof Hosiery Co.

Milwaukee, Wis., March 23, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

My belief that Prohibition is desirable is just as strong today as it was when I signed the petition referred to.

I am not a Prohibitionist myself but look upon this matter purely from a scientific and common sense standpoint.

In my own business, conditions have been greatly improved since our employes no longer have free and unlimited use of liquor; and from conversations I have had with hundreds of retail merchants throughout the country, I am convinced that the theory, that the country in general would be benefited by Prohibition, has been proven in fact.

I am willing to admit that some evils that I did not anticipate have developed as a result of Prohibition, such as illicit distilling, etc., but I am positive that the benefits greatly over-balance the evils. I also feel confident that in the course of time the preponderance of advantages over disadvantages will increase.

EDWARD FRESCHL, President.

**A Ringing Statement of the Whole Case in Behalf of Prohibition and Against the Lawless Liquor Interests and Their Accomplices. "When Crime Has Dared the Law to Combat Upon Any Field, There Let the Fight be Without Quarter Until Law Stands Undisputed Master of the Field."**

William H. Thomas,  
Attorney and Counsellor at Law,

Los Angeles, Cal., March 31st, 1922.

[Judge Thomas for the last eight years has been on the bench—the first six of which he served as Judge of the Superior Court in and for the County of Orange, and the last two as Associate Justice of the District Court of Appeal in and for the Second Appellate District of California.—*Editor Manufacturers Record.*]

As a result of Prohibition, and notwithstanding all the obstructions which have been placed in the way of enforcing the Law, I am more opposed than ever to the liquor traffic. It not only has been but now is, in my judgment, the most lawless combination within the confines of our country. It has always talked regulation. It has never lived up to its own claims. As soon as a law intended for its regulation had been adopted immediately the liquor traffic would seek some avenue of escape and to find out some way to violate it without having to be sent to the penitentiary.

There is no question in the world in my judgment that the adoption of the 18th Amendment was one of the greatest pieces of advance legislation that has ever been adopted in our country. The liquor traffic right now is doing everything in its power to cripple enforcement. The law abiding element should do everything it can to uphold the dignity and majesty of the law.

**I agree with Judge Stone of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, when he said recently that:**

**"When crime has dared the Law to combat upon any field, there let the fight be without quarter until Law stands undisputed master of the field."**

As I see it today, it is not a question of Prohibition or no Prohibition that is already an accomplished fact as a matter of law, but rather one of respect for law and its enforcement.

Answering your question as to what has been my experience in studying this question as to the effect of Prohibition on labor or the saving of money frequently spent for liquor and its use in the betterment of homes and the better care of women and children of the land, who formerly spent freely for drink, I beg to state that the best answer to this that I can give is to quote the recent statement by President Harding, where he said:

"In every community men and women have had an opportunity now to know what Prohibition means. They know that debts are more promptly paid, that men take home the wages that once were wasted in saloons; that families are better clothed and fed, and more money finds its way into the savings banks. The liquor traffic was destructive of much that was most precious in American life. In the face of so much evidence on that point what conscientious man would want to let his own selfish desires influence him to vote to bring it back? In another generation I believe that liquor will have disappeared not merely from our politics, but from our memories".

That is the result of my study, to put it in a very much more admirable manner than I could. I therefore adopt that statement as my own.

Answering your question as to whether drunkenness is common at the present time, so far as I can learn as it was under the open saloon and from the liquor traffic, my experience is that the answer to that question must be in the negative. If one were governed by much that he sees in the paper he would be inclined to believe that there would be very few men and women now that Prohibition was in force,

sober. Upon a little further investigation, however, the overwhelming majority of these "reports" appearing in the Public Press from time to time are liquor traffic inspired "reports" and having no foundation whatever in fact.

It is true that stills are found, that home brew is manufactured and occasionally some illicitly manufactured stock is discovered. It is also true that men and women are being murdered. Trains are being held up. Automobiles are being stolen. The virtue of women is assailed. Homes are being broken up through the inhumanity of man to man, but outside of the Prohibition Law I know of no one advocating the repeal of any of the laws now found upon our Statute Books making such acts criminal and providing a punishment by incarceration in the States Prison and even by death itself of those found guilty of their violation.

We shall have some trouble with the liquor traffic for some time to come, but it is doomed as sure as there is a God in heaven, and the next generation I confidently believe will be able to look back upon the experiences of the last hundred years with wonderment, if not with surprise, that we with our vaunted intelligence would permit such things.

In this State, Mr. Edmonds, every subterfuge known to the liquor traffic is being used to thwart the cooperation by the State Forces with the Federal Forces in the enforcement of the Volstead Act. Here the liquor traffic calls itself under various names. It carries on a propaganda, and its strongest weapon in that respect is the purported fact that to adopt a law making it possible for the authorities of the State of California to assist in the enforcement would necessitate a large extra force of men with its incidental expense and consequently that the taxes of the people would be very greatly increased.

The fact is that at the last Session of the Legislature there was adopted in this State by that Body what is known as the Wright Act, a Volstead Act I might say for the State of California. This Act received the approval of our Governor. The liquor traffic immediately got busy circulating a Petition and held the law up under the Referendum. This will be voted upon in this State this Fall. If the people support it, it will not necessitate one dollar extra expense. No taxes will be increased because of that fact. Not an additional Judge will be required. Not an additional Sheriff will be provided. In fact, not a single additional man or woman will be required. The law, if sustained, under the Referendum will simply make it possible for the officials which we now have to do the work. On the contrary instead of raising our taxes the practical effect will be to lower the same for the reason that moneys collected in fines etc. from the violator of the Prohibition Law will go into the coffers of the Municipalities, Counties and State, instead of into the Federal coffers, and this is not speaking selfishly, because it is understood that it was the purpose, as well as the intention of Congress that concurrent authority to enforce the Law should be given to the States.

In other words, we are simply invited to cooperate in upholding the dignity and majesty of the Law and to help enforce respect for law and enforcement and in doing it actually reduce our taxes for reasons stated. I simply mention this because it is one of the subtle and devilishly dishonest methods adopted by the liquor traffic. Even the so-called excess of the use of drugs in these Pacific Coast States is attributed by the liquor traffic to Prohibition. They have offered no explanation for a similar condition in England, or in British Columbia, which is much nearer home.

The information I have from the latter Province in Canada is that the use of drugs is very much more extensive there than here on the Coast, even if it be conceded to be as excessive as claimed by the liquor traffic. In any event the only regulation that will ever do business with the liquor traffic is to annihilate it not only from our nation, but eventually

from the face of the earth. Should that be done, I feel confident that the next generation after the accomplishment of so great a piece of constructive legislation the world over will call us blessed for doing our part to bring to them a "Saloonless World".

Perhaps I have written altogether too long on this matter, but that's exactly the way I feel about it.

I am rejoicing in the fact that undeniable evidences as I see them all about me lead me to the inexorable and inevitable conclusion that with all the obstructions placed in the way of enforcement of prohibition by the nefarious liquor traffic, the advance step that we have taken is so astounding as to be absolutely surprising to me that such beneficent results could have been secured in such a short period of time.

W. H. THOMAS.

#### Even the Slightest Compromise Would Strengthen the Hands of Those Who Are Fighting For the Accursed Liquor Traffic.

Chattanooga News,

Chattanooga, Tenn., March 31, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I was one of the thousand who petitioned for the submission of the 18th Amendment. I think my mind is open on that and other questions, but nothing has occurred or been shown to change my opinion in the slightest as to the wisdom of the legislation or to discourage me in any respect as to its benefit.

I have noted a very marked improvement, wherever I have been as to sobriety, industry and better citizenship. It is true the Law is not yet properly enforced. The sympathizers with lawlessness are making desperate efforts to nullify the Law and secure some modification. Even the slightest of comprises would tremendously strengthen the hands of those who are fighting for the old-time saloon. No greater calamity could come to the American people than to hesitate or turn back. Most of our difficulties now are due to the existence of a different system with countries with which we have communication. They are watching us keenly and if we do not falter, and show increasingly better results of Prohibition they will in time follow suit.

When we reflect on how great a revolution we have undertaken the success up to date certainly has been marvelous.

In the States and communities which were already dry, constituting about one half the country, conditions have been progressively better. In the great wet states, especially on the seaboard the difficulties have been greater, but every month witnesses marked improvement. In Florida I have not seen a drunken man, though this is one of the worst States for smuggling. A recent ruling of the Federal Court here that a vessel may be libeled for the import tax on whiskey (which is held to be merchandise) will exercise a further restraining influence on our English friends.

I was in the midst of the wet and dry fight in Tennessee from 1907 on. I published the first important daily to support the dry party in a local election (the Knoxville Sentinel). It was several years after the state was nominally dry before it was actually so. Legislature after legislature strengthened the laws. Parties cleansed themselves of liquor and lawless elements. Twenty-five thousand Democrats had to vote for and elect a Republican Governor. Cities and counties had to be cleaned up. It was a disagreeable business, but it was worth all it cost to the State.

When the Great War came on we sent thousands of men out of the camp near Chattanooga clean in body and mind, not sotted and diseased as so many were in 1898. They were great soldiers and so from all the training camps they were made fit and this shortened the war.

If intoxicants are unsafe for the soldier why should the

citizen be permitted to have them forced on him? The demand for a return of whiskey is from a small element which either has a money interest or is so selfish as to be willing to jeopardize the many for their own pleasure.

I have seen the effects of liquor on the mountain whites, whose feuds and assassinations are increased in number by it.

I have seen its effects in stirring the most bestial passions of the negro, thus making the race problem more difficult of solution. With no liquor sold it is hardly worth speaking of as a problem.

I have seen it destroy the efficiency of working men and strike their families with the curse of poverty.

I have seen men of fine family and education dragged into the gutter. I have seen politics made corrupt with whiskey money.

Thinking Southern men have seen no reason to change their views.

The South was the first section to take up Prohibition and it is proud of the fact.

GEORGE F. MILTON,

Editor, Chattanooga News.

#### Laboring Men and All Others Vastly Benefited by Prohibition —Drunkenness Has Decreased.

American Soda Fountain Company,

Boston, Mass., March 23, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

My views in regard to Prohibition have not changed since I, with others, signed a petition to Congress some five years ago advocating it.

Looking at Prohibition from a purely economic stand-point I think that all employers of labor, regardless of their personal opinion, will agree that it has been beneficial both to the workmen and business, and notwithstanding the fact that it has not yet done away absolutely with the use of alcoholic beverages, it has made it more difficult to get liquor and has entirely eliminated thousands of bar-rooms all over the country, which for years have been a source of moral degradation and injury to the whole country.

Speaking of my personal experience since Prohibition went into effect, I can state that there has been a considerable increase in efficiency and steadiness of labor. Before the Prohibition Amendment went into effect we had on an average 10% of our men remaining out after payday, but since the Amendment was passed not over 3% of our men are absent.

I have thus far spoken of the business side of Prohibition only, but in my estimation the moral effect of it outweighs the economic side and is of vastly more importance to the country at large. Men who previous to Prohibition spent money for liquor which should have gone to their families, have had the temptation to do so removed, and it has added greatly to the welfare, health and happiness of many families.

So far as my observation goes in clubs, hotels and other public places, drunkenness has decreased so far as to be almost negligible. It is to be expected that the liquor interests will fight so long as there is a possibility of modifying the Prohibition Amendment, but I believe that the number of people who are in favor of any modification of Prohibition are vastly in the minority, and will only succeed if those who believe in the value of Prohibition are not wide awake. I sincerely believe as President Harding does that "in another generation liquor will have disappeared from our politics and memories," and that other nations, particularly our near neighbors, will realize the benefit to be derived from the prohibition of alcoholic beverages.

ISAAC F. NORTH, President.

## Decrease of 50 Per Cent in Arrests for Drunkenness in United States as Shown by Actual Figures—Convictions for Drunkenness in England Increased 65 Per Cent in 1920.

Congress of the United States  
House of Representatives,

Washington, D. C., April 18, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

Any policy of government relating to the liquor traffic which materially decreases drunkenness is tending in the right direction. In making comparisons, the last full wet year, 1917, is used to compare with 1921, unless some other year is more typical.

The high tide of drunkenness in a few places were reached in 1918. In 1917 Boston had 72,897 arrests for drunkenness; in 1921, 30,987. The total for 1920 and 1921 combined is less than that for any full single license year. In 1918 Cincinnati had 14,070 arrests for drunkenness; in 1921 something over 500. In Milwaukee drunkenness, drunk and disorderly conduct combined, gave these figures: 4738 in 1917, 3385 in 1921. The arrests for drunkenness in 1917 in St. Louis were 4958; in 1921, 993. In Washington, D. C., from November, 1917, to November, 1918, the arrests for drunkenness numbered 10,793; during the fiscal year ending July 1, 1921, the number was 5765.

The official records of New York City give the number of arrests for intoxication in 1917 as 13,844. In 1921 the arrests for this cause were 6247.

The police records of Cheyenne, Wyoming, present the following comparison between wet and dry years.

	1917	1921
Arrests for drunkenness.....	907	150
Arrests for disorderly conduct....	849	211
Aggregate for all crimes.....	3,072	1,341

The population of San Francisco, California, increased about 10 per cent from 1916 to 1921, but the arrests for drunkenness decreased from 15,106 to 5530. These cases cited from different sections of the country are typical.

**Comparing the last wet year with 1921 we find a decrease of approximately 50 per cent in the arrests for drunkenness. This is a striking contrast to the conditions in countries like England where the official report filed with Parliament showed an increase in the convictions for drunkenness in 1920 of 65.26 per cent, and where Dr. Templeman, Surgeon of Police, reports 461 cases which have come under his observation where little children or babies were killed by being overlaid by mothers too drunk to even hear their pitiful cries.**

It comes with poor grace, therefore, for our English visitors to be criticizing our Prohibition policy which is decreasing drunkenness at the same rate that England is increasing it.

Recent surveys made by those unfriendly to Prohibition prove that it is a success. The first article of the New York Herald survey admitted that there was a decrease in the consumption of beverage liquor under the Eighteenth Amendment of 70 per cent. Another survey made through the Cosmopolitan Magazine states that the number of drinkers of intoxicants has decreased from about 20,000,000 under the license system to 2,500,000 under National Prohibition. A policy of government that makes such a showing is not a failure but a success. When Prohibition is universally enforced and observed the results will be proportionately greater.

In the discussion of the results of Prohibition two factors must not be overlooked. First, in many states with the more populous centers, such as Baltimore, New York, Philadelphia, San Francisco, New Orleans, there has been no state code to enforce Prohibition until recently, and a few states do not yet have enforcement codes. Enforcement activities were

limited to a few Federal agents. Where enforcement codes have been adopted the co-operation of national, state and municipal officers will tend to better enforcement of the Law. The other factor is that many states were under state Prohibition before the Eighteenth Amendment went into effect. In such states as great a reduction in the number of arrests could not reasonably be expected as in states where the sale of liquor had been licensed.

If you follow newspaper accounts of crime, you will find many of the sensational crimes have their origin in liquor. This does not prove that Prohibition provokes crime—it proves what the drys have always said that **alcohol provokes crime**, and it should be an added incentive to do away absolutely and completely with every form of alcoholic beverages.

Science has demonstrated that intoxicating liquor is a narcotic, water-absorbing, irritating drug or poison. It is detrimental to health. The American Medical Association discourages its use even as a medicine. In the following figures showing the deaths from alcoholism in New York City, 1918, is omitted because influenza influenced mortality statistics and war restrictions had already begun to affect the mortality; 1919 is omitted because half of it was under license and half under war Prohibition:

### Deaths from Alcoholism

1916 .....	637
1917 .....	560
1921 .....	119
Average decrease.....	80%

The Fifty-fourth Annual Report of the New York State Board of Charities for the year 1920 quotes the superintendent of a large city hospital as giving a representative impression of the influence of Prohibition.

“(a) Patients. The intoxicated lodging house type is seldom seen now. In the psychopathic service a marked decrease in the number of admissions for alcoholism is noted.

“(b) Employees. A marked change for the better is noted in their appearance, conduct and performance of duties. They remain longer in the service.”

The year 1921 was the healthiest in the United States, according to figures submitted by 37 leading insurance companies which transact about 80 per cent of the life insurance business of the country. The figures for the first ten months indicate a lowering of the death rate among policy holders from 9.8 in 1920 to 8.24 in 1921.

In the hospitals for the insane in Ohio, of the total admissions in 1911, 11.8 per cent were attributed to alcohol, while in 1921 the percentage from the same cause was 2.7 per cent.

Intoxicating liquor is a menace to the general welfare. It has always been detrimental to the health, wealth and happiness of the people. Its elimination means better home conditions, decreased cruelty, and increased welfare and happiness of the people.

Drink was a factor under license, in 1917, in 27 per cent of the cases handled by the Boston Family Welfare Society. In 1920 only 2½ per cent of the cases were due to this cause, and for the first seven months of 1921 (figures available for this period only) the percentage of cases in which drink was a factor was 2½ per cent.

The Survey sent out a questionnaire to family welfare agencies in the autumn of 1921 as to the role unemployment and other problems were playing in destitution. In the summary of replies (October 15, 1921) the Survey said:

“The little stress placed at the present time upon intemperance as a contributing factor in poverty is one

of the interesting points brought out by replies to the questionnaire. Stockton Raymond, general secretary of the Family Welfare Society of Boston states that 'one fact stands out above all others. Intemperance under Prohibition has been a decreasing factor in the work of the Family Welfare Society.' It has thus been possible for the organization 'to undertake a great amount of constructive and preventive work instead of wasting time in trying to alleviate suffering which could not fail to exist under such an evil as licensed liquor selling.'

The Charity Organization Society of New York City found in 1916 in 3000 families, 598 adversely affected by intemperance, or 19.9 per cent; in 1921, out of 2346 families, 187, or 7.9 per cent, were affected by intemperance.

C. C. Carstens, of New York, head of the Child Welfare League of America, says—"the number of neglected children removed through court action from families where one or both parents drank has been materially decreased. This decrease is so marked that in certain cities reports come to them that drunkenness has ceased to be a factor for the removal of children."

In a report made at Indianapolis by the superintendent of schools, Mr. E. U. Grass, he declared that teachers are unanimous in their opinion that since Prohibition pupils are better fed, better clothed, more regular in attendance, more punctual, less anemic, healthier and happier.

Commander Evangeline Booth, of the Salvation Army, says that there is a marked improvement in the condition of young children; the better prenatal care of mothers, more food, improved clothing, more money, and the absence of inebriation all tell in the life's chance of the infants.

S. D. Fess, 7th District Ohio.

#### Prohibition One of Greatest Blessings to Human Race.

Alexander Manufacturing Company,

Hosiery Yarns,

Forest City, N. C., March 11, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

**I consider Prohibition one of the greatest blessings to the human race that has come about within a generation, and I predict that it will be only a few years until liquor will be practically unknown to the rising generation; and if it saves our young men and boys it will have performed a great mission indeed.**

Where public sentiment is strong for Prohibition it is an easy matter to have the laws enforced and drunkenness suppressed, and an intoxicated person is a rare being. It is generally known throughout the county, and even far beyond the county limits, that the management here will not tolerate, one moment, drunkenness, or the handling of whiskey. Consequently we are not troubled with people of that character. People know they cannot work for us and do those things.

We do not have a police, or an officer of any kind, in our village, and have never needed one. Our people are a law-abiding citizenship—loyal to the best interests of the corporation and to themselves—great believers in public schools, churches and Sunday Schools, and liberal contributors to all charitable objects—almost 50 per cent practice tithing.

Our doctors and merchants tell me they never lose an account among our people and that they always pay promptly, and that they consider an account with any of our people as good as gold.

Practically the heads of every family in our village have bank accounts, and in a great many instances even the young boys do a banking business of their own. We encourage this among all our people, and work in harmony with them in the general uplift of our community. Our people know that we are interested in their general and religious welfare, consequently we have no labor problems.

J. R. MOORE, Treasurer.

#### Better Living, Better Clothing, Cleaner and Better Social Conditions, Among the Many Benefits of Prohibition.

Bradley Knitting Company

Delavan, Wis., March 21, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

The writer is fundamentally and eternally opposed to the liquor traffic. In fact, the fruits of Prohibition intensifies my opposition to the traffic.

As an employer of labor, it has been my province to watch the effects of Prohibition upon our twelve to fourteen hundred people, and we find that the laboring man and his family have directly benefitted in large degree by Prohibition, in fact, more than any other class in America. **Better living, better clothing, cleaner and better social life, happier homes with more contentment, better and steadier workers, averaging more efficient and with less sickness and lost time, are some of the benefits to the workers and society in general.**

Drunkenness per thousand population is not one twentieth as much as in open saloon days, and when indulged in is subject to very much greater criticism and condemnation than formerly. In fact, there is very little sympathy for the drinker in industrial, civil or social life.

In talking with a great many men who formerly drank, the majority expressed the hope that the liquor traffic was forever prohibited. Several elderly steady drinkers, who still get small quantities of liquor, have stated that they were better off under present conditions, and were afraid if the open saloon came back that they could not control the old appetite and feared the lapse into the old booze conditions.

The most serious problem developed through the Prohibition Amendment is the amazing lack of respect for law, not only on the part of the so-called common people, but especially on the part of some of the wealthier members of society who presumably are more highly educated and should have a keener appreciation of the value of American standards as well as a greater desire to see the laws of our land respected and obeyed. If the so-called wealthy man of affairs will not respect the laws of our country, why should we complain of the bootlegger and illicit distiller, working in a small, obscure way?

By all means, let us respect and obey in letter and in spirit the Prohibition Constitutional Amendment.

J. J. PHOENIX, President.

#### Prohibition Has Worked Wonders for America.

Thomas Grate Bar Company,

Birmingham, Ala., March 16, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

Prohibition has never meant as much to the writer and his business as to some others, for he never took a drink in his life and a drinker has always been so obnoxious to him until he never knowingly employed one, and, whenever one unknowingly crept into our organization, we got rid of him. As a consequence, we have always enjoyed a high class organization, but if we are wise we do not have to buy all of our experiences.

By observation we know that Prohibition has worked wonders for industry and the homes of America. It makes no difference how distorted one's mind is, what we see speaks so loud until we cannot hear what the advocates of liquors say; for, the workmen are buying automobiles, homes, good clothes, substantial food, are enjoying life, are better citizens, better fathers and better husbands than under the wet regime. The women and children have more and are happier, see things differently, and, being endowed with a new hope and new abilities, will join forces with Business America and will permit no more legalized dispensing of liquors in America.

ED. L. THOMAS, President.



**Did Not Expect the Millennium at Once: Breaking Law No New Thing for Most Prohibition Violators Who Are in Bootlegging Class.**

United States Envelope Company,  
General Manager,

Worcester, Mass., March 17, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

After the passage of the Prohibition Amendment to the Constitution some of the zealous Prohibition advocates evidently expected the Millennium. I was not one of those. Considering the entrenched position of the liquor interests, the result of years of organization even the dawn of the Millennium was not to be expected.

On the other hand, it was to be expected that the liquor interests would do all in their power to discredit the Amendment and discredit all attempts to enforce the new Law. Breaking the law is no new thing for many in that aggregation have in the main been consistent law breakers from the start. Give the Prohibition Amendment a chance with proper enforcement of the Law and in my opinion no man who has the best interests of our country at heart would consider for a moment going back to the old conditions.

For the past year I have heard more prating about the failure of Prohibition from men who wanted to have it a failure than from all others combined.

Now in closing, may I say the so-called "best people" who brag about being able to buy "a quart of Scotch" etc. are breakers of the Law and in the bootlegging class themselves.

The buyer is not one whit more respectable than the seller. It is 50-50.

JAMES LOGAN.

Mayor of Worcester, Mass., 1908-9-10-11.

**More Convinced Than Ever That Prohibition Is Absolutely Correct—Would Regard Its Repeal as Greatest Calamity That Could Befall the Country.**

West Coast Steel Co..

Tacoma, Wash., March 28, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I am more convinced now than when I signed the petition to Congress, some four years ago, that the enactment of a Federal Prohibition Law, prohibiting the manufacture, sale, import, export and transport of alcoholic liquors, is absolutely correct.

The important thing is the enforcement of the Law. The sentiment in favor of the Law is without doubt stronger now than when the Law was passed. The Government should deal very sternly with that class of un-American citizens who persist in violating any of our laws.

Since Prohibition became effective, we have not been troubled with a single disturbance on account of liquor in our plant. Drunkenness has been lessened 100 per cent. Six years ago it was not uncommon to meet five to eight intoxicated men on my way home every evening, while during the past four or five years, I have not seen more than a half dozen altogether.

In my position as President of the Pacific Building & Loan Assn., I have been greatly pleased to observe the increase in new savings accounts opened by the laboring men. Prohibition is positively the greatest boon to the common people that has occurred for hundreds of years.

I am proud to say that my three boys, 14, 10 and 7 years, will never be able to describe from active observation the appearance and operation of the old saloon.

As stated before, my convictions as to the benefits of our Federal Prohibition Law are deepening every day, and I would regard the repeal of this Law as the greatest calamity that has ever befallen the United States of America.

W. H. REID,

Sec-Treas. West Coast Steel Co.

Sec-Treas. Blewett Tractor Co.

President Pacific Savings & Loan Association

**General Effect Upon Welfare of United States Immeasurable.**

Stanford University.

Office of the President.

Stanford University, Cal., March 24, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I wish to state that I am even more heartily in favor of Prohibition in the use of alcoholic beverages than five years ago. There has been the usual and expected difficulties associated with the enforcement of such legislation, but I expect that there will be a steady improvement along this line. There will be an irreducible minimum of those interested in drinking just as there is always a residue interested in the use of harmful drugs, etc.

The general effect upon the welfare of the United States has been immeasurable. The effect upon the youth of the next generation will make the benefits of Prohibition even more evident than they are today.

RAY LYMAN WILBUR, President.

**Great Good Has Been Accomplished Despite the Fact That Some Rich Lawbreakers Are Debauching Their Friends.**

Ridgway Dynamo & Engine Company,

Ridgway, Pa., March 30, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

Some five years ago, with many others, I signed a petition to Congress asking that appropriate steps be taken to prohibit the manufacture, sale, import, export and transport of alcoholic liquors.

In the light of later happenings, I am fully convinced that the petition expressed the judgment and wish of a very great majority of our citizens and that the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment to our National Constitution was a most signal victory for the forces of righteousness and justice.

The fact that abuses and violations of the prohibitory laws exist in great measure simply proves the need for the greatest effort by the law-abiding people of the Country to overcome this riot of law violation.

The class of people most benefitted by Prohibition is, I believe, the wage earner. As an employer, I observe that workmen, as a rule, have no complaint against the laws. Those who formerly drank have more money to spend for useful things and for the pleasure of their families.

As to the amount of drunkenness in this community, I give you the word of our Chief of Police that there is now about one tenth the drunkenness we had with the open saloon.

Three dangerous elements are, I think, to be found in most communities. First, the rich who laid in a large store of liquor before the prohibitory laws were in force, who boast about it and are debauching their friends by supplying what cannot be bought by these friends. Second, the loud advocate of personal liberty who persistently talks about something having been unfairly put over on the country and who point to violations as evidence that Prohibition is and must be a failure. The poison of their arguments is reflected in the lawless spirit seen so wide spread. To my mind, these men are dangerous breeders of lawlessness and the brood is the bootleggers rightly despised and dreaded by all good people.

My belief is that the present business depression would have brought much more of suffering amongst our people if we still had the saloon and that our recovery will be much more rapid because of its absence.

The confirmed drinker will no doubt find some way to at least partially satisfy his appetite. The bootlegger, whether some of the Prohibition enforcement officers, so called, or a known outlaw, will pass and we will have a new generation which knew not the saloon and its nasty trail.

A. L. BELL, President.

**Wonderful Change in South for Betterment of Working People.**

Victor Monaghan Company,  
Greenville, S. C., March 14, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

You may remember that we had Prohibition in South Carolina for nine years before the Volstead Act was passed so that we have had a better opportunity to see the effects of Prohibition than most of the other states in the Union.

In our judgment, there is no question as to the benefits of Prohibition to the workers in our industries. In the South we have noted a wonderful change for the better along all lines of educational and church work, and the operatives are much more steady and of a higher type of character.

We do feel that since the passage of the National Law, liquor has been easier to secure than formerly and there are quite a few people who would term themselves as better citizens who have ruthlessly disregarded the Law and who seem to feel that law is all right so long as it does not interfere with their personal desires. This has not been noted among the so called working class.

L. P. HOLLIS,  
Director of Educational & Social Service.

**Employees Rarely Lose Time for "Sickness" Now.**

Cheney Bigelow Wire Works,  
Springfield, Mass., March 17, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

The writer is still against the manufacture and sale of liquor as it was formerly done, through the saloons at any rate. Having seen the effects of Prohibition as it has been enforced for the last few months, and the various number of illicit stills that are springing up all over the United States, it seems to the writer that it will be extremely difficult to even enforce Prohibition as it was the intention to do in the first place.

Making liquor so difficult to get has greatly increased the cost, as no one will assume the risk of the sale of the stuff without large profit, and when a manufacturer of liquor can sell his product for from \$5.00 to \$10.00 per quart, the profit is so great that a good many men will willingly take the risk, stand for the arrest and fine, and go right ahead and make more.

The writer is utterly opposed to the saloon ever coming back and if the Constitutional Amendment is to be modified, he would suggest that in every city and town there be some place where liquor may be bought at a reasonable price, and thus take away the opportunity for immense profits as exists today. These places should be either run by the Government, or at least be under Government control, so that no person who is in the habit of drinking too much should be able to get any at all, and nothing of the kind to be drunk on the premises; and no one should be allowed to sell any more than they are now.

So far as the effects of the Volstead Act on the labor situation is concerned, I believe there has been a very great improvement in the condition of the general run of the laboring men. Not being able to go into saloons as they pass back and forth from their work to their homes, they go home with their money and do not stop in a saloon and spend it, as they formerly did. This naturally tends to create a great deal better situation in the labor condition than existed before.

We understand also that while men are arrested today that are seen intoxicated on the street, in almost every instance where formerly men were sent home in that condition by the police rather than arrest them, today there are a great many less arrests for drunkenness than in the old days.

There is still altogether too much of it easily obtained by people who know how to get it; but probably the continual arrest of people who make it, and the destruction

of stills found in operation will gradually discourage the manufacturers so that they will go out of it in time, but it will take a good many years.

While personally I am not in favor of liquor as it was formerly used and sold, I do not know that I particularly favor the present situation. Crime in many forms seems to be on the increase. Whether the liquor situation has anything to do with it, or whether it is simply a natural result of after-war experiences, I do not know. I can, therefore, only answer for our own Company in saying that our own employees almost never lose any time for "sickness" nowadays where formerly quite a little time was lost by some of them.

E. C. SPEAR, Treasurer.

**Hard to Understand How Thinking Men Could Favor Sale of Intoxicating Beverages; Law Enforcement Needed Which Begets Respect for Law.**

Benjamin Electric Mfg. Co.,  
Offices in New York, Toronto, San Francisco, London,  
Main Office and Factory, Chicago, Ill.

Chicago, Ill., April 8, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I certainly feel more sure than ever that the Prohibition Amendment was a great step forward in the public interests, and I am satisfied that great good has been accomplished by Prohibition. I believe that much poverty and suffering have been eliminated; that the children and young people are getting better educations as a result; that our penal institutions are less used; that accidents are less frequent, and that home relations have been greatly improved.

We hear a great deal about the failure of Prohibition, particularly in large cities where those financially interested in the liquor traffic are the most numerous, and where law enforcement is largely ineffective due to corrupt political conditions.

The liquor interests naturally feel very badly about the situation, not only because of loss of profits, but because of loss of control to quite a degree of the political situation due to the closing of the local saloon which was usually a political headquarter of unsavory reputation. It is hard for me to understand how any thinking man, who is honestly interested in the welfare of the community, could possibly favor the return of the licensed saloon or the sale of intoxicating beverages in any other form. I think what is most needed is law enforcement which begets respect for law and the Prohibition Law is as much a law as any other.

R. B. BENJAMIN, President.

**Economic Value of Prohibition Beyond Computation.**

The American Fork & Hoe Company,  
Cleveland, O., March 18, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

We have in no way changed our mind with regard to Prohibition, unless it be, to be even stronger in our judgment of its desirability, than five years ago when we signed the petition to Congress. Notwithstanding the large amount of alcoholic liquors that were in storage at the beginning of Prohibition that would naturally be disposed of in whatever manner possible, even in violation of the Prohibition Laws, yet we see great good accomplished.

Personally we have not seen a drunken man during the past two years, while before Prohibition was enacted, it would not be an uncommon thing to see a half dozen on the street during a day.

We are hoping that as the younger generation takes the place of those addicted to the habit, we will see still further improvement. The economic value of Prohibition, we believe, is beyond our computation.

W. H. COWDERY, President.

**Less Accidents, Less Incompetence and Inefficiency; Better Homes, More Thrift, and Happier Families.**

The American Rolling Mill Co.,  
Middletown, O., March 14, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

As an economic force, Prohibition is bound to bring wonderful results for the average worker in spite of the temporary handicap occasioned by the unexpected and unjustifiable attitude towards this movement, assumed by a few in the most responsible walks of life, many of whom were formerly leaders in the maintenance of law and order.

One has only to study industry, to watch the regular attendance of its workers and the character of their work to see the results that have already been secured.

**Less lost time, less accidents, less incompetence, less carelessness and inefficiency, better work, better homes, more thrift, happier families, and sober and safer and more efficient men who now are finding out what it means to really live where they formerly merely existed.**

GEORGE M. VERITY, President.

**Dr. Robertson of Mayo Clinic States the Case Clearly Against Alcohol and for Prohibition.**

Mayo Clinic,  
Rochester, Minn., March 20, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I am still as much opposed to the liquor traffic as when the petition to Congress was signed.

My position as examining physician, in the early years, to the Coroner of the City of Boston, and in these later years to the Coroner of Hennepin County, Minnesota, where Minneapolis is located, has given me a splendid opportunity of judging the effect of unrestricted sale of alcoholic stimulants. I am not one of those who expected any sudden improvement in either the health or economic conditions of those people who are afflicted with the uncontrollable habit of imbibing alcoholic liquors to excess. Any inherent change in conditions will be a result of many years' education and restraint.

In enlarging these views, permit me to state that personally I have no objection to using stimulants for my own personal satisfaction but I use them the same as I do tobacco, with the full knowledge that they are distinctly harmful, probably even in small quantities, and in excess there is no doubt at all of the disease producing properties of alcoholic drinks in any form.

That the people who have no self-control or knowledge enough to stay away from harmful stimulants should not be forcefully protected from their own indulgence is a monstrous proposition. We attempt to guard carefully other poisons with the approval of practically the entire body politic. I, for one, am perfectly willing to forego the use of this particular poison for the benefit of the entire race. I am particularly concerned with the effects of alcohol on the descendants of confirmed alcoholics and on the economic welfare of their families.

So far as my limited experience can observe, economic conditions amongst the laboring classes are distinctly improved as a result of enforced Prohibition and that is particularly true with regard to the families of those who were accustomed with full license to spend most of their money for their own personal gratification.

Drunkenness is certainly not as common at the present time as in the past, and while death and serious disabling diseases are quite often seen from drinking improperly prepared alcoholic stimulants, cases of acute alcoholism such as were so common in preprohibition days are practically abolished, except in the very large cities, where enforcement of the law has been particularly lax.

H. E. ROBERTSON, M. D.  
Professor of Pathology, University of Minnesota.

**"Good Society" Violators of Prohibition Laws Are Anarchists.**

Coppes Brothers & Zook  
Manufacturers of Nappanee Dutch Klitchenets  
Nappanee, Ind., April 12, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

In reply to your inquiry as to whether the writer and also the management of our company still favor Prohibition as vigorously as we did when we signed the petition quoted in your letter, will say emphatically, YES. We are more than ever convinced of the value and the necessity of total Prohibition in the United States of America.

As to the results of Prohibition in our own community will say that the passage of the recent Prohibition Law has not had any very great effect owing to the fact that this community has had Prohibition for about the past twenty years with the result that you could scarcely find any voters in this community who could be gotten to vote for liquor or any other alcoholic beverages.

The members of this firm could not possibly be more convinced of the great value of total prohibition of all alcoholic beverages than they are at the present time.

The writer's personal observation from travels over quite an extensive part of the United States convinces him of the great value of Prohibition economically and morally.

It is true that there are many flagrant violations of the Law and there always will be more or less, as no law can be enforced or ever has been enforced perfectly, and it is these flagrant violators, the loud mouthed, insignificant minority which are causing a great many people to believe that every one is violating the Prohibition Law. This is not the case; and it simply brings to our attention much more forcefully the curse of the liquor traffic and the extent to which its addicts and supporters will go to break down law, character and everything that is worth while in society to make it worth while to live in; and if for no other reason this would make the writer doubly convinced that Prohibition was an absolute necessity.

Some of these liquor propagandists and violators, though they be very frequently in places of position, would have us believe that under the days of licensed liquor we had a heavenly conduct; no one ever violated a law; no one ever became intoxicated and there were no bootleggers and no one ever died from drinking liquor. The writer feels that their argument is so ridiculous that it would not bear up one second under the truth. The writer has seen too much of this at first hand to be misled by any such ridiculous statements. There isn't any more, if as much law violation now, as far as liquor is concerned, as there was in the licensed days. One great difference being now that our metropolitan newspapers, most of whom are in sympathy with the liquor, will take occasion to put on the front page every case of violation that they can come across and make a great ado about it. This in itself ought to be evidence as to how common the liquor violations used to be; they never attracted anybody's attention much less the newspaper reporter.

The writer has overheard on Pullmans a few men, who pass as being our country's elite, talk about where they got their liquor and the great amount of violations of law going on due to Prohibition. In a couple of cases the writer has had the opportunity to talk the matter over with them, getting these men to, reflect upon the former days and getting them to admit that any habit that would drive men to commit crimes and violate law was a very detrimental thing to the country; the discussion readily came to a close.

The supporters of Prohibition must be careful not to be misled by the sinister propaganda of the organized liquor institutions; and the fact that a large number of men, prominent

in business life, are among the violators should not be considered a valid reason for doing away with Prohibition. It simply brings to light those in our society who obey laws that suit them and have no intention in business or in their domestic life or any place where they might happen to be of doing anything which doesn't suit their own particular ideas. In other words they are anarchists under cover by traveling in good society.

Another thing that must be remembered is this: that your great outcry against Prohibition comes from your large cities and does not come from the great mass of the people. The bootleggers and their supporters are mostly of foreign extraction and are not good old American stock, which is another very significant fact.

The sentiment that exists in our large cities, especially those who ought to know better in the higher circles, does not represent the sentiment of the vast body of American citizens, and you can readily become convinced of this if you would travel the vast agricultural regions and the rural districts and towns of mediocre size, and you will be readily convinced that the mediocre sized cities ranging from 50,000 to 200,000 are strongly in favor of Prohibition.

Some of these loud mouthed propagandists would be very greatly surprised were the matter of Prohibition or not Prohibition to be put to a vote all over the United States, they would find that they were members of a very small minority.

**It has also been the methods of the liquor traffic to lie, misrepresent or do anything else that happens to suit their convenience. They are afraid of facts and do not stick to them because every bit of truthful evidence is against them.**

They distort court figures and police records of arrest to suit their own convenience, but investigate your court records and your police records and you will find the actual truth regarding Prohibition which stands in a very favorable light.

The fact that your liquor cure institutions have had to go out of business and the fact that many jails are empty and the fact that all arrests for drunkenness and a vast number of other crimes have been so materially decreased is the best argument in the world for Prohibition. There are hundreds and thousands of cases of families who now receive support who formerly went hungry and almost naked; this can be produced as additional information in favor of Prohibition.

The older members of this firm will testify as to the great advantages and privileges of Prohibition in this community over what it was when we had saloons. This little town is an industrious town with a number of factories here. Practically every one of the employers and employees would praise Prohibition.

What more need be said. The writer is fully convinced that truthful facts could be produced to bolster and confirm every statement made herein, and you can rest assured that the State of Indiana is in the Prohibition column and as far as the writer can learn, its intention is to stay there, if not nationally, it will stay there as a state, as will many other states.

**The East doesn't think for the West and as soon as they get that out of their heads the better, and there are a whole lot more people who live outside of the five hundred mile circle with New York City for the center than there are that live in that circle.**

The writer has as you will admit, voluminously expressed his opinion which he believes can truthfully be stated represents the opinion of the management of this concern and in fact the management of every business institution in the town of Nappanee, and the vast majority of business men, farmers and laboring men and women in this particular county.

It would have been folly to think that every one would obey the Prohibition Law. It is a wonder there aren't more

violations. We had the same thing in our community and the same argument when this community and county went dry, but after a few years the law breaking subsided, and the violators became law abiding, self respecting citizens. Give Prohibition a 10 year trial and you won't find a large number wanting liquor back.

HAROLD F. COPPES.

### **His Views Directly Contrary to Testimony of Others as to Savings Deposits.**

Cleveland, O., March 10, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

My views have taken a radical change since the last time I wrote you. Prohibition in my opinion is a failure, it has filled the country with bootleggers, poisonous liquors and dope and made our last condition worse than the first.

Men do not take home their wages that was formerly wasted in saloons, more money does not find its way into savings banks (at least in this city) the fact is savings deposits are shrinking and have been since Prohibition went into effect, there are more arrests for intoxication than all other crimes and while liquor may disappear from the memory of the next generation there will be in its place a generation of defectives, dope users and blind.

Prohibition can and should be modified so it can be enforced.

I certainly do not favor going back to the saloon neither do I favor the opposite extreme.

D. R. JAMES,  
(Empire Rolling Mill Co.)

### **Vigorously Opposed to Liquor and Has Seen the Great Benefits of Prohibition But Is Inclined to Give Way to the Criminal Element.**

Baker-Vawter Company  
Originators and Manufacturers  
Loose Leaf and Steel Filing Equipment

Benton Harbor, Mich., March 21, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I have your letter of March 16th addressed to my father, Mr. Wm. A. Vawter, who died December last. I feel sure that until the end he had the same opinion of the Prohibition question that he expressed to you some five years ago. While I have not gone into this matter very deeply, perhaps you would be interested in my personal observation.

I am as much opposed to the liquor traffic as I ever have been, in spite of the large amount of more or less open bootlegging which is being conducted pretty well over the country. I know of a good many individual cases of workmen, where the men and their families have been much benefited by the closing of the saloons, and I feel that the money that used to go into the saloons has gone partly into the savings account, and partly into retail expenditures. I am inclined to believe this has been a somewhat important factor in the large volume of business that the retailers have enjoyed, especially along luxury lines. From observation, drunkenness is not nearly as common now as it was under the open saloon. Of course, I deplore very much the lack of respect for the law, which is shown in the illegal liquor traffic, that is aided and abetted by such a large proportion of so-called enlightened members of the community. This is a serious question, and one that must be faced and worked out to a conclusion. Something must be done to stop the illegal liquor traffic, and change the attitude of the people generally towards it, even if it is necessary to amend the present laws and let down the bars to a certain extent.

WM. A. VAWTER, II., President.

**Increased Efficiency, Wonderful Improvement, and Accidents  
Reduced 75 Per Cent Under Prohibition.**

Gulf States Steel Company,  
Birmingham, Ala., March 10, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

Results since Prohibition went into effect have shown a wonderful improvement in our employes—a large number of whom are colored people. The efficiency of the labor has been increased to a very large extent, and the accidents around our plants have been reduced at least 75 per cent. The improvement has also been shown by a better satisfied class of workmen and their families. Numbers of them are buying homes and their families are much better dressed and the general feeling of contentment among the wives and children is very marked.

There is nothing that I can see after close study and observation among our various employes, that would for a moment indicate that the sale of intoxicating liquors should ever again be allowed in our country.

C. A. MOFFETT, President.

**Total Deaths in New York City Due to Alcoholism Reduced  
Two-thirds: Unanswerable Arraignment of Liquor Traffic  
by Former Commissioner of Health of New York City and  
Now Lecturer at Columbia and Cornell Universities.**

Haven Emerson, M. D.,  
New York, N. Y., March 17, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

Opposition to the liquor traffic which I expressed in 1916 and 1917 as Commissioner of Health of New York City, and as a practicing physician prior to that time, was based upon evidence that the use of alcohol for beverage purposes caused disease due solely to the effect of the alcohol, contributed largely to the complication and severity of other diseases not primarily due to alcohol, and uniformly lowered human resistance to communicable diseases and infections.

Nothing has occurred since the operation of the Federal Prohibition Amendment to change my opinion as to the undesirability of the liquor traffic.

I believe future study of the events of the past three years in the field of public health and preventive medicine will demonstrate the correctness of the prediction which I ventured to offer in Cleveland at the time when National Prohibition became operative, to the effect that **nothing since the application of modern bacteriology to the control of communicable diseases will have so powerful an effect in reducing the incidence of disease and the general death rate as Prohibition.**

Minute analysis of the phenomenal drop in the death rate from tuberculosis in this City and in many other parts of this country during the past decade, and in particular during the past two years, has convinced me that one of the potent factors in this reduction has been the ability of the wage earner to maintain a reasonable and sufficient standard of living, including housing, clothing, food and opportunity for rest and recreation for himself and his family, chiefly because the five or ten per cent of his income which used to go regularly to the purchase of alcoholic beverages now is applied to the decencies, comforts and necessities of life.

Study of the incidence of industrial accidents convinces me that a notable reduction in the accidents, particularly on Mondays and the day after holidays, has been due chiefly to the lack of opportunity of wage earners to become poisoned by alcoholic indulgence between Saturday noon and Monday morning.

Study of the experience of relief and social agencies indicates that the problems of desertion, brutality to wives, neglect of children and in general family dependency due to

ignorance, vice and disease have been materially affected for the better by the difficulty of the wage earner in obtaining alcoholic drink.

Study of the experience of hospitals shows a tremendous reduction, and in some instances a complete disappearance from the hospital wards of the patient suffering from the chronic effects of alcoholic intoxication; as for instance alcoholic cirrhosis of the liver and alcoholic multiple neuritis, and a marked change in the type of the patient admitted for alcoholic intoxication to such hospitals as Bellevue Hospital in New York and Cook County Hospital in Chicago.

Further convincing evidence is shown in the tremendous reduction from about twenty-one per cent to four per cent of admissions for psychoses due to alcoholism into our State hospitals for mental disease.

The total deaths in New York city due directly or indirectly to alcoholism have been reduced to one third of the ordinary pre-prohibition number.

That drunkenness has been notably reduced and in some parts of the country has almost totally disappeared from the experience of police, hospital and courts, is I believe true, in spite of the busy newspaper propaganda to the effect that this is not the case.

I believe it can be shown, although I have no personal information to support my statements statistically, that the present period of non-employment throughout the United States, which is, according to such competent observers as the officers of the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, more serious than at any time in the past twelve years in this country, is being tolerated by the victims of the economic disturbance, better than has been the case heretofore because of the general sobriety, the ability to protect themselves and their interests and safe-guard their small savings which results from their freedom from alcoholic excess, which in the past was a common accompaniment of idleness and the cause of constantly increasing debts.

If this statement proves to be of use to you I am willing that it should be published with such other opinions as you may obtain from those who signed the petition to Congress prior to the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment.

HAVEN EMERSON, A.M. M.D.

Lecturer on Preventable Disease and Public Health Administration at Columbia University and Cornell University Medical Schools.

**The Mass of Voters and Their Representatives Realize From  
Experience That Liquor Business Can Not Have a Place  
in Orderly Society.**

Harvard University,  
The Harvard Engineering School,  
Cambridge, Mass., April 6, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

**I favor Prohibition quite as vigorously as I did when I signed the petition to Congress to which you refer. My conviction in favor of Prohibition would be strengthened, if such a thing were possible, by the present tactics of such of the defeated opposition as are giving countenance to the principle that one is at liberty to break the law, and ridicule, and otherwise impede law enforcement if the law does not meet one's approval. Such tactics should encourage the law-abiding to increased vigor in their demand for law enforcement, not only for the sake of completing the suppression of the liquor traffic, but for the still deeper purpose of effectively rebuking that idea. No government can be run on that basis.**

**With regard to your other questions, I am not in a position to offer testimony from my individual observation that is of any unusual value. Of course I observe and deplore the in-**

fluence of the sensation-loving press, traditionally wet, in fostering an impression that there is a desperate contest of doubtful outcome between the law-abiding and the law breakers, with the added zest of a suggestion of possible victory for the disorderly, just as they exploit public appetite for any excitement. But I believe that the mass of voters and their representatives now realize from their own experience that the liquor business can be granted no place in a would-be orderly society.

One reason for Prohibition which I think has not been sufficiently brought out is the right of the non-drinker to be free from the dangers and burdens inflicted on him by the prevalence of the liquor business. The non-drinker has a personal liberty to life and pursuit of happiness which takes precedence over the desire of individuals to indulge in ethyl alcohol.

I should like very much to be kept in touch with the results of your inquiry, for I believe it is timely and that it promises to be of much value.

LEWIS JEROME JOHNSON, M. AM. SOC. C. E.  
Professor of Civil Engineering

**Because the Criminal Element Is Violating the Law, Mr. Nicholson Would Repeal the Law and Thus Surrender the Nation's Sovereign Power to Criminals of High and Low Degree.**

Meredith Nicholson,  
Indianapolis, Ind.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

It is true that I favored Prohibition five years ago but I confess that my attitude has been considerably changed by the practical operation of the Volstead Act, or its lack of operation. It manifestly has had only feeble support in public sentiment. We have got rid of the saloon with its social and political evils, only to divert the liquor traffic to new and more dangerous channels. The youth of the nation are, I am convinced, the chief sufferers. Everywhere I go I hear the same story of boys and girls drinking cheap and dangerous forms of alcohol. Under the license system they had at least a degree of protection. Now they drink because it's "smart," and hearing their elders bragging of the ease with which the laws may be violated they fall prey to the bootlegger.

If for no other reason than the dire peril in which we have placed thousands of boys and girls of high school age by depriving them of the protection of the old laws for the safeguarding of minors—ineffectual though these often proved to be—the present discouraging attempt at Prohibition should be abandoned.

While there are obvious benefits from Prohibition, chiefly due to the obliteration of the saloon, I should say that these are equaled by the development of new evils. The political and social mischief of the old America saloon was enormous; it wrought its own destruction; it had to go. But if I had a vote on the matter I should support a measure that would permit beer and light wines with, however, the strictest Prohibition against whiskey and other forms of strong spirits.

I have seen more drunkenness under Prohibition than I ever saw before, even in years when I was a police reporter. I know of no city where alcohol in some form may not easily be obtained. The poor man, deprived of his beer, is not unmindful of the fact that great numbers of his prosperous fellow citizens buy all the liquor they want at exorbitant prices. I should say that a very considerable number of all the people of every class who formerly indulged in a tippie of some sort continue to drink as before. And many men and women who never drank or drank in moderation under the license system find a joy in doing what a national law tells them they

may not do. The government has failed lamentably to enforce the law. I believe the conditions have changed for the worse in the past year.

President Harding's sanguine expectations of the Prohibition laws do not seem to me justified. They are not justified in any community with which I am familiar. The government's failure or inability to enforce the laws even with the expenditure of a great treasure of money is bringing all law into ill-repute. The statute books of American states are littered with laws that are not or can not be enforced. Many of them should never have been passed. The Volstead Act, made conspicuous by the fact of its powerful support by a Constitutional Amendment, either should be enforced or repealed. With the present contemptuous attitude of so many people—perhaps of the majority—toward the Law, I doubt whether it can be enforced with even measurable success without an extension of police and espionage powers of government to a point that would be intolerable.

All the arguments against alcohol on economic and social grounds stand. I have nothing to throw into the scale against them. But with widespread evidence that the Government is unable to enforce complete Prohibition it seems to me the part of wisdom to attempt to accommodate and adjust the laws to public sentiment. And this sentiment I believe to be favorable to less sweeping regulations than those embraced in the Volstead Act.

It is not without reluctance that I make this confession. I had expected great things of Prohibition, but to date it has proved an expensive and calamitous failure. I believe the time has come to view the matter deliberately and sanely. The original measure was too drastic; we should now go back and begin over again, profiting by experience and incidentally not forgetting that there are more than a hundred millions of us, all quite human.

MEREDITH NICHOLSON.

**Money Which Formerly Went to Saloons Now Goes to Women's Savings Accounts—Many Manufacturers Testify That Prohibition Has Improved Mental, Moral and Physical Conditions.**

Peoples Bank and Trust Company,  
Passaic, N. J., March 17, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I am just as much in favor of the abolition of the saloon and the elimination of rum, as I was five years ago when I signed the original petition.

I live in a manufacturing community, have a large number of manufacturers as customers, and I know it to be a fact that Prohibition has improved the mental, moral and physical condition of the operatives in our mills.

I know it also to be a fact that a great deal of the money that was spent in saloons is now deposited in the savings accounts of the various banks. I know this also to be a fact, that the savings deposits of the banks in this city increased last year one and one-half millions of dollars.

I think there are a large number of cases of drunkenness because of the fact that the bootlegging rum, which is now sold, produces a species of intoxication which is very different from the old effect.

I believe that with proper enforcement of the 18th Amendment, bootlegging can be prevented and cases of drunkenness largely eliminated. I have had personal interviews with a large number of women, who have opened savings accounts, and in almost every instance, have learned that the money came from the head of the family for the purpose of thrift, in preference to spending it in the saloon.

BIRD W. SPENCER, President.

**The Crime of Those Who Buy Bootleg Whiskey Is Stimulating  
in Poorer Men a Hatred for All Law.**

Finch, Pruyn and Company, Incorporated  
Manufacturers of  
News Paper, Lumber and Wood Burnt Lime  
Glens Falls, N. Y., March 31, 1922.

When I signed the petition to which you refer in your letter, I realized that any Prohibition by law, including that of the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages, was justified only by (1) necessity, (2) lack of means of attaining the desired end without prohibitory legislation, (3) probability of successful enforcement of Prohibition. I then believed that these three conditions existed. I had no idea that the Law would be so difficult of enforcement or that there would be so much sympathy from people, who are ordinarily law-abiding, with infractions of this Law. Had I foreseen this situation I would at least have deliberated more carefully before signing the petition. However, I am not willing to say that I regret having signed it or that I think the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment was a mistake. On the other hand, I am inclined to agree with President Harding and to believe that after a sufficient time the country will have adjusted itself to the requirements of the Amendment and will have become accustomed to getting along without alcoholic beverages, with resulting advantage. I think the foregoing answers the first two questions.

In reply to the latter two, I would say that my observation is that the average wage-earner is better off as a result of the Prohibition laws and makes good use of a greater part of his wages. I also believe that drunkenness is considerably reduced. It is commonly stated, however, that the respect of the working man for that class of people that has more of the world's goods than he has, has been greatly lessened by his observation of the attitude of many of them toward the Prohibition laws, and more particularly that those amongst the working class who have been used to their alcoholic beverage feel the injustice of the Law which denies it to them and does not likewise keep it from those who can afford to pay bootlegging prices. I believe that this statement is true and important.

MAURICE HOOPES.

**A Lawyer Who Has Turned From Representing Adverse Interests to Whole Souled Fight for Prohibition as Marking the Greatest Forward Step of This Generation.**

Vought, Moser & Magrady,  
Attorneys at Law,  
Mount Carmel, Pa., April 1, 1922.

It is a pleasure for me to comply with this request, as I have been especially interested in this work for the past year, as it relates to my own community. While I did not sign the Memorial to Congress five years ago, and, in fact, at that time was representing in a professional way interests adverse to Prohibition, I have always believed in the strict observance of the laws of Nation and State; and, noting the contempt for these particular laws in some quarters, I have been moved to sever all connection with a business that has taken a stand inimical to real American ideals and have lately thrown all the weight of such influence as I have on the side of law enforcement.

As to the results of the Prohibition laws, I believe I am in a position to speak from first-hand knowledge about the good effects it has produced. I happen to live in one of the wettest spots in one of the wettest States in the United States. Yet, there can be no possible doubt about the fact that even here wonderful good has already resulted from

the operation of the Law. The superficial observer, or the prejudiced one, would say that violations of the Law have increased and that drunkenness is still a scandal among us, but such conclusions are reached because the observer has failed to give careful thought to the facts.

Five years ago the sight of drunken men on our streets was too common to excite comment, or even notice by most people. The fact that the drunken man is observed today is proof that he is a rare example. It may be true that some men are drinking more today, (although I doubt that,) but it is equally true that more men are getting away from the habit. Many weak-hearted friends of Prohibition have been lamenting because they had expected the nation to become bone-dry immediately after the Law became effective. They did not reckon with the desperation and evil character of their foe.

In my community we have a population with a foreign element of about 60 per cent of the whole. I happen to know that many of these are in sympathy with Prohibition, especially the women, but they are not outspoken about it through fear of others. If given the opportunity to express their honest convictions, large numbers of them would certainly stand for the strict enforcement of the Prohibition laws. I believe this same thing is generally true throughout the country. The friends of Prohibition have sat quietly back while its enemies have raised bedlam. To me, the noise of the antis is the surest proof of the increasing grip of the law.

I am convinced that the 18th Amendment represents the greatest forward step in this generation and that historians will use it as a marker for a new epoch in the nation's history.

PRESTON A. VOUGHT,

**Marked Improvement in Appearance of Men, Women and Children Under Prohibition.**

Roanoke Mills Company,  
Manufacturers of Colored Cotton Goods,

Roanoke Rapids, N. C., March 16, 1922.

In regard to the practical results of Prohibition in our town and community, we wish to state that during the period of our operation while open saloons were in force we had a number of families who were always hard pressed for the necessities of life. The heads of these families did not work, but to the writer's own knowledge drank a good deal and spent a large portion of their families income from the mills for whiskey. These families at that time were always indebted to the mills. The same conditions existed during the period of dispensaries but after North Carolina was made a dry State we noticed advances to these families diminished very rapidly and in a short length of time they did not call upon us for additional help. The heads of these families also started to work and there was a marked improvement in the general appearance of their homes and their children.

Our losses from advances before Prohibition went into effect were ten times, or more, greater than they are at the present time although we employ twice as many operators now. There is no question in our mind but what it has been very beneficial to our town and community.

J. M. JACKSON, Secretary.

Short.

F. A. Emerick, Manufacturer,

Fulton, N. Y.

1. Yes.

**Dr. Keen Agrees With President Harding's Statement About Prohibition.**

W. W. Keen, M. D.

Philadelphia, Pa., March 17, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

In reply to your letter of March 16, as to my present position on Prohibition, I beg to enclose a copy of a letter which I wrote to another organization on February 1st. This expresses my views exactly.

I concur with your admirable quotation from President Harding which was embodied in the petition which we presented.

W. W. KEEN.

One extract from Dr. Keen's letter to which he refers is as follows:

"In Paris, in July, 1920, as President of the International Congress of Surgery, among other problems before us surgeons, I took up the alcohol question, and warmly advocated Prohibition. Several of my friends urged me most strongly not to do this as it would antagonize the French, in view of their extensive wine and champagne industries. I persisted in bringing it before the Congress, and I was gratified to find, from the manifest approval of the audience, that they agreed with the position I took. Of course, I did not enter into such details as the Volstead Act, but spoke only on the general subject of Prohibition.

"I am sorry that I cannot cooperate with you in this matter, if the intention is to insist upon the literal provisions of the present Volstead Act."

**General Effect of Law Is Beneficial.**

Englewood, N. J., March 20, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I am, myself, a total abstainer and have been for years strongly in favor of temperance, and therefore supported, generally, the Constitutional Amendment for Prohibition, but I have always been a little doubtful whether this is the wisest way to secure temperance as I certainly do not feel that all of the provisions were wise. Nevertheless, the general effect of the legislation has, I believe, been favorable. That is, to say, much more good has been accomplished in cutting off the saloon and in generally preventing drinking of alcoholic liquors than the evil which has resulted, as I believe it has, in many cases by the reaction produced on the minds and acts of a number of men and their rebellion against an arbitrary Prohibition, as they regarded it.

It has been charged that one effect of Prohibition has been to increase the number of those using drugs, but I am not in possession of information as to whether or not this charge can be substantiated. I believe it is true, that in a large number of instances, persons who were unable to procure the sort of beverages which they desired since the passage of the Amendment, have obtained poisonous substitutes, but in spite of all of these evils, I am inclined to believe that the general effect of the Law has been beneficial.

MORNAY WILLIAMS.  
Attorney at Law.

**Glad to Cooperate in State-Wide and Nation-Wide Enforcement.**

Indiana University,  
President's Office,

Bloomington, Ind., March 20, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I am still vigorously in favor of Prohibition and shall be glad to join in state-wide and nation-wide effort for its full enforcement.

WILLIAM LOWE BRYAN.

**Even a Blind Man Can See Value of Prohibition in Detroit. No Opposition to Volstead Act Except From Liquor Propaganda.**

Lincoln Motor Company,

Detroit, Mich., April 5, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

In Detroit the favorable effects of Prohibition are apparent to even a blind man and this is despite the fact that we are but across the river from wet Canada and have a large population accustomed to drinking liquor.

Our Chief of Police reports Prohibition to be a very decided advantage in preserving order. Our merchants and bankers rejoice in securing the business which was formerly worse than wasted in the saloon. In manufacturing circles there is no question as to the decided advantage of Prohibition and particularly to the employees themselves. At one time there were eighteen saloons near our plant and at noon and nights these were crowded with men who returned to their work with trembling hands, unsteady legs, distorted visions, and soured dispositions. The turn-over of labor and the frequency of accidents due directly to these conditions—to say nothing of indifferent workmanship and spoiled material—was formerly one of the heaviest burdens of industry. Prohibition has certainly made for contentment and prosperity among employees in industry.

I find in Detroit no great sentiment in opposition to the Volstead Act except what may fairly be traced to the propaganda of the Distillers. The most disappointing feature is the polished lawlessness of our so-called "better classes". The salvation of our country is assured because the great mass of common people obey this as other laws because it is the law of the land.

HENRY M. LELAND, President.

**Twenty-five Years From Now Average American Will No More Take Alcohol Habitually Than Opium Is Now Taken.**

The Outlook Company,

New York, N. Y., March 17, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I had forgotten that I had signed any specific petition to Congress in behalf of Federal Prohibition but if I did sign such a petition I do not regret it. During the agitation of the subject I was in favor of a permissive and not a mandatory amendment on the ground that the Constitution should state general principles and that the ways and means of putting those principles into action should be left to Congress.

It may be true, however, as the advocates of the mandatory amendment claimed, that Congress would not have taken advantage of a permissive amendment to enact serious and effective legislation prohibiting the noxious and anti-social use of alcoholic beverages. I am still not sure but that a highly intelligent people of the right kind of moral development might use beer and light wines temperately.

All these, however, are academic questions today and do not answer your inquiry. We have a prohibitory amendment and I believe that every effort should be made to respect it, obey it, and try the experiment faithfully and honestly. My own judgment is that if it is faithfully and honestly tried the result, as already indicated, will lead the American people to put alcohol where it belongs—among other toxic drugs to be used only as other drugs in the pharmacopoeia are used.

I think it is more than probable that twenty-five years from now the average American man or woman will no more think of taking alcohol habitually than they now think of taking opium habitually. If this state of things can be brought about in our civilization, it will be an enormous gain for social, moral and efficient standards of life.

LAWRENCE F. ABBOTT, President.



**Wonderful Results of Prohibition in Louisville, a Community  
Once Famous as the Center of the Whiskey Traffic of  
Kentucky.**

Executive Department  
Office of the Mayor

Louisville, Ky., April 4, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

From such facts as I have been able to gather Prohibition has proven a large factor in the increase of savings accounts in this city. While the general deposits in the city banks today show a slight decrease, as compared with 1919, the savings accounts show a decided increase, e. g., in July 1919 they totaled \$18,000,000, today \$27,000,000, or an increase of 50%.

There is practically no vacant property in our city. Capital previously invested in the liquor business has sought new fields of investment. This fact very materially relieved Louisville from the general depression experienced in other parts of the country in the last two years. For the same reason doubtless Louisville has not suffered from unemployment as other cities.

It is quite evident that money formerly spent for liquor is being put to more useful purposes now, viz: for clothing, schooling, the betterment of home conditions, etc.

Our police court records tell a very interesting story; for instance, in 1919, 6172 persons were arrested for drunkenness, in 1920 the total was 1053, and the arrests for grand larceny were 478 in 1919 and 313 in 1920.

Very little drunkenness is noticeable in Louisville at this time.

HUSTON QUIN, Mayor.

**Plant Superintendents Testify to the Great Benefits of  
Prohibition.**

A. M. Byers Company,  
Manufacturers of

Genuine Wrought Iron Pipe and Oil Country Tubular  
Products,

Pittsburgh, Pa., April 13, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

In response to your letter of March 8, 1922, asking for my views on the Prohibition question, and what effect the Prohibition Amendment has had in the bettering of the condition of our employees, I am enclosing copies of letters written me by the Superintendent of our Girard, Ohio, works, and our General Superintendent, who are in daily contact with the men, and who, therefore, speak from a decidedly practical point of view:

My own personal opinion is that, while at the present time individuals can still purchase liquor at a price and there is a greater tendency now than heretofore to drink while drinking is good, I believe that there is a great diminution in general drunkenness and its evil effects; and I also believe that almost every community, large and small, is sick and tired of the bootlegger, and that the sentiment is probably stronger than ever before to eliminate entirely the manufacture, sale, or importation of hard liquor into this country.

L. M. JOHNSTON,  
Second Vice-President.

The copies of the letters are as follows:

A. M. Byers Company,  
Pittsburgh, Pa.

South Side Plant, April 10, 1922.

Since Prohibition went into effect, we find our employees are steadier and much better fit for their day's operation.

The money that went for booze now goes into other channels, to make their home life better, and place them on a much higher standard of living.

The conditions in our city life is much improved over the days of open saloons, it will only be a short period of time until the presence of a drunken man will cause as much amusement to the mass of the people, as the organ man does to the school children.

We trust Prohibition is here to stay.

H. E. GROSS, General Superintendent.

A. M. Byers Company,

Girard, O., April 9, 1922.

Conditions are so much better that there is no comparison between the present and the conditions under the licensed saloon, notwithstanding the fact that the administration of the village was very indifferent to law enforcement. Up to the first of the present year, when new officials took charge, the percentage of drunkenness in the mill was reduced, in my opinion, 80%. We have men who were in the habit of getting drunk every pay day, and losing from one to three days, who have ceased drinking entirely, and the others drink but very little.

Our records show much better conditions, both as to operation and injuries at the present time over any period. I would not for anything go back to the old conditions. There is no question in my mind but what the Prohibition Amendment does prohibit.

W. F. LANE, Superintendent.

**A Great Blessing to the Laboring Man and Family—Great  
Decrease In Drunkenness.**

Bradley Logging Company,

Portland, Ore., March 24, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

Several years since I was one of a committee of one hundred, whose purpose was to eliminate the saloon from Oregon. About five years since I was also a petitioner to Congress for the enactment of similar legislation to govern the United States.

I am convinced that this action by both State and Nation has been fully justified and has proved a great blessing to the laboring man and his family. It has provided better homes and care for women and children than when the working man spent his wages for drink.

It is my conviction that not more than 10 to 20 per cent of drunkenness exists, at the present time, as compared with the time of the open saloon.

JOHN S. BRADLEY,  
Vice President and Manager.

**To the Leniency of Courts in Imposing Fines Instead of  
Workhouse Penalties Is Due the Disregard of Law.**

The B. F. Nelson Mfg. Co.

Minneapolis, Minn., March 21, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I still hold the same views in regard to the liquor traffic as I held at the time of signing the petition to Congress and I think as I look over the conditions, Prohibition has accomplished a great deal toward bettering the condition of the wives and children among those who drank in the olden days. There seems to be altogether too much use of liquor at the present time but this I do not think is due to the Volstead Act but rather to the leniency of our courts which generally give a fine instead of a workhouse punishment. As long as it is a fine the trafficker in liquor can easily pay it with the high price of his article and this to me seems to be the worst loop hole. I do not believe drunkenness is nearly as common now as when the saloons were open.

B. F. NELSON, Treasurer.

**Better Conditions for Women and Children and Less Drunkenness But Criticizes Methods of Law Enforcement.**

The Buckeye Rolling Mill Company,

Steubenville, Ohio, March 29, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I am, in a way, still opposed to the liquor traffic, in that I still think, Prohibition much the better thing for the working people and especially the mothers, wives and children of the working man, as they are the main sufferers, incidentally, at least, though the husband, brother, or son, as the case may be, is, and always would, or will, be benefited in many ways, by spending his wages for necessities for his family and not for the purveyor's of strong drinks family.

There are some features, however, in this State, as covering the enforcement of what I believe, is denominated the "Crabbe Law", especially in this County, that are not only open to criticism, but the just cause of strong condemnation. We have, here, a host of constables, deputy marshals, and what not, who are zealous in their duty (?), not through commendable motives, at all, but merely to get the fines, or fees, allowed by the law mentioned. In pursuing their ways, many flagrant cases have come to light, and to such an extent, as almost, to disgust, otherwise friendly adherents of law and order. Some of these brave (?) officers, are braver, when arresting women, than they are in going after the male offenders, as many of the latter, are passed by, possibly because they think "discretion the better part of valor". Understand me, please, as not taking the side of law violators, but as, rather, not taking the side of such officers, many of them of the scum, themselves, who are on the side of righteousness, for revenue only. My conclusion, therefore, is that the Crabbe Law, as administered, is a mistake, or putting it more strongly, a joke.

Answering the third and fourth items on your questionnaire, Prohibition, has served the very good purpose, of better conditions for the home, as drunkenness is much less common, in this vicinity, at least, so far as I can observe.

As to your fifth question, a sane enforcement of the law, and by sane officials, their motives being based on justice and common sense, will improve matters, materially and make for respect, where too much disrespect now exists.

You understand, also, that the views given above, are entirely personal, and reflect, only, my own individual thoughts and convictions.

ISAAC M. SCOTT, President.

**Sees No Beneficial Results From Prohibition Though Advocates Control Through License of Seller and Buyer of Alcoholic Drinks.**

International Bedding Company.

Baltimore, Md., March 10, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

From our viewpoint among our organization, we cannot see where the results from Prohibition have been beneficial. On the other hand, it would appear it has been detrimental for many reasons, one of which is; the employees feel as though a man with money can obtain whiskey, beer and wine if he wants it, while a man without money has to do without it entirely.

It seems to appear that if light beer and wines were sold through the groceries or drug stores, so it could be used at home, it would in all probability obtain the results for which the Prohibition Law was enacted, as well as give our country a revenue, which it is greatly in need of, and at the same time, quiet a lot of dissatisfaction that seems to be existing. It would certainly do away with bootlegging, which business seems to be growing instead of decreasing.

The writer admits that all alcoholic drinks are dangerous

if used to excess, the same as any other liquid or food. Yet if an effort was made to control it, through licensing a man to sell as well as drink it, the same as is done with an automobile, then if those privileges were abused, to revoke his license, in this way, it would be a very easy matter to dispose of the big issue as well as crime that is now sweeping the country.

H. M. TAYLOR, President and Treasurer.

**Thinks It Failure in His Territory and Advocates High License.**

Greenwood Cotton Mill,

Greenwood, S. C., March 18, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I am sorry to tell you that so far as my observation goes, Prohibition is a failure in this territory. No doubt the consumption of whiskey has been reduced to some extent by the Federal Prohibition Law, but I believe the whiskey that is now being consumed is far more damaging to mind and body than anything that has ever been used as an intoxicant in many generations.

Since, as I see it, Prohibition is practically a failure, a very high license might be better than the present arrangement.

JAS. C. SELF, President and Treasurer.

**Prohibition Law Has Done More Good Than Any Other Law Enacted Is Opinion of One Formerly Opposed to It.**

Brandon Mills.

Greenville, S. C., March 11, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

My idea is that there is no law that has been enacted that has done the good that the Prohibition Law has. Before this Law was enacted, our mill communities were troubled no little with "drunks" and the families of a great many of our people were destitute, on account of the men spending most of the money that they received for liquor. Now, you never see a drunken man around the mill villages and the people are happier and living better than they ever did.

At first I was opposed to the Prohibition Law, but after seeing the effect on our people, I am very much in favor of same.

AUG. W. SMITH, President and Treasurer.

**Much Good Has Been Accomplished.**

The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company

Office of Vice President

Operation and Maintenance

Baltimore, Md.,

At Pittsburgh, April 11, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

Your letter March 9th addressed to President Willard, making inquiry concerning the practical results of Prohibition, has been referred to me.

We have noticed an improvement in this condition with respect to the number of employes dismissed for violation of the rules pertaining to drinking.

In our Savings Feature of the Employes' Relief Department the figures of the amount on deposit, prior and subsequent to the effective date of the Prohibition Law, as well as the average per depositor does not indicate that Prohibition has had any material effect one way or the other.

The elimination of the corner saloon has without doubt materially improved the whole general situation and I believe that is generally conceded. It has also been beneficial with respect to the character of work performed and it can be fairly stated that in that respect much good has been accomplished.

C. W. Galloway, Vice President.

**Of Untold Benefit to Individual and Dependents, and May God Give Us the Strength to Prevent the Return of the Barbarism of Drink.**

Opelika Cotton Mills,

Opelika, Ala., March 14, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

We think Prohibition is of untold benefit both to the individual who is practicing it, and to those who are dependent on him for support.

Under Prohibition our operatives produce more by working full time; whereas in the old days under a system which operated open saloons in this city, it was our regular Monday morning's job to pay the fines of many, who were not only unfit to work that day, but who had squandered their previous week's pay in drink, gambling and other riotousness. In fact the conditions are so changed with us that we can hardly realize we once had such a place as a grog shop, with it's Negro counter in the back end of a building and the White Man's counter in the front where rowdyism reigned and rottenness was constantly hatched out.

Sure none would desire the return of such barbarism, and may God give us strength in this Nation to fight with sufficient might to prevent the return of such heinousness as reigned in the days of the legal sale of whiskey in an open bar.

M. M. McCALL, President and Treasurer.

**Thinking People Practically Unanimous in Favor of Prohibition. The Volstead Act the Greatest Forward Move in the History of the Country.**

The First National Bank,

Gardner, Mass., March 20, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I am unalterably opposed to the liquor traffic in any form.

Admitting that the Law is only partially enforced and that, by reason of this fact, there has been brought into existence an alarming disrespect for law, I am firmly convinced that the Volstead Act has been the greatest step forward, morally and economically, in the history of the country.

I am assured of this because drunkenness upon our streets has practically disappeared, because the former regular occurrence of sprees after pay day no longer exists, because bills contracted by the working class are more regularly and promptly paid and because the savings departments of all banks have shown an astounding increase in deposits since the Law went into operation.

I think the importation of liquor into this country should be prohibited by National law and that it should be made a criminal offense to manufacture or sell intoxicating liquors. The propaganda against Prohibition is not from reliable but erratic sources. Thinking people are practically unanimous in its favor and are becoming more so.

A. B. BRYANT, President.

**Believes Prohibition Excellent for United States But Would Further Nullify Its Effectiveness By Legal Sale of Wine and Beer.**

Puget Sound Navigation Company.

Seattle, Washington, March 24, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I consider Prohibition an excellent thing for the entire United States. I do believe that sale by the Government of light wines and beer, properly regulated, would be a wise thing to try. As illicit distilleries and bootlegging have become so general in the United States, I think a Government regulated sale of light alcoholic drinks would stop this traffic.

JOSHUA GREEN, President.

**If Good Citizens Would Prevent Reappearance of Evils of Alcohol Let Them Sternly Resist Sinister Agitation for Restoration of Traffic in Wine and Beer.**

Los Angeles, March 27, 1922.

Decidedly I am still opposed to the liquor traffic as strongly as when I signed the petition to Congress. In fact my opposition to it—to the use of alcohol as a beverage in any of its forms—has gained support from the results of Prohibition under the Eighteenth Amendment. The inference which should be drawn from the numerous instances of death caused by drinking wood alcohol and the strange and noxious concoctions containing alcohol should convince any thoughtful person that the destruction of the liquor traffic is a social necessity.

Ought a system to be restored which has a tendency to degrade human beings to such an abject and desperate state?

The awful human misery and wreckage disclosed through Prohibition is a powerful argument for and not against the Amendment.

The banishment of the saloon and the outlawry of the liquor traffic—even under imperfect enforcement of the amendment and the statute has proved a blessing to the home—to the father, mother, and child. The money saved has provided better food, clothing, and housing, and therefore better health and morals; while the decrease of drunkenness has tended to restore domestic peace and happiness.

Taking the country as a whole, notwithstanding misleading propaganda of the organized wets, I feel sure, from all the evidence available, that drunkenness is far less common than it was under the open saloon and licensed liquor traffic.

Moreover, crime, so far as it is due to the use of alcohol, has greatly decreased; for the present increase in crimes is due to various other causes.

In conclusion, permit me to stress a fact which appears to me to be of basic importance. Taking advantage of a popular fallacy, the wets are striving to influence public opinion in favor of legalizing the traffic in wine and beer, asserting that these drinks are wholesome. The assertion is false. Careful research has proved, for instance, that wine and beer are more efficient producers of criminals, than is any form of so-called "spirits." There are various causes to account for this fact. One principal cause may here be noted: the larger quantity of alcohol which enters the system through the use of beer or wine instead of spirits. It is the quantity of alcohol which counts; and because of the much larger bulk of these "lighter" drinks consumed, the quantity of alcohol imbibed is actually greater. Perhaps I may refer to my own discussion of "Alcohol and Crime" (*American Journal of Sociology*, July, 1918) where the more important results of the scientific study of this phase of the subject are examined.

If the good citizen would prevent the return of the saloon and the reappearance of the chief evils from the use of alcohol, let him sternly resist the sinister call for the restoration of the traffic in wine and beer.

GEORGE ELLIOTT HOWARD,

Professor of Political Science and Sociology,  
University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb.

**A Necessary and Permanent Policy for the United States.**

Carleton College,

Northfield, Minn., April 3, 1922.

The events of the last five years have greatly strengthened my opinions in favor of Prohibition as a necessary and permanent policy for our nation.

JOHN H. GRAY,  
Department of Economics.

**Never a Problem in This Organization Where Half of Workers  
Are Women and Girls.**

H. J. Heinz Company,  
Pure Food Products  
"57 Varieties"

Pittsburgh, Pa., March 14, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

In our industry we were never much affected by the matter of intemperance among employes. We have seen statements with respect to some industries, to the effect that following pay days a large number of employes, being a percentage that was material, were absent from work. In our industry many women and girls are employed—approximately one-half of our work force—and so far as our male employes are concerned, absenteeism on account of liquor was always negligible. That was true before Prohibition became effective, so far as our work people are concerned, so we see no real change. Of course we had employes who drank, but it was only in isolated cases that it was carried to the point where it became noticeable.

We do not feel that we have any first hand information that will enable us to make any statement on the subject, apart from our own industry—and as stated, it was never a problem there.

E. D. McCAFFERTY, Assistant Secretary.

**Because the Law Is not Enforced and Criminals in High  
Places Violate the Nation's Law He Has Changed His  
Views on Prohibition.**

Mazyck P. Ravenel, M. D.,  
University of Missouri.

Columbia, Mo., March 11, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

Since signing your petition five years ago, I have modified my views on Prohibition but not on temperance.

There have been a number of reasons for this change of opinion. In the first place, the dry people have not acted squarely to the public. In the second place, the enforcement of Prohibition is an expensive farce, and I cannot see any earnest effort or desire on the part of the Administration to enforce the Law honestly. For example, take the case in Boston a short time ago, when a dinner given by the Governor of the State, at which his Prohibition officer was present, was raided and an abundance of liquor found. This resulted not in the punishment of the Governor or his Prohibition officer, but in the discharge by Commissioner Blair at Washington of the assistant enforcement officer.

Lack of enforcement should not of itself condemn the principle, but I have lost faith in the desire of the Administration to even attempt proper enforcement, and in this I see an indictment of human nature. The Democrats were not much better than the present Republican party.

I am convinced that Prohibition as we have it has led to the deaths of thousands of people. Statistics show that in Chicago there were something like 20,000 more Christmas drunks in 1921 than there were in 1920. At Bellevue Hospital in New York, there were something like 200 more cases treated Christmas 1921, than 1920. Wherever I can get figures which seem to approach accuracy, the same story is told. Prohibition has resulted in raising the price of liquor—in depriving honest people who are not drunkards, of what is a pleasure to them and an inherent right. Personally, I would be willing to forego the use of liquor for the rest of my life, but I do object most strenuously to the difficulties in the way of obtaining alcohol for legitimate purposes, and the cost of alcohol for such purposes. I am willing to admit the truth of much which the President says in the statement which you copy, but I do not believe it covers the entire ques-

tion, nor do I believe that entire prohibition is necessary to produce these results. My association in societies and elsewhere is largely with people of the highest type,—educators, professional men, etc. In talking to them I do not find one man in every twenty-five who hesitates to break the Law as it stands whenever it suits his convenience or his purse. The rise in the price of grapes from \$15.00 a ton up to \$135.00 a ton is sufficient evidence of the amount of home brew that is being made, and I know further than this that the swapping recipes for various types of home brew is common. Prohibition has been on trial amongst the Mahometans for a thousand years, and even in view of all the evils of unrestricted liquor traffic, which I freely acknowledge, I believe that we make a better showing than the Mahometans have done with their thousand years of prohibition. I would regret very much to see the saloon and unrestricted use of liquor come back, but concerning Prohibition as we have seen it in the United States, I have a very low opinion,—so that I have changed my attitude, though I have not changed my opinion concerning temperance.

MAZYCK P. RAVENEL, M. D.

**Now Thinks Law Was Too Drastic in Beginning, But Believes  
in Generation or More All Will Be Well.**

Johnson & Johnson.

New Brunswick, N. J., March 20, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

It is true that about five years ago I signed a petition endorsing the Prohibition measure which was later enacted into law.

My ideas in regard to the whole matter have undergone some changes since that time owing largely to what has occurred in the enforcement of Prohibition laws, and what is occurring every day and what seems to me to offer insurmountable difficulties in the enforcement of such laws has occasioned the change in my ideas concerning them.

I think it is a truism that radical reformers in most great reform movements want to reform too quickly and too much. When one stops to consider that the liquor traffic; the saloon; intemperance and all the evils attendant thereto has been the growth of centuries, it does not seem the part of wisdom to try to stop it all in one short space of time.

If the reformers had been content at first to abolish the saloon; stop the manufacture and sale of the high percentage of alcoholic beverages and give to the populace 3½ to 4 per cent beer and possibly 10 to 12 per cent light wines, the measure would not have met with the reaction with which it is meeting and must meet in the future.

The bootleggers are growing immensely wealthy and the Government correspondingly poor. The bootleggers are trafficking in an impure poisonous and diabolical liquor, more harmful to humanity than all that has gone before. Home brew will go on and increase and the Government will get no revenue from it.

The Government should allow light wines and beer and tax the same sufficiently to raise the revenue to pay the expenses of stopping the saloon and the manufacture and sale of all the high percents of alcoholic beverages.

It is unquestionably true that many cases can be pointed out wherein great benefit has resulted from the Prohibition Laws. It is also true that many cases of harm can be shown.

The President has stated that all will be well in another generation. I think he is right, but it will take that much time and probably a great deal more.

I think the reformers should not try to reform the world in such a short period.

J. W. JOHNSON.

**Greatest Advance In Civilization World Ever Experienced, Marked By Enactment of Prohibition Laws and Their Enforcement Is Supreme Test of Principles of Our Democracy.**

University of Pittsburgh,  
School of Engineering,  
Pittsburgh, Pa., March 27, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I am glad to again have the opportunity of expressing my views in favor of Prohibition.

Since signing the petition, I am more firmly convinced than ever that Prohibition is good, and that the enactment of our Prohibition laws marked one of the greatest advances in the civilization that the world has ever experienced.

We may truly say, however, that the enforcement of these laws is the supreme test of the fundamental principles of our democracy.

Our greatest trouble has been with the enforcement of the laws. We have many thousands of officers throughout the country who are sworn to enforce the laws, but only a small percentage of them are true to their oath. In past years, liquor has corrupted politics and thereby seized the law enforcing machinery of practically all cities. So that now we have laws which we expect the violators of these laws to enforce. But although this be true, I believe we are making wonderful progress in building up the enforcing machinery. The grafters and criminals are being found out and placed where they belong and where they can do less harm to society. I am very sorry, however, that all of the penalties are not much more severe.

J. HAMMOND SMITH,  
Department of Civil Engineering.

**If the Liquor Arguments Against Prohibition Are Valid, Then All Laws Against Criminality Should Be Abolished.**

Simon Henry Gage,  
Professor Emeritus of Histology and Embryology in  
Cornell University,  
Ithaca, N. Y., March 26, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

Relative to Prohibition, let me say that I feel more firmly convinced every week that the only way to eliminate an evil is to stick to it, and not get discouraged because it is a hard job.

To the argument that the Prohibition Law interferes with the liberty of the individual, it has been over and over again pointed out that any law for the benefit of the community must interfere to a greater or less extent with individual liberty, and that it is sure to be violated by those who are lacking in community instinct.

To the argument that this Prohibition Law cannot be enforced because many in the community feel that it interferes with individual liberty, the answer has been and must ever be that a greater or less number of individuals in every community feel that every law that restrains them from what they wish is not to be obeyed. Hence not one of the "Ten Commandments" is obeyed by every one; and not one of the laws of the State made for the protection and well being of the community but what is repeatedly violated. If then the argument in the case of Prohibition is valid, every law interfering with individual liberty to do whatever a person wishes, regardless of the good of the community, together with the Prohibition Law, should be abolished.

Probably the loudest in condemning Prohibition, the boldest horse thief, and the most skillful safe cracker, would say that this was going too far. They would be willing to give freedom to their particular individualism, but other laws for the protection and benefit of the community and the individual would seem wholesome to most of them.

SIMON H. GAGE.

**It Will Soon Cease to Be "Smart and Clever" to Become Drunken, Though It Will Take Generation to Eliminate Desire for Alcohol.**

The University of Wisconsin,  
Madison, Wis., March 18, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I see no reason to change my attitude toward the liquor traffic as we had it before Prohibition took effect. I feel confident that the benefits of Prohibition have already been profoundly felt in every section of the country. Of course, one could not expect that there would be complete Prohibition immediately. Any one who understood human nature would know that there would be a temporary reaction against Prohibition in which some persons who had not gone to excess before would go to excess now. No great reform can be accomplished without a certain amount of intensification of the evil, but this is only temporary. A small proportion of our people have indulged in liquor more excessively since Prohibition than before it, partly by way of protest and partly by way of indulging in an orgy before the means of doing so are completely taken away from them; but this is a passing phase of a profound modification in our personal and national habits.

Five years from now most of those who indulge heavily in liquor at the present moment will have forgotten about it. It will cease to be smart and clever to become drunken. Already there is apparent a recovery from the first reaction against Prohibition, and people are ceasing to talk about drinking, or to make a display of their ability to secure liquor for consumption.

The rising generation will not know the taste of liquor; they will not see it being consumed in public places; they will not form a taste for it or a habit of indulging in order to conform to group practice, and so they will have no wish for it. But it will take a generation completely to eliminate the desire for alcohol and the practice of ridiculing Prohibition and glorifying alcoholic indulgence. No student of racial psychology believes that Prohibition could take full effect at once. It is meeting with greater success than could reasonably be expected. Most of our people are not thinking about liquor; they have no wish to indulge in it. It is only a small proportion of habitués and "smart alecks" who are indulging and prolonging the reaction against Prohibition.

M. V. O'SHEA, Professor of Education.

**Has Faith in Underlying Morality of People of This Country to Compel Enforcement of Prohibition Laws.**

Frankford, Philadelphia, Pa., March 18, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

From my earliest boyhood days, the prohibition of the liquor traffic has been a hope I have cherished, and I am unchanged in the conviction that it is a necessity to any country in order that the largest economic, social, and moral achievements, may be secured.

That such a law would meet with difficulties in enforcement was expected, and the results to date are probably quite as complete as we could have hoped for.

Contending with an appetite that held thousands in captivity, to satisfy which liquor seemed a necessity; with a business furnishing veritable gold mines to thousands who are now fighting as unto death, and the fact that these businesses are largely in the hands of citizens of foreign birth who cannot grasp the ideals of Americans, it is not surprising the Government has met with difficulty in enforcing this Law. The fact that in many places officials are derelict in their duty adds to the difficulty.

That the closing of saloons and the great reduction of intoxicating liquors is producing good results is borne out not only by statistics which tell a very encouraging story, but by

observation and contact with men and families that have been under the direful influence in the past. Many men who were hard drinkers would be most active in fighting a return to the old order.

Some unthinking men who assert their rights are curtailed and who have a private stock, when asked their position on the question of the return of the saloon as the dispenser of intoxicating drinks, are emphatic in their opposition to such a return.

While there are occasional drunken men seen on the streets, I believe this is due not to the prevalence of drinking, but rather to the fact that here and there vile liquors are partaken of in private homes that make men very drunk.

My own opinion is that just as the unsettled state of the public mind caused by the War is gradually returning to normalcy, and the unbalanced conscience and disturbed ideas of men's rights are coming back, so as time goes on the underlying morality of the people of this country will assert itself, and public opinion will make this Law as effective as any other law of the land.

JOHN WALTON.

### To Return to the Saloon System Would Be Crime Against People—Drunkenness and Brutality Lessened.

Orr Cotton Mills,

Andersou, S. C., March 13, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

Prohibition as compared to the old saloon system unquestionably reduces the consumption of alcoholic beverages, and increases the comforts of the working mans' home to such an enormous extent that a return to the saloon system would be a crime against the home and against the moral well being of the people as a whole. Almost, if not quite, to the same extent, the sale of whiskey through a State or County dispensary system, as was tried in South Carolina, will encourage the use of iutoxicants and lessen the comforts of the home as would the old saloon system.

Drunkenness, and its accompanying brutality is, under Federal Prohibition, very materially lessened; yet, the law is not respected by men who have always been law abiding and constructive citizens. Penalties for violation of the law are so mild as to amount to only a small license to the "bootlegger," whose business has been very profitable, and whose punishment, when detected in violating the law, has been excessively mild; consequently many have entered into a business that is unlawful, and, at the same time, is patronized by many good people, with the result that respect for law, for law enforcement, and for those who administer the law, has decidedly decreased to the detriment of the people generally. Advocates of the present law claim good citizenship demands that illegal whiskey should not be purchased, and while their theory may be correct the facts are that good citizens, men who are of great value to mankind, do purchase the illegal commodity and resent the infringement of their personal liberty as carried in the present law.

As a teetotaler of more than twenty years standing, and as an official where large numbers of working people are engaged in earning an honest living, I would regard the sale of whiskey through the saloon, or dispeusary, as a great calamity, and fully believe the evil effects of such a course would be disastrous to the country. At the same time I question the wisdom of entirely eliminating the sale of all beverages where the beverage does not cause a harmful influence on any considerable number of people. In my opinion the sale of beer by the County when there is not more than three or four per cent of alcohol in the beverage, would increase very little, if any, the drunkenness in the community, and very possibly inebriety would decrease. Certainly the sale of beer being in the hands of the County authorities, with the consequent revenue to the County, would be an ad-

ded incentive to detect the vender of the beverage now being sold which is of such terrible consequence to the drinker, and often to those who come in contact with him. I am inclined to think the sale of beer should be permitted by individuals under drastic regulations, and with a license paid to the County of sufficient importance to deter the seller from violating the law, and make it to his interest to cooperate with the authorities in detecting the "bootlegger" because of the competition afforded by the latter. The number of dispensers should be limited to the County seat, and should in no case be in excess of one dispenser to each five thousand of population of the incorporated city or town which constitutes the County seat. Beer stations should be open only in the daytime, or while the sun is shining.

As I do not drink, perhaps my judgment as to beverages is not good, and yet, being temperate, certainly removes the temptation to appeal to my own personal appetite.

JAS. D. HAMMETT, President & Treasurer.

[The lawless man, rich or poor of high or low degree socially, who violates the law by making or buying alcoholic drinks is a criminal exactly as the "bootlegger" and is guilty of seeking to destroy all honor and virtue and all law.—EDITOR MANUFACTURERS RECORD.]

### While Women Can Vote the Eighteenth Amendment Is Secure.

Wm. H. Walker,  
Consulting Chemist,

Boston, Mass., April 5, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I welcome the opportunity afforded by your recent letter, to heartily endorse my previous action in opposing the liquor traffic before Congress. Notwithstanding the mass of irrelevant and largely fallacious arguments with which the opponents of the 18th Amendment have confused the issue, I am convinced that an analysis of the situation today will show conclusively:—

First, that there is now very much less drunkenness in the streets and public places than formerly. I have closely observed the crowd of men in and leading to the two large railroad stations in Boston, particularly on Saturday nights. The fact cannot be denied, that when formerly, men going home drunk was a most common occurrence, now such a sight is seldom seen.

Second, that a much larger percentage of the wages of laboring men now goes to provide food and better homes for their families, than when liquor could be easily obtained. However much we may hear of "home brew," the fact remains that but a small amount of the weekly pay roll is thus absorbed. Home made liquor is both troublesome and unsatisfactory in the majority of cases, and in my opinion will disappear with this generation.

Third, that a great deal of the opposition to the 18th Amendment and the ridicule of the results thus far attained, is due to a difficultly definable sort of braggadocio on the part of many people. Many consider it "smart" to bewail the destruction of their liberty, (wherein they confuse liberty with license) and recount with apparent pride the success in evading the law. In my opinion this position is artificial and will disappear.

Fourth, that the millions of women who now find their lives made easier and their homes more attractive by the absence of liquor, will forever prevent by their voting strength, a return of the saloon or anything like it. While women can vote the 18th Amendment is secure.

Fifth, that no one who takes the time and trouble to study the economic waste occasioned by the liquor traffic will for a moment be misled by the superficial arguments put forth by the anti-prohibitionists; but rather will he be lead to support the Government in an honest enforcement of the law.

WM. H. WALKER.

### Experience Under Prohibition Removed All Doubt as to Its Advantages: Some Specific Achievements Which Challenge Attention.

The Commercial Bulletin

Boston, Mass., March 20, 1922.

#### *Editor Manufacturers Record:*

When I joined with others a few years ago in advocating National legislation to prohibit the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors in the United States, I felt some doubt as to the wisdom of the course that we favored.

That doubt has been removed by the remarkable results that have been accomplished by National Prohibition.

Nobody claimed that National Prohibition would stop all drunkenness, and many of us would not have believed it possible to accomplish by legislation the splendid gains for sobriety, health and happiness that are manifest today. The only disappointment in National Prohibition has been the disappointment of those who wished to see it become a flat failure.

Americans are a law-abiding people, and the great mass of our people obey the law in regard to intoxicants as well as other laws. If rich men are able to buy and drink intoxicating liquor, they are able also to buy other forms of poison, so that the defiance of the Law by a comparatively small class in the community need not alarm us.

The open saloon has gone, and liquor is no longer served at clubs that formerly dispensed it.

In spite of the worst business conditions in many years, the year 1921 showed surprising gains for sobriety over the days before National Prohibition.

Many figures of reports of the courts and of State institutions support this statement, but we are best convinced by what we see.

In Boston we seldom see a drunken man now, but the most striking gain is seen in the unfortunate men who were formerly victims of the drink habit.

A former schoolmate of mine who was in the down and out class has been sober, self-supporting and self-respecting since the coming of National Prohibition.

A workman whom I have employed was frequently arrested for drunkenness and seldom worked more than three days a week. Since the coming of National Prohibition he has worked steadily, and in less than a year he had an account of over \$600 in the savings bank. In the old days he had no overcoat in the coldest days of winter. Now he is decently and comfortably clothed.

I would gladly go without wine for the rest of my life to allow these men to be happy and useful citizens under National Prohibition. Would you not do as much for a friend or neighbor?

COURTENAY GUILD.

### Has Had Marked Effect in Bettering Economic and Moral Situation.

University of Kentucky

Lexington, Ky., March 30, 1922.

#### *Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I have not changed my attitude concerning prohibition. I lived in Iowa back in the nineties when Prohibition was first established and I lived in North Dakota in the early days and was in Minnesota when county option law was established and I have, in consequence, seen the earlier violations of these laws with the result that later on they came to be respected.

In this community, Prohibition has had a marked effect in bettering the situation economically and morally.

FRANK L. McVEY,  
President.

### Temptation to Drink Removed From Pathway of Majority of Young People—Where Would You Want Your Children to Grow Up, Amid Saloons or Free From Them?

The University of Minnesota,

College of Science, Literature, and the Arts.

Minneapolis, Minn., April 13, 1922.

#### *Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I am as thoroughly convinced of the desirability of Prohibition laws as ever. Drunkenness is very greatly decreased. I very seldom see a drunken man any more and the opportunity and temptation to drink has been removed from the pathway of the great majority of young people.

Twelve years ago a business man said to me, "I am looking for a new location, but I can not think of coming to your city. I have two boys to bring up. I have seen more saloons and more drunkenness in fifteen minutes' ride through your city than I have seen in fifteen years in my home state." The country as a whole is now approximately on the basis of his "home state."

I do not believe that the present selfish propaganda will induce the people to go back to the old economic and moral waste.

J. B. JOHNSON, DEAL.

### No Nation Can Prosper So Long as Liquor Traffic Is Permitted to Exist.

A. M. Todd Company,

Crystal White—Double Distilled

Essential Oils, Etc.

Kalamazoo, Mich., March 21, 1922.

#### *Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I was fortunately born of parents who saw the evil suffered by humanity through the use of intoxicating drinks, and their teachings had much to do with influencing my action through life. When I became a young man I had opportunities of enlarging my vision when I realized that the saloon was an enemy to economic prosperity as well as a question of right living and believing that neither good citizenship nor economic prosperity could exist while the saloon continued I joined the Prohibition Party believing at that time that it was the greatest national issue. This was about forty years ago and I continuously worked for complete Prohibition until it became enacted into law. I have no reason now to change my views and still believe that no nation can prosper so long as the liquor traffic is permitted to exist and I intend to do everything I can to maintain the present Prohibition Law which I consider the most important act of legislation in America for the present century.

(Ex-Congressman) A. M. TODD, President.

### Should Piracy on High Seas Be Permitted Because It Was Difficult to Suppress?

Mary Antin

Wellesley, Mass., March 21, 1922.

#### *Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I have to state emphatically that I am as firmly in favor of Prohibition as I was at the time when I signed the petition to Congress some five years ago.

The difficulties that have been encountered in enforcing the Prohibition Law are in my mind no argument whatever in favor of restoration of the liquor traffic. It was very difficult at one time to clear the seas of pirates, and yet that was not taken as an argument in favor of permitting piracy to endure. All the pains of readjustment that this generation may be subjected to will be but a small price to pay for the inestimable blessing of a world that shall have forgotten it was once under the sway of the drink evil.

MARY ANTIN,  
Author and Lecturer.

**A Thorough Enforcement of the Law Would Bring to Women and Children a Greater Blessing Than Any Other Law We Ever Enacted.**

Aermotor Company,  
Manufacturers of  
Windmills, Engines, Pumps, Water-Supply Goods,  
Steel Structures for Electric Transmission Lines.

Chicago, Ill., March 21, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I am even more strongly opposed to the liquor traffic than when I expressed my views prior to the ratification of the 18th Amendment. Even the partial trial which Prohibition has had has demonstrated fully that a thorough enforcement of this Law would bring to the women and children of this land a greater blessing than any other law we have ever enacted.

I am unable to understand how any man who has given the subject thorough consideration is willing to jeopardize this blessing to the women and children of our country by a determination to satisfy his own personal desires for alcoholic stimulants.

LEWIS C. WALKER, President.

**But There Would Be No Prohibition If Wine and Beer Were Legalized.**

Bethlehem, Pa., March 16, 1922.

I think Prohibition is an utter failure unless light wines and beer can be legalized, and the intelligent and better class of people in this country then be persuaded that their duty to uphold the Constitution is greater than their desire for hard liquor.

A. C. DODSON.

**Once Thought Law Too Drastic and Favored Beer and Light Wine, an Amazing Admission by One Who Admits the Great Lessening of Drunkenness.**

The Presiding Bishop and Council,  
Protestant Episcopal Church,

New York, N. Y., March 18, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I have seen no reason to change my attitude toward the matter of Prohibition since I signed the petition to Congress to which you refer.

It is, however, a most humiliating thing to realize how Prohibition has brought out the inherent lawlessness of the average American. It is a tragic comment upon our democratic institutions that a law enacted by the people should be so largely honored in the breach rather than in the observance. Worse still, to my mind, is the manner in which deliberate infractions of the law are regarded as a matter for jest and half-approval on the part of an otherwise law-abiding community. To have the law of the land thus held up to ridicule and infringement is, to my mind, the worst feature of Prohibition, possibly worse than the liquor traffic itself.

I am convinced that from the economic standpoint, Prohibition has been of infinite value among the so-called laboring classes. There is unquestionably less drunkenness and consequently less crime as a result of Prohibition.

I have, from the beginning, felt that the Law was too drastic; that an exception should be made in favor of beer and light wines; but I am not so sure about this now. I think that if we can get along without hard liquor, we could probably get along without beer and wine, though I confess to a fondness to both in moderation.

WM. C. STURGIS, Ph. D.,  
Educational Secretary Dept. of Missions.

**A Great Help to Industry and to Men.**

Duquesne Steel Foundry Company,

Pittsburgh, Pa., March 16, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

While I am not a believer in Prohibition, particularly in the way it was first saddled on the country, and secondly in the way the administration of the law has been carried out in the past two years; however, there is no question in my mind that it has been a great help to industry as a whole. Very few men are now absent after pay-day, whereas, in the old days we used to count on a fairly large percentage. This money is undoubtedly being spent in a wiser manner than it was in the past, and I believe it will be for the ultimate benefit of the country to have some sort of Prohibition in effect.

D. C. BAKEWELL, President.

**Opposed to Liquor Traffic Though Wants Beer, Believing Its Use Will Lessen Appetite for Stronger Drink.**

Smith, Kline & French Co.,  
Wholesale Druggists.

Philadelphia, Pa., March 17, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I speak for myself only.

I am opposed to the liquor traffic to the same extent as when I signed the previous petition to Congress, except in my opinion, it would be wise to permit the manufacture and sale of beer. I have modified my views in this respect for the reason that the use of a moderate stimulant, such as beer, will lessen the appetite for stronger drinks; will lessen the feeling of the loss of personal liberty that consciously and sub-consciously now influences so many people; will encourage a more kindly and generous social feeling in the mass of the population; and finally, in probably reducing the insistent demand for stronger liquors, would lessen the demands upon the consciences and the loyalty of public officials, that are now almost irresistible.

Except among the so-called upper class, it seems to me that undoubtedly Prohibition has inestimably benefited this country. This is evidenced in increased savings, even in spite of unemployment, increased efficiency, and the larger buying of products for amusement and cultivation.

In my opinion drunkenness is uncommon among the mass of population, as it is rare now to see a drunken man or woman on the streets. I would add that personally I have not seen an intoxicated person for a long time.

I venture to suggest that it would be desirable to have a prohibition law that could be made effective, and I repeat what I have already said, that in my opinion this would best be accomplished by the authorization for the manufacture and sale of beer.

HARRY B. FRENCH.

**Workmen and Families Freed From Ravages of Drink.**

Charles L. Huston,

Coatesville, Pa., March 15, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

We had succeeded in closing the retail licensed saloons and places here, and for a time preceding the war-time Prohibition and the Constitutional Amendment we were reaping the benefits gained.

A drunken man on the streets is a very rare sight now, but used to be very common. Our workmen are scarcely, in any way, interfered with in their work and in their family lives by the ravages of drink. The absence of the licensed sale makes it very much easier to discover and eradicate illicit sale of intoxicating liquors.

Appreciating your interest and helpfulness in this most important national matter, I am

CHARLES L. HUSTON.



**Opposed to Principle of Prohibition and Prefers "To Be Wrong and a Free Man than to Be Right and Be a Slave"  
—On This Basis We Should Have No Laws Against Opium or Cocaine and Other Deadly Drugs.**

New Haven, Conn., March 17, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

Before the passage of the 18th Amendment I was strongly in favor of Prohibition on account of my professional experiences with the deleterious effects of alcohol. I was *not* in favor of Prohibition as a *principle*, in fact I have nothing but contempt for the principle of Prohibition.

I very much doubt whether anyone could again persuade me to sign a petition in favor of *absolute prohibition*. I am just as keenly aware as I ever was of the detrimental effects of strong drink. I am just as much opposed as I ever was to the saloon and the corrupting influences that go with it. I am convinced that Prohibition as at present administered (and it is very badly administered) has accomplished a good deal, but I seriously question whether we may not be paying too high a price for what has been accomplished.

Your quotation from President Harding expresses the beneficial side of Prohibition. There is another side of the question of which I have been acutely aware for some time, the side that was emphasized by Justice Clarke in the public press within the past few months. My personal experiences among my friends and acquaintances, who are mostly professional men and college professors, has led me to the conclusion that Prohibition has had a most disastrous effect on the attitude of many of our most respected citizens toward the Law. I am aware from personal experience that many people regarded as representatives of the best citizenship are daily breaking the Prohibition Law. I know of not one but of a great many instances of home brewing by respectable and heretofore law-abiding citizens. I know a good many people who seldom or never thought of taking a drink before Prohibition who never refuse one now.

Another aspect of the situation is bootlegging and its by-products. Medical men have seen more cases of wood alcohol poisoning since Prohibition than they ever saw before. A great many of the alcoholic drinks now obtainable are vile compounds which produce most disastrous effects on the human economy. Furthermore the excessive prices which are asked and paid for alcoholic drinks have created a situation whereby the rich man can obtain all the alcoholic drinks he desires whereas the poor man is discriminated against. Not that I believe for a minute that the ordinary citizen is unable to obtain alcoholic drinks. My experience in this city, based it is true on hearsay, leads me to believe that there is no difficulty whatever for any citizen, no matter how obscure, to obtain alcoholic drinks if he is willing and able to pay the price.

I think I may frankly and honestly say therefore that I regret having signed the petition in favor of Prohibition.

I think I made two mistakes in signing it. In the first place I now feel that it is a mistake to put ones self on record in favor of a movement unless convinced that the principle underlying the movement is sound. As I stated at the beginning of this letter I have nothing but the utmost contempt for the principle underlying Prohibition. I do not believe that the human race is ever going to progress by means of prohibitive legislation for the regulation of vices (as contrasted with crimes). Progress in matters of this sort must come through education and the development of self control. In the second place I think that I, and probably a great many others who advocated Prohibition, failed to consider the psychological effect of the Law and did not foresee the effects that its passage would produce on the respect for law in general.

In conclusion I wish to emphasize again that I am just as much opposed to the saloon and to the use of strong liquor as

I ever was but I am convinced that the administration of the 18th Amendment, and particularly the concurrent legislation, has been marked by blunders of the worst sort. From the point of view of the physician the administration of the Volstead Act is unsatisfactory in the extreme. So far as I know it is the first example of an attempt to dictate to medical men what they shall prescribe for their patients. My point of view may be all wrong but I am more and more inclined to agree with Huxley that it is better to be wrong and a free man than right and a slave.

GEORGE BLUMER.

**Believes in Prohibition, Thinks Volstead Law Too Drastic.**

A. C. Bent,

Taunton, Mass., March 20, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

My views on Prohibition have been modified somewhat since the Volstead Law went into effect because I think this measure is too drastic and extreme. Prohibition has been forced on us too suddenly. I think it would have been much better if it had been brought about more gradually giving the dealers and manufacturers an opportunity to dispose of their surplus stocks, giving the Government the additional revenue from such stocks, and giving the consumers an opportunity to taper off gradually in their use of liquors.

I think there is no doubt that there has been some saving of money formerly spent on liquor, as many men have been induced to give it up, but on the other hand, there are some confirmed drunkards who have kept it up and have spent more money for poorer liquor, which was often times rank poison.

Drunkenness is less common than it was, but there is still plenty of it and there always will be since the public is not in sympathy with the law.

I think it would be well to have the Law loosened up a little to allow the use of beer and light wines in a reasonable way and make provision by which old people and invalids who need a certain amount of liquor could obtain it on doctor's certificates under proper supervision.

A. C. BENT.

**Better Homes and More Happiness Despite the Violation of Law by People Who Think It "Smart" to Do So.**

Clay H. Hollister

Grand Rapids, Michigan, March 21, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

Replying to your general inquiry with regard to the success of the Prohibition movement in this country, I am glad to give you my views as based on my own observation. I do think that there is much less general drinking than formerly in many families, chiefly those with the modest incomes. The average home is better equipped and cared for and the bills are better paid. There is less unhappiness and distress caused by drunkenness. There is much less crime except for thefts and burglaries than formerly. The trail of war and hard times have left those crimes in a very active condition.

There has been, in my opinion, a great increase in the use of liquor in those homes that can afford it and many young men and women who formerly thought nothing of having liquor around have it now on all possible occasions and think it the smart thing to do. There is very little drinking at the cafes, but there is a lot of secret drinking in automobiles and homes. The evasion of the law seems to add a zest to the use of liquor in many cases. I do not think that the volume of liquor traffic is large or in any sense compares with what it was. I should like to have it possible to obtain light alcoholic drinks to use in the home but I do not think I would vote to abolish the prohibitory amendment.

CLAY H. HOLLISTER.

### Contempt for Prohibition Law Subtly and Dangerously Anarchistic.

Samuel Hopkins Adams.

Auburn, N. Y., March 27, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

When I signed the original "petition of One Thousand" it was with the expressed reservation that I should always favor as against complete Prohibition, a light wine and beer basis. No note was made of this reservation when the petition was presented.

To your first question, then, I answer "Yes." I am opposed to the liquor traffic to precisely the extent that I was when I signed the petition: that is, I am opposed to the manufacture and use of hard liquor, except for medical purposes, and to the saloon; I am in favor of light wine and beers under strict regulation.

I have made no special study of labor conditions as affected by Prohibition; but my impression is that the economic condition of the laboring man is, on the whole, the better for the Law. However, there are many doubtful and perhaps vitiating factors in this consideration.

Drunkenness in general is not as common now as it was in the days of the open saloon, not by half. Among those who can afford to buy liquor, however, as, for example, the class with which I am thrown into association, it is markedly more common.

The worst feature of the situation is the open contempt for the Law which is everywhere observable, and which, in my opinion, produces a reflex of contempt for all laws, subtly and perilously anarchistic.

SAMUEL HOPKINS ADAMS, Author and Journalist.

### Failure to Enforce Law Not an Argument for its Repeal but an Argument for More Efficient Enforcement; but Does Not Believe in Constitutional Amendments.

University, Va., April 5, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

When I signed the petition to Congress, I had no thought of a Constitutional amendment, and I am strongly of the opinion that it was a mistake to secure Prohibition by Constitutional amendment. I think it was more than a mistake. In my judgment, it created a very dangerous precedent for similar legislation. It is not the function of a Constitution to enact measures of this sort. Constitutions should be limited to the functions of government as expressed in the legislative, executive, and judicial departments; the powers and limitations of each department and the safe guarding of fundamental rights to individuals or the States under the operation of this Constitution. It is not a function of a Constitution to impose any specific measure or policy upon a people. What has been done with regard to the liquor traffic may also be done with regard to any other business or custom of the people. It is difficult to secure the adoption of amendments to the Constitution, but once adopted, it is even more difficult to secure their repeal. At the same time, Constitutional amendment may be passed, under exceptional circumstances, in response to a sudden wave of a popular enthusiasm and without due consideration by the electorate. Once crystallized into fundamental law, they cannot be repealed by a large majority of the electorate. A two-thirds vote is necessary in Congress and one-fourth of the States of the Union can prevent a repeal. This is perfectly right in matters involving the fundamental powers of government. It is fundamentally wrong and vicious when it comes to the enactment of legislation by that government. Prohibition leaders have no special right to immunity from having their legislation repealed when a decided majority of the people are in favor of that repeal.

So strongly do I feel on that subject that I would welcome a repeal of the Prohibition Amendment on that ground.

This Amendment should have given Congress the power to enact prohibitory laws, but it should not have it prohibit the sale of intoxicating drink; and, so long as it stands as a section of the Constitution, it invites similar legislation in other matters.

I am still as strongly as ever in favor of National Prohibition itself. I have not changed my views in any way since signing the petition, and am heartily in favor of the strict enforcement of the Law. I recognize the difficulties; but I think that we are now passing through a transition stage and that the Law can and should be enforced more successfully than at present.

With regard to your other questions, I do not think my opinion would be of great value. It is not founded on any comprehensive accurate statistical study of all the facts. I have heard nothing but commendation of "the effect of Prohibition on labor or the saving of the money formerly spent for liquor, and its use in the betterment of homes and the better care for women and children of the men who formerly spent freely for drink."

My own observation leads me to be strongly of the opinion that drunkenness is not as common at the present time as it was under the open saloon and the free liquor traffic. Indeed I think there is no question about this. Whether it is more common under National Prohibition than under State Prohibition or local option, I am not so sure, and think that my means of observation and sources of information do not justify my making a statement on this point. When liquor is obtained from bootleggers, the conditions are, of course, different from those when it is obtained by express from other states in which the sale is licensed. I fear that at the present time the underground nature of the liquor traffic puts liquor into the hands of certain classes of people who would not get it in such large quantities if they had to order it by express; but it seems to me that these are not arguments against Prohibition, but are simply details of enforcement which must be faced and solved.

Finally I do not think that the present difficulties of enforcement or the obvious failures to enforce the Law up to this time constitute any valid argument for the repeal of the Law. They are simply arguments in favor of its more efficient enforcement. If failure should follow the utmost efforts to enforce the Law, I should then be in favor of its repeal.

THEODORE HOUGH,  
Professor Physiology, University of Virginia.

### Experience Under Prohibition Strengthens Opposition to Liquor Traffic.

Washington, D. C., March 27, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I am still opposed to the liquor traffic in the same degree that I was when I signed the petition to Congress about five years ago. So far from finding any reason for a change of opinion, it seems to me that the experience under Prohibition should tend to strengthen it.

Having been absent from the United States a considerable part of the time since Prohibition went into effect and residing the rest of the time in Washington, where there are few of the laboring class, I have had little experience on this point, but I have been informed by observers whom I trust, and who are not themselves radical opponents to liquor, that the effect in other places has been excellent.

I think it is a fair question whether the percentage of alcohol permitted in light drinks might not be increased somewhat. As to strongly alcoholic drinks, there seems to me no possible question.

E. D. DURAND,  
Economist and Statistician.

**Because Criminals Abound Under Prohibition This Banker Is Opposed to It—Is He Opposed to Law Against Murder Because Murder Abounds?**

The Seaboard National Bank,  
New York, March 17, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I started out as being entirely in favor of Prohibition, but in a short time its workings had so prostituted the best instincts of our people that many of them became criminals, law-breakers, crooks and confidence men, and so far from prohibiting—there never has been so much open drunkenness in our streets as now, and the conditions are still worse in private life! The majority are against it, but it is so surrounded with barriers that the fanatic minority close every effort for justice and fair play.

I am, however, in favor of closing the saloons, and of temperance.

I live in the hope that the Prohibition Law may yet be repealed, or replaced by other regulations than those now existing. This, I believe, would make for the general prosperity of the whole country.

S. G. BAYNE, President.

**Commercialization of Intoxicants Matter of Community Concern: Wine and Beer Would Open Door to Stronger Drink.**

Louis F. Post.  
Washington, D. C., March 19, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

Permit me to prefix the explanation that I have never favored liquor prohibition as a sumptuary measure. I do not believe that legislation should compel a citizen to eat this or to drink that or to clothe himself with such and such fabrics or not to do so. But I did and still do favor what our Prohibition Laws are doing with unexpected efficiency and wholesome effect—stoppage of the manufacture and public sale of products which serve no good use but debauch the community. If any one wishes to drink whiskey, let him do so. Let him even get drunk, if he at the same time secludes himself. But it does not follow from this that the Government should look placidly on while manufacturers of liquor maintain saloons and corrupt politics. If by the closing down of this kind of industry men who have a right to drink cannot get drinkables, that is their misfortune if they chose to think it a misfortune; they have no right to demand public opportunities for supplying them with intoxicants merely because they have a right to consume them when they can get them.

As to wine and beer, the "harmless" drinks from which I never considered myself bound to refrain while they were openly obtainable, I believe that their commercialization should be prohibited for this reason if for no other, that if the door were ajar for these it would be pushed wide open for the more dangerous ones. To stop commercialization of strong drink, it is necessary to include weak drinks. I stand upon the platform of prohibition of the commercialization of debauching products. While drinking may be a matter of personal freedom, the commercialization of intoxicants is a matter of community, in contradistinction to personal concern.

I therefore answer the first question of your questionnaire with the statement that I am still opposed to the liquor traffic to the full extent that I was when I signed the petition of five years ago. This also answers your second question. As to the third I have had no sufficient experience to justify me in offering testimony, but the information that comes to me casually indicates a highly beneficial effect. Replying to the fourth question, I am sure from general observation, confirmed by the assurances of others, including persons who are not Prohibitionists, that drunkenness—public drunkenness most certainly—is much less common now than it was when the distillery and the brewery interests had their way.

LOUIS F. POST.

**A New York Banker's Strong Statement in Behalf of Prohibition's Great Work.**

The Fifth Avenue Bank of New York.  
New York, N. Y., March 22, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

Replying to your letter of the 16th inst., it gives me pleasure to have the opportunity to express my views in relation to Prohibition. Indeed, I feel just as strongly on this subject as when signing the petition to Congress referred to.

My observation has been that far-reaching and important benefits have already been derived. Savings institutions have seen a rather rapid increase in the volume of deposits and officers of these institutions have attributed the cause to the safe-guards which have been thrown around men enabling them to save money and better protect and care for their families.

Men who have not been total abstainers are saying that Prohibition has greatly benefited many people, especially those in industrial enterprises. Apparently those who are raising the most objections are the people who take a rather narrow and selfish view instead of giving due and fair consideration to the welfare of all.

I feel sure that a few more years trial of Prohibition will prove conclusively that the real and varied benefits derived by the majority of the people entirely outweigh the objections of those who may feel that their personal rights and privileges have been abridged.

B. H. FANCHER, Vice President.

**Operating Managers of Steel Mills Report Great Improvement Among Men and That It Would Be Deplorable to Repeal Eighteenth Amendment.**

Weirton Steel Company  
Weirton, West Va., April 10, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

Because I was desirous of getting opinions from the managers of our different mills, who are daily in close touch with our working employees, I have not replied earlier to your letter.

The consensus of opinion is that Prohibition has been beneficial to the great majority of the employees in our mills; they have been more regular in their attendance at work; there have been fewer accidents; their health has been better and their financial condition has been much improved. This is the general situation notwithstanding the fact that quite an amount of homemade liquor is consumed, which as a rule is of very bad quality and those that drink it regularly are adversely affected and are very irregular in attendance at their duties in the mill. However, the percentage that indulge in this way is not sufficiently great to overcome the beneficial effect.

It is our hope that proper education, custom and time will further improve the existing condition. The general opinion of our operating managers is that it would be deplorable if the Eighteenth Amendment should be repealed.

E. T. WEIR, President.

**Most Effective Step in Uplift of Human Race Ever Taken by Any Civilized Nation.**

Washington and Lee University,  
Lexington, Va., March 8, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I take pleasure in stating in brief that I think the 18th Amendment was the longest and most effective step forward in the uplift of the human race ever taken by any civilized nation; that the present reaction against it is only temporary; that it has been productive of incalculable good, and that there is no danger whatever of its repeal or substantial modification.

HENRY LOUIS SMITH, President.

**Economic Effect Good, But Uncertain as to Moral Effect.**

American Manganese Steel Company.

Chicago, Ill., March 11, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

From my own observation I believe that the economic effect of Prohibition has been good. Of course, it is hard to say what a given condition would be if other conditions had been different, but I do believe that the working man's savings account is larger today than it would have been had Prohibition not been in effect. I also have observed that employes have been more regular in their attendance, though I cannot say how much of this is due to Prohibition and how much due to the fact that jobs have been very much harder to obtain during most of the time that Prohibition has been in effect.

From a moral point of view I am not sure of the effect which Prohibition has had. There seems to be less respect for Federal laws than in the past and certainly during the past year, lawlessness has been much more rampant than it was. This may be due to the fact that some people have, on account of business depression been out of funds, or it may be due to the fact that there has been a general lowering of the respect in which the laws are held because of the fact that the Prohibition Amendment has been violated not only with comparative impunity, but almost in a boastful sort of way.

It rather seems to me that if some way could be found to legalize traffic in beverages of low alcoholic content, it might be a good thing.

S. T. McCALL, Vice-President.

**Strongly Favors Prohibition, But Because Criminals—for All Are Criminals Who Break the Law—Violate the Prohibition Law, Is Uncertain as to Its Future.**

John L. Wagner, The Pneumelectric Corporation,

Syracuse, N. Y., April 6, 1922.

1. In view of the extent to which the traffic in liquor is being carried at the present time, I am not prepared to draw a definite conclusion as to the wisdom of enforcement of absolute Prohibition, but am very much inclined to believe that a longer period of trial will demonstrate it to be a good thing.

2. Should my views eventually change in regard to this, it now appears that it will be because of the practical impossibility of enforcing such a law or because of the failure of the large majority of the citizens to respect the law.

I have come in contact with some indications where a revulsion toward the use of liquor, and development of respect for the law is setting in. The President of one of the leading universities of this country made a statement within the last ten days that drunkenness had disappeared among the students of this University and that the use of liquor by students had practically ceased. This result was brought about by the action of the student body itself and at the present time the use of liquor among the students is considered as a reflection upon the character of the student and any student who uses it is considered as most undesirable.

The faculty is, at this time, especially concerned regarding the influence upon the student body of the attitude which the alumni will take toward this question when they return for the Spring Day exercises. Heretofore, the alumni have transgressed very greatly in connection with the use of intoxicants, and the fear now is that if this is repeated with the next Spring Day exercises, the effect upon the student body will be very undesirable. With this in view the alumni association has been carrying on a campaign of activity for the purpose of making such a demonstration unpopular and there is every indication that this campaign will be successful.

3. There is no question about the good results which

have followed Prohibition with respect to the condition of the laboring man and his family. I have come in contact with this personally in many cases in different parts of the Country. Locally I have come in contact with it in connection with the Syracuse Boy's Club of which I am a Director and Treasurer. The boys that compose the club membership are from the poorest families and there has been a very marked change in their condition both with respect to their appearance and with respect to their general condition of health. They show the effect of better home conditions and I know that this has been brought about by the diversion of the earnings of the head of the family from the corner saloon to the use of the family.

4. I do not see, at the present time, as much drunkenness as I did prior to the enactment of Prohibition and I understand that for a considerable period the number of cases brought before the Police Judge for drunkenness decreased very materially, but the Police Judge has told me, very recently, that the old offender is again appearing and that he is again handling a large number of cases, generally known as the "common drunk". I have talked with a local Police Judge a number of times on this subject and this is the latest information that he has given me.

5. According to my observation and further with respect to the use of liquor under existing conditions, I believe, at the present time, drinking in homes is very much more common than it ever has been before. Many persons, both old and young who never before drank to excess are today doing so and it seems to be the fashion for every family to have at least a little stock on hand. In many cases it amounts to a large stock of all kinds. I am very much inclined to feel that there is great danger in the situation as it exists at the present time especially with respect to the coming generation as most of the drinking is confined to the heavy liquors which generally leads to excess.

I am also very much inclined to feel that if light beverages were permitted without the return of the saloon or public drinking places, the results might be very satisfactory, but I do not believe that sufficient time has elapsed as a trial period for the working of the law as it stands at the present time, to warrant making a positive declaration on this point.

I believe that many of the evils which now appear will gradually disappear, but it is still a question as to whether or not the very objectionable and harmful features which have developed will sufficiently disappear to warrant a continuation of the strict Prohibition law.

**Does Not See How Any Man Having Proper Regard for His Country Can Favor Even Light Wines or Beers.**

Canton Cotton Mills

Canton, Ga., March 21, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I am unalterably opposed to the liquor traffic. The amount of drinking now among our people is not to be compared with the years before the enactment of the Prohibition Law. To modify our present Law so as to make it more difficult of enforcement would be a great mistake, and to repeal would be a National calamity. If we make any change, let's strengthen it.

I endorse most heartily President Harding's statement as to the effect of the Prohibition Law on the lives of our laboring people, and repeat in substance with emphasis his statement, that with these facts facing us I do not see how any man having proper regard for the best interest of his country could conscientiously vote to bring liquor back, or vote to license the sale of light wines and beer, which would in the end in actual results be the same thing.

R. T. JONES, President.

**Some Think It "Smart" To Violate Laws of the Land.**

Yarnall-Waring Co.,

Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pa., March 17, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I still hold the views which I held about five years ago when I expressed myself to you in opposition to the liquor traffic. All of the statistics that I have been able to see concerning criminal records, clearly show the tremendous value of Prohibition to our country.

It is true that we are experiencing difficulty in the enforcement of the new Law, but this comes because of the unfortunate attitude of the minority which seems to feel that it is smart to violate the laws of the land. To meet this situation, the process of education will have to be continued further.

Will this situation not be helped by the gradually reduced stock of liquor, and the fearless expression of those who realize the economic and moral injury of the liquor traffic?

As far as our own industry is concerned, we are indeed convinced that the doing away with the liquor traffic has been a help in reducing the labor turn over, which in itself is a financial gain, both to the worker and the employer.

We hope that you will continue your effort on behalf of this national reform.

D. R. YARNALL.

**Against Liquor Traffic as Formerly Conducted; Thinks Prohibition Good Thing But Does Not Object to Wine and Beer and Condemns Method of Regulation.**

Boston, Mass., March 20, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I am opposed to the liquor traffic as it was conducted before the Eighteenth Amendment was passed. The public drinking of high-powered stimulants was nothing but an evil. The saloon was in all respects a menace to the public welfare. I had no objection and still have no objection to the use of light wines and of beer as beverages in reasonable conditions. As long as God permits fermentation it seems to me that temperance and not "tee-totalism" is a right-enough canon for such as find those beverages according with St. Paul's advice to Timothy: "Drink no longer water, but use a little wine for thy stomach's sake."

I think the Governmental action regarding pure alcohol is decidedly unjustifiable. It interferes with what should be an enormously valuable public utility and tends to make people use a dangerous poison in its stead—namely wood alcohol. I can't imagine a person drinking pure alcohol if he could get a little elderberry, currant or grape wine. On the other hand there ought to be an alcohol-engine in every well-furnished house, to run any number of ordinary operations. Pure Alcohol can be made of so much otherwise waste material and at such low cost that it seems ridiculous to restrict its use by a factitious price and practical Prohibition.

Indeed the whole question of Prohibition as at present treated seems to be autocratic, hypocritical, absurd and futile.

I have no doubt that in some localities absolute Prohibition has been beneficial, just as it was in small country towns and isolated districts in Maine before National Prohibition went into the Constitution. I was brought up in Maine and never even saw whisky until after I had been in College a year or two. My two grandfathers were teetotalers. My grandfather Fletcher inherited a very lucrative liquor-business in connection with a "general store." His first act was to empty all the strong liquors into the Kennebec River. My Grandfather Wigglesworth Dole took a similar stand even before the Washingtonian Movement. My mother disapproved of cider! I myself have always been strictly temperate, but I find a little light wine beneficial to my health, though I never crave it. But I can see no reason why if wealthy men, who laid in a stock of expensive wines and other liquors for their

home-consumption, can indulge themselves, there should not be some way whereby laboring men should not have their light beer or ale. It is certainly not a crime to like it, as long as it is made in accordance with the laws of Nature. There is said to be alcohol in bread. It is not cumulative in its effects as is the case with morphine or cocaine the use of which is properly regulated. Still I can not help recognizing the danger of overindulgence and it is no great deprivation to me personally to be without it. Even when it was legal I have never been in the habit of serving it on my table. Undoubtedly men who formerly spent their earnings freely in saloons are better off than they were formerly. **One would be blind not to see that Prohibition has done great good,** just as it did in Russia when the Emperor Nicolas gave up the State Monopoly of vodka-selling and by a stroke of the pen made the country dry. But vodka was a high-powered brandy or whisky and the drinking habits of the peasantry were most demoralizing. It is an exceedingly mixed question.

My impression is that there has been a considerable increase in drinking in wealthy homes. It is a natural tendency for men to crave what is forbidden them. Many men of former sobriety laid in large stocks of intoxicants and now drink to excess, especially when they live in city apartments where the "wine-cellar" is a closet right at hand. Poor men can not do this and it makes them despise the law. I notice that a large part of the automobile accidents are due to drunken drivers.

I come to the conclusion, therefore, that Prohibition is impossible to make complete, that it is unfair and tends to make all law less sacred and that some other method of regulation should have been devised. I believe that the Eighteenth Amendment will ultimately be taken out of the Constitution and that some better method will be devised to confer the undoubted benefit of Temperance on the people and to obviate the serious faults of any sumptuary law.

NATHAN HASKELL DOLE.

**More Opposed to Liquor Traffic Than Ever.**

Ralph W. Harbison,

Pittsburgh, Pa., March 18, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

If I had it to do over again, I would certainly count it a privilege to add my name again to the petition which I signed some time ago, addressed to Congress, urging this body to take immediate action in the Prohibition Amendment.

If it is possible I am more opposed to the liquor traffic today than I was at the time this petition was sent to Congress. It has been my observation that since Prohibition went into effect there has been a very decided decrease in drunkenness and abject poverty caused by the former wide consumption of liquor. There seems to be little doubt that the effect on the families of laboring men has been decidedly advantageous. It is a matter of record on the part of practically all savings banks that savings accounts of wage earners have increased greatly, both in numbers and amounts.

It is possible, at least according to my observation, that among a certain class of the well-to-do, there has been little decrease in drinking, but I am convinced that this will probably be a matter of limited duration. It is, I suppose, unreasonable to expect a complete elimination of the consumption of liquor by all classes at once.

**The hopeful thing in the situation is that the coming generation will probably see very little of the use of liquor as we have known it in the past years and that the people generally will soon begin to forget their desire for it as it becomes scarcer.**

It is to be hoped that the Government may be supported in its purpose to eradicate as soon as possible all illegal traffic in this trade.

RALPH W. HARBISON.

### Observation and Experience Have Demonstrated Inestimable Benefit of Prohibition.

Jas. E. Rankin,

Henderson, Ky., March 21, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I have to advise that about five years ago I expressed through a petition to Congress the opinion that I believed the time had come for the Federal Government to take steps looking to the prohibition in the United States of the manufacture, sale, import, export and transportation of alcoholic liquors, excepting only the medical, sacrificial and industrial needs.

I have not changed my opinion on this subject as my observation and experience has demonstrated the inestimable benefit to society resulting from the present Prohibition laws, as evidenced by better working results in plants where labor is employed, the better household conditions in the laborers family, the lessened volume of crime traceable to intemperance, the decrease in number of arrests for drunkenness resulting in some sections to the absolute closing of jails and other places of detention, the handling of the weekly payroll by the wife and mother, the removal of the father's former bad habits on the minds of his children and those of his neighbor.

I am not unmindful of the shameful development of the bootlegger and the smuggling and warehouse thefts and other violations of the law which fill the daily press, but notwithstanding these conditions, feel that great headway has been made and persistence will steadily increase the good results. I only regret that the penalties for violation of the laws have not been severe enough to reduce the violations to the minimum, and the effort given a wider scope of application so as to include clubs and private entertainments where liquor is used, and thereby remove the just criticism that the leisure class is favored and the "poor devil" is made the goat.

The mistake made was in the Government not taking over the stock of whiskey, wine and beer in the distilleries, breweries and warehouses, paying for same and then destroying it, retaining only—in Government warehouses—that required for the exemptions mentioned, and severely penalize further manufacture. The way to prohibit is to prohibit.

If such action lost us some of the wine and beer-drinking emigrants, let them go, the increased value of the sober, law-abiding element remaining would amply compensate for their loss.

I am not a crank but merely expressing my opinion upon what I consider, viewed from a fairly disinterested standpoint, an unnecessary, vile and injurious habit which disturbs where it does not disqualify business acumen and application and which wrecks the happiness of the family.

JAMES E. RANKIN.

### How the Women Favor the Prohibition Law.

L. M. Bowers & Co.,  
Manufacturers

"National and International" Patent Cast Steel Anchors.  
Binghamton, N. Y., March 21, 1922

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

The past year I have had more freedom from active business matters, than for fifty years and have given a lot of time in interviews with all classes of men, in the Clubs, Fraternities, Churches and among working men with whom I have talked, including some grumblers who want beer and sour wine, that the Italians are accustomed to. For most part, there is not very strong opposition, even among the latter, only when gathered in the old saloon loafing places and under the influence of the fellows running them, and the bootleggers sneaking around to slip a bottle into their pockets at \$5.00 to \$10.00 a pint.

The greatest obstacle in enforcement, are certain lawyers retained by bootleggers, who actually arrange with receivers

and distributors and doubtless with friendly policemen and politicians, to shut their eyes, and let the auto drivers sneak in and out of the cities having such an arrangement. Some home-made whiskey is made miles from police headquarters and back in the wilds but these are being routed out and the business will end after awhile.

A very high class "Mother Superior" having a large school and hundreds of parents of Austria Hungary importation, has told me that Prohibition had been the greatest blessing to that class, of anything that had come to them in this country. We have a summer home on a high hill above this school and the Nuns who teach there, have been welcome to come up for a few hours recreation Sunday afternoon, and this welcome has made a very cordial acquaintance between us and the "Superior". I know of no stronger endorsement than has been given by this intelligent woman, having a large population of former beer and wine drinkers living about the school and church. I asked her how the "Father" felt about the dry law. She replied that he would not have the Law done away with under any circumstances.

In an enterprise in which I was at the head, employing thousands of miners and laborers, the managers took a straw vote in 1921, among the women only and in one precinct they cast 186 votes and 183 were for "Dry". In other precincts, they voted more than 95 per cent for the continuation of Prohibition.

The enormous profit from bootlegging, has and is the power that will have to be broken to pieces. It is reported that three or four lawyers in a certain city of some 75,000 have made a quarter of million during 1921, in scheming for a liquor concern in Pennsylvania.

L. N. BOWERS.

### Ninety Per Cent of People Have Placed "Liquor" in Mad Dog Class—Christian Citizenship, Business and Science Have Hung Liquor Traffic High as Haman and Now After Law Breaking Accomplish.

Miami Bank and Trust Co.,

Miami, Fla., March 30, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I find, upon investigation, that 90 per cent of our people have at last placed "Liquor" IN THE MAD DOG CLASS. You know what that means. Yes, I am personally opposed to the return of the liquor traffic.

The only thing that hinders "LABOR" from being the greatest beneficiary of Prohibition is that "LABOR" has never learned the lesson of FRUGALITY. Their savings from former barroom traffic has given fully 75 per cent of them the chance to—"Own a Home", but "Thrift" is not appreciated. Prohibition has done its part well—you know that.

Since Prohibition came the pay envelope has gone to the wives and children of men who heretofore threw it on the counter of the flannel-mouth liquorite.

As to drunkenness—I travel a great deal throughout the Southern States, and I can safely say that I have not seen two drunken men where at least fifty before Prohibition, disgraced our thoroughfares. If the courts would only stop licensing the bootlegger by the punishment of only a fine, and add to his penalty the "rock pile" service, Prohibition officers would then have very little to do. Inadequate punishment is a great hindrance to law enforcement. It is a poor policy to swap public morals for public money.

No, I do not expect the return of the saloon, for liquor traffic has been hung by a rope made out of three strands: Christian Citizenship, Business and Science.

[My address after April 10, will be Bank of West End, Atlanta, Ga.]

WILLIAM S. WITHAM.

[Mr. Witham has been the organizer of 150 banks all in successful operation.—*Editor Manufacturers Record.*]

**Kentucky Has Been Bettered by Prohibition—A Typical Case From Drunkenness to Soberness of Which Many Thousands Are in Evidence Throughout the Land.**

Stoll Oil Refining Co.,

Louisville, Ky., April 6, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

There is positively nothing in the situation that has induced me to change my views as to the desirability of Prohibition for America. Living as I do in a city and State that has perhaps had more to do with the manufacture and sale of liquor than any other State, I would add that Prohibition was good for Kentucky. Even from a business standpoint, I think the enthusiasm and impetus for business has been increased rather than diminished.

That it has been of decided advantage to the laboring classes must be clear to all observers. I could give concrete instances of what Prohibition has meant for men who had through weakness formed alcoholic habits. May I just mention one as an instance of many.

The company, of which I am the head, had in its employ a very capable man holding a position of responsibility owing to the nature of our business. We were compelled very reluctantly to dismiss him after many trials and continued promises to discontinue the use of liquor as a habit, and he was out of our employ for about two years. After Prohibition became effective in this city and our country, he returned to us as the continued temptation had been removed, has been sober and attentive to his business and his family, and only recently approached us asking that he might be helped in the purchase of a home which we agreed to help him in.

I have recently returned from a few days visit in New York City, and of course, while there observed the continuous discussion in the newspapers against Prohibition, but I believe that that does not represent the views of the majority of the people, and we can understand that many hotel keepers and saloon keepers are anxious for the return of liquor. These people consider the question simply from the standpoint of revenue and have no regard for social welfare. Notwithstanding the activity of the bootlegger, I believe the American people are satisfied that Prohibition is a good thing, and want it to stay.

C. C. STOLL,

**Under Prohibition Balance for Good Outweighs Evil.**

Department of the Interior,  
Saint Elizabeths Hospital,

Washington, D. C., March 17, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I am still as much in favor of the Prohibition movement as I ever have been. The evil effects which have resulted from such activities as bootlegging are things that I presume might have been expected when it was realized that the minority who were opposed to Prohibition was such a large minority. I, nevertheless, cannot feel but that already the balance is in favor of the good results rather than of the evil.

A great many of the evil results which are laid at the door of Prohibition do not properly belong there, but are manifestations of the times, of that general let-down in morale which was produced as an after effect of the war, and these evil results will be out-grown when the present generation, so many of whom were personally antagonistic to such a measure, shall have passed away. I had some doubts at the time, and I still have doubts, as to whether such a radical way as Prohibition was the wise way to bring about best results, but whether it was or not, now that it is an accomplished fact, I believe in sticking to it.

WM. A. WHITE, M. D., Superintendent.

**Harm Done by Liquor Traffic Today Nothing to Compare With What It Formerly Was—The Bootlegger a Criminal.**

Novo Engine Co.,

Lansing, Mich., March 30, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I am just as strongly opposed to the liquor traffic today as I was when I signed the petition to Congress against it. There is no question in my mind but what the consumption of liquor among the average working men, has been greatly reduced and so far as my personal experience is concerned, trouble from this source has been practically eliminated and we believe our men are in better financial condition than ever before, even taking into consideration the irregularity in their employment for the last year.

In cities the size of Lansing, liquor drinking is very little in evidence as compared with conditions before Prohibition. While every case of bootlegging is given prominence in the public press, the hundreds and thousands of men that are leading sober lives, who did not lead them in the days of the open saloon, are not taken into consideration. The bootlegger is a criminal and as such is played up by the newspapers as any other criminal is, and while there is no combating the fact that a great deal of liquor is sold and consumed, we believe the harm done today by the liquor traffic has been tremendously decreased over the harm it was doing before the Prohibition of liquor.

CLARENCE E. BEMENT,

Vice President and Gen'l. Manager.

**A Great Decrease in Alcoholic Patients and in Alcoholic Admissions to Hospitals for Insane.**

State Psychopathic Hospital  
University of Michigan

Ann Arbor, Mich., March 20, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I have found no reason to change my beliefs in the desirability of Prohibition. Those who are interested in the care and treatment of mental disorders have uniformly found a marked decrease of disorders due to alcohol during the last few years. To my personal knowledge, wards formerly used for the care of alcoholic patients are now used for other purposes. There has been a great falling off in the admission of alcoholic mental disorders to the hospitals for the insane in this country. This fact alone is strong evidence of the benefits brought about by Prohibition. I have had little opportunity for observing the social and economic aspects of the question.

I do not believe that drunkenness is as common at the present time as formerly. One hears more about drinking, but this aspect of the question is kept before the public as prominently as possible by the opponents of Prohibition. I think without doubt one hears rather more frequently than formerly of instances of serious poisoning from bad liquor, but compared with the tremendous decrease in alcoholic disorders throughout the country these instances are unimportant.

ALBERT M. BARRETT, M. D.,

Director, State Psychopathic Hospital,  
University of Michigan.

President, American Psychiatric Association.

**Strict Prohibition Good for Country.**

Hope Webbing Company

Providence, R. I., March 17, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

We firmly believe that strict prohibition of the liquor traffic would be a grand good thing for the country.

C. A. HORTON, General Manager.

**Believes in Prohibition but Favors Beer and Wine.**

Power Plant Engineering,

Chicago, Ill., March 20, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I still believe that the commercial manufacture and sale of strong liquors should be suppressed. I believe that the results, both as a matter of economics and workmen's wages, and in the better application of such wages to success in life as well as the increase in money, has justified the amendment to the Constitution.

As for the Volstead Act and the method by which it is now enforced, I think there are many who, like myself, had no idea as to the extreme interpretation which would be put on the Amendment. I do not believe that the interfering with people in their own homes is warranted and I feel that the course that has been pursued has resulted in a considerable increase in the interest of drinking among those who want to do it because it is forbidden, like the small boy who steals apples, not because they care particularly about the liquor.

Certainly it ought to seem that anyone going about the cities would feel that there is much less general drunkenness than the period of the open saloon. Of course, we all know that liquor can be obtained by those who are determined to have it without any great difficulty at the present time but the menace of the saloon going out to advertise itself as selling liquor is not present. I believe that much of the nonsense in regard to the procuring and using of liquor would be done away with by such an amendment to the Volstead Act as would permit the manufacture of beer and light wines under Government supervision to be sold in the original package and delivered to the consumer in his own home. I do not believe that selling over the bar should be permitted, either in saloons or restaurants, but if a man chooses to keep such liquors in his home and uses them there, I believe it is within his rights.

ARTHUR L. RICE, Treasurer.

**Attorney General of Tennessee Says Exclusion of Liquor and Intoxicating Beverages by Law Has Been of Great Advantages to All Classes.**

State of Tennessee

Office of the Attorney General

Nashville, Tenn., April 13, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I have seen nothing to change my views with respect to the question of Prohibition since I signed the petition to Congress.

It has been my observation and I am dealing with the question constantly, that the exclusion of liquor and all intoxicating beverages by law has been a very great advantage to the laboring classes, as well as the manufacturing class.

It has stabilized the work of the manufacturers by giving them more dependable employees. It has given to the families of the employees the money which hitherto was spent for these intoxicants by such of them as had formed the habit. The more difficult it is made for people to procure and use intoxicants the better the moral tone in the community has been.

While, of course, there is a great deal of what is termed bootlegging, and while there is more or less drinking and drunkenness, yet the prevalence of whiskey drinking, as well as drunkenness, is not as flagrant as it was before the passage of these laws. We will have a period of a few years of trouble and strife, but I confidently look for the time to come when the use of it will be reduced to a minimum.

FRANK M. THOMPSON,  
Attorney General.**Bootlegging and Rumrunning Last Stronghold of an Expiring Industry.**State College of Agriculture,  
and Mechanic Arts

University of Georgia, Athens, Ga., March 18, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

My attitude towards the prohibition question has not changed in the least. I am sorry that there is still any of this abominable stuff available for distribution and purchase throughout the United States.

**I should like to see the bootlegging and rumrunning wiped out immediately. It constitutes the last stronghold of an expiring industry. The sooner we can be rid of this menace to society the better off we will be.**

I am opposed to any change in the present Prohibition Laws save for the purpose of strengthening them and making their enforcement more perfect and complete. I am absolutely opposed, therefore, to any action being taken which will tend to weaken the present legislation relating to Prohibition. On the other hand, I am positively in favor of fostering a public sentiment and putting such force and energy behind it as will insure the absolute elimination of the rum traffic in the United States at the earliest practicable date.

**I have been associated with young men for the past 28 years, and I make this plea in their interest and on their behalf. The present generation is beset with pitfalls on every hand because of the arrogance of the rumrunner and the lax enforcement of the Prohibition laws in many localities.**

ANDREW M. SOULE, President.

**The Liquor Traffic Struggling to Live But Will Surely Die: Great Prosperity Has Followed Prohibition in Auburn.**

The National Bank of Auburn,

Auburn, N. Y., March 22, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I am very pleased to reply to your questionnaire in regard to the working in this vicinity of the 18th Amendment. In replying to your questions by number, I would say:

1st. I am still just as heartily opposed to the liquor traffic as I ever have been, believing thoroughly that it has always been a great detriment to public morals and public business.

2nd. I have not changed my views at all since signing the paper to which you refer.

3rd. I have been very much interested in watching the effect of the 18th Amendment on the business life of this community. There were some sixty odd saloons in Auburn which were put out of business. We were told that Auburn would suffer a great commercial disaster because of this. That grass would begin to grow in our streets, etc. Every store which was put out of business has been occupied by some legitimate commercial enterprise, with the exception of a few which are selling soft drinks. Not only this, but rents in the business portion of our city have advanced very rapidly, and owners of the stores formerly used for saloons are getting much more income from these places than ever before, notwithstanding the hard commercial times which we have all passed through during the past year. Notwithstanding a large amount of unemployment in our city, our bank deposits in Auburn have not suffered, and the savings deposits have steadily increased.

4th. While there has been and still is much violation of the Prohibition Law in this vicinity, drunkenness has been very largely reduced, and I believe is getting less, steadily, and will continue to decrease as time goes by. It was to be expected that a business so lucrative and so firmly entrenched would not die without a struggle. We are witnessing the struggle, but the business is surely going to die.

F. E. SWIFT, President.



**This Country Will Take No Backward Step But Will Enforce the Law.**

United States Railroad Labor Board,  
Chicago, Ill., March 31, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I herewith return the questionnaire which you sent me in your letter of the 16th inst., having made answers to each question.

There are a few people of weak resolution who seem to be discouraged because the Prohibition Law has proven somewhat difficult of enforcement. As for my part, I am unable to see anything disheartening in the present situation to the genuine prohibitionist. The moral laxness which followed the War has been no less manifest in connection with the enforcement of other laws than it has in relation to the enforcement of the Law against intoxicating liquor. This general condition will gradually pass away and the enforcement of the Prohibition Law and all other laws will become correspondingly easier. The folks who are just now making a noise like they thought this country would take a backward step in the matter of liquor legislation, are really wasting their time and effort. There will be no backward step. When the people have become thoroughly disgusted with the non-enforcement of the law and with the half-hearted public officials who are largely responsible for it, there will come a vigorous and effective law enforcement movement that will put an end to the present situation and will completely hush all advocacy for the emasculation of the Law.

BEN W. HOOPER.

The answers to the questions are:

1. Still positively opposed to it.
2. Nothing has occurred to change my views.
3. My observation is that labor has benefitted from prohibition in all the particulars mentioned in your question.
4. No.

BEN W. HOOPER.

Ex-Governor of Tennessee and Member  
U. S. Railroad Labor Board, Chicago, Ill.

**To Allow Sale of Wine and Beer Would Open Way for Return of Saloon.**

Columbia University  
in the City of New York  
University Extension

March 18, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I strongly favored Prohibition in the first instance because of my belief that the saloon was a dangerous element in our social and political life. I am confident if any weakness in the enforcing of the Prohibition Amendment were shown, in the way for example of allowing wine and beer to be sold, we would have a return of the saloon at once.

It is true that there has been a wide violation of the Law in certain large cities of the United States. Nevertheless, I am confident that throughout the country tremendous progress has been made in interfering with the unfortunate use of alcohol and that homes are maintained, women and children are cared for in a way of which we had no conception before the passing of the Prohibition Amendment. I do not believe that drunkenness is as prevalent at the present time as when we had the open saloon and non-restricted liquor traffic.

I am also convinced that those who are interested in the sale of intoxicating liquor have carried on the most extraordinary propaganda this country has ever known and that in many instances the views of people in regard to the observance of the Law have been influenced by this propaganda.

JAMES C. EGBERT.

**As Time Goes on Benefits Will Become More Marked.**

Harvard Medical School,  
Boston, Mass., March 20, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I am as much opposed to the organized traffic in alcoholic liquor as I was when I signed the petition to Congress. It seems to me that the full effects of our present huge experiment will not be felt until a generation has passed and that we should not be disturbed by failures at present. Already the effects are sufficiently marked to show the importance of the move we have made and it is my conviction that as time goes on the benefits will become more marked.

W. B. CANNON, M. D., Professor of Physiology.

**No More "Blue Mondays" With Demoralization and Loss of Production.**

January and Wood Company,  
Maysville Cotton Mills,  
Maysville, Ky., March 11, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

The effects of Prohibition on the operation of our factory have been of a very marked character. Before the coming of Prohibition it was always "blue Monday," with its demoralization and loss of production. Now we see no difference between Monday and any other day.

Before the coming of Prohibition we had a saloon within a block of our factory, mainly supported by our employees—now several new groceries in this same neighborhood.

The boys are growing up without forming the habit of strong drink.

This propaganda that more liquor is now being consumed than formerly, is, to use a slang expression, "all bunk."

R. A. COCHRAN, Treasurer.

**Permanence of Movement Contingent on Degree of Public Education as to Benefit of Prohibition and on Necessity of Respect for Law.**

Brown Durrell Co.  
Importers and Manufacturers  
Hosiery, Underwear, Handkerchiefs & Furnishings  
Boston, Mass., March 31, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I regret to say that since your previous letter was written five years ago, Mr. Thos. B. Fitzpatrick has died. I am his son and as your questionnaire has interested me considerably, I am taking the liberty of replying to it.

In the first place, I think one must admit that no radical change like Prohibition can be expected to be a complete success from the start; evasion and transgression of the Law especially at the outset, were predicted. The ultimate triumph of the idea however, seems now more firmly established than ever.

There can be no doubt of the very considerable improvement in the social and economic status of men, women and children, who were formerly adversely effected by the evil of alcoholism, since Prohibition went into effect. If there were no other evidences, the numerous empty jails and bulging savings banks would alone furnish eloquent proof.

I should say that there is not 25% as much drunkenness in this territory now as existed prior to Prohibition. The permanence of the movement, it seems to me, is largely contingent on the extension and degree of public education in this and in related matters. The public generally need to feel, not only the benefits of Prohibition, but also the benefit and the necessity of respect for the Law of the land.

F. G. FITZPATRICK,  
Director.

**People Consuming Only Fraction of Liquor They Formerly Did—Opposed to Any Change of Volstead Bill.**

Baker Manufacturing Co.,  
Windmills—Pumps—Cylinders—Gasoline Engines—  
Pump Jacks—Tanks and Feed Grinders.

Evansville, Wis., March 23, 1922.

I am opposed to amending the Volstead Law in such a manner that 2 per cent alcohol in liquor would be defined as un-intoxicating, when as a matter of fact it is intoxicating. If we want liquor back again, the thing to do is to amend the Constitution. It is my judgment that the people are consuming only a fraction of the liquor they were before the country went dry.

I know personally a number of men, who were neglecting their families and working poorly before Prohibition, who are now industrious and taking good care of their families. I believe many men have ceased to drink because of Prohibition, and that those who are trying to drink are spending, on the whole, less for liquor than they did before, and that the excessive high price of liquor cuts their consumption to a very small amount.

I believe that the people are able to bear the extremely high taxes of today much better than they would if they were to go back to consuming liquor at the old rate.

J. S. BAKER, President.

**A United States Judge's Views on Liquor Traffic.**

United States Court,  
Eastern District of New York,

Brooklyn, N. Y., March 20, 1922.

I do not know whether it would be considered advisable or proper for me to make any extended statement with respect to the liquor traffic, inasmuch as I endeavor to apply the so-called Volstead Law, according to its language and interpretation, without regard to my own personal feelings or opinions, and I do not care to exploit those opinions outside of my regular duties.

But in view of the provision in the Volstead Law (Section 3) "all the provisions of this act shall be liberally construed, to the end that the use of intoxicating liquor as a beverage may be prevented", I feel that it is proper for me to make the following answers:

I am still opposed to the liquor traffic and have changed my views in no way since the enactment of the Volstead Law.

I have had considerable experience in connection with cases arising under the Law, and also in hearing the comment of people of every station in life, and I think there is no question that Prohibition has had a good effect upon labor, has caused the saving of much money which formerly was spent in saloons and for liquor, and that the wives and children of the men who formerly spent money for drink, have in most instances benefited from the effects of Prohibition.

While the number of hospital cases from the effects of various kinds of drugs or poisons dispensed as liquor has increased over the number of such cases prior to Prohibition, and while the serious effect of such drugs and poisons is more harmful than was the effect of ordinary liquor, I think there is no question that the total number of cases from drunkenness is much less, but that now a much higher percentage results in the necessity for hospital treatment. This should not be attributed to the Prohibition Law, but rather to the attitude on the part of a certain portion of the public in some localities, and to lax enforcement, which must be viewed from an entirely different standpoint than whether Prohibition laws, if properly enforced or capable of enforcement, are beneficial in themselves. Drunkenness is far less prevalent than previously, but the few public cases of drunkenness receive much greater attention and advertising than formerly.

I do not feel that I should discuss the question generally, but I have endeavored to answer the questions which you ask, as I have no personal reason to avoid the expression of my opinion with respect to them.

THOMAS J. CHATFIELD  
U. S. Judge.

**Nation Must Not Go Backward by Turning in the Slightest Toward a Laxity in Prohibition or Its Enforcement.**

Chicago and Eastern Illinois Railway Company,  
Treasury Department,

Chicago, Ill., April 4, 1922.

My convictions with respect to Prohibition are even stronger than when I joined in the petition to Congress some five years ago. I sincerely hope nothing will come about to go backward in the step our Nation has taken toward the prohibition of alcoholic liquors.

It is greatly to be regretted that with the coming of Prohibition enforcement there has come a chain of tragedies resulting from the illicit use of such liquors but this can obviously be seen to be almost wholly that of the habitual users of strong drink and nothing that will lead the young and coming generations to its increase; on the other hand as the saloons and central places for drinking are gone the school for its propagation is shattered and the habit forming process reduced.

Doubtless many well intentioned people feel that rights have been taken from them that should not have been, but the justification for such traffic and practice resulting therefrom is so unfounded that surely our American people can only benefit from Prohibition, and on the other hand can but decline and lose a wonderful opportunity by returning even the slightest towards a laxity with respect to Prohibition and its enforcement.

J. P. REEVES.  
Treasurer.

**Fewer Accidents Under Prohibition in Mining and Great Improvement in Conditions.**

D. H. Campbell,  
Mining Engineer,

Iron River, Mich., March 20, 1922.

I am still as much opposed to the liquor traffic as ever. I did not expect the millennium when the Eighteenth Amendment took effect. The results have been as good as I expected and I believe conditions will improve.

In regard to the effect of Prohibition on labor, at our mines for the first nine months after the State of Michigan went dry, the number of days of absence from work due to accidents fell off 68 per cent. This seemed so startling to me that I made an inquiry in a large organization near by and their results were practically the same, showing beyond question, that the men were going underground in the mines in far better condition to take care of themselves.

Drunkenness, so far as I have observed, is not as common as before the Eighteenth Amendment went into effect. My observation has been that where conditions are at their worst, the local authorities are doing far less than they should to enforce this law.

My conclusions are that conditions are very much better under Prohibition than they were under the open saloon and that if the Prohibition laws were as well enforced as other laws, conditions would be much improved.

D. H. CAMPBELL.

**To the Point.**

R. B. Shaw, Dean of Agriculture, Michigan Agricultural College, East Lansing, Mich.

1. Yes.

### Liquor Traffic Continues to Show Itself Consistent Law Breaker.

Fitchburg Steam Engine Co.  
Fitchburg, Mass., March 18, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I am as bitterly opposed to the liquor traffic as ever. It has shown itself consistently a law breaker in every conceivable way, and has not changed its tactics at the present time.

I have been studying this question for the last forty-five years, and have noticed only a great advantage coming from the Constitutional Amendment and the Volstead Act with the assistance of the amendment recently made.

My own experience is a very much less visibility of drunkenness, a much safer city for women to be out in in the evening and while there is a great deal of drunkenness and many arrests, it is true that these are more carefully picked than they were formerly, and also that there are not nearly as many as the papers would induce us to suppose. Comparison of arrests at the present time with arrests before the Prohibition Act went into effect show conclusively a tremendous advantage under present conditions.

As chairman of the Executive Committee of the Anti-Saloon League of America, and consequently getting a more or less comprehensive view of the whole country, I can say that we are more than satisfied with the results so far of the Law, it being much better enforced in some of the larger cities than we deemed possible, and our expectation has been that it would take fifteen to twenty years to show the absolutely prohibitive effects which we believe will come from it.

F. FOSDICK, President.

### Congress Will Not Yield to the Cry for Beer, and Wines, Says Senator Capper.

United States Senate,  
Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.  
March 22, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I am stronger than ever for Prohibition. I think the Law is measuring up to the expectations of its friends. There are violations of the liquor law, of course, just as there are violations of other criminal statutes. But conditions are showing, and will continue to show improvement. Guided by my experience and observations in Kansas, I am confident that there is not even the slightest possibility that this nation will ever return to the saloon.

We enforce the prohibitory law in Kansas and there is not the slightest disposition to repeal it. Prohibition has been the Law of Kansas for forty years. So to the people of that state Prohibition is not an experiment; it is a tried, established and successful institution. Our people have observed its operation first hand for nearly half a century and today I believe it is entirely conservative to say that fully 95 per cent of them look upon the prohibitory law as one of the greatest blessings ever bestowed upon the state by legislative enactment.

I am aware there is quite a strong demand for a light wine and beer amendment, but in my opinion there is no probability that Congress will make this change. The people will soon become accustomed to the new order of things. They will find that the wiping out of the liquor business is a wonderful help in making the people of this country happier and more prosperous. I predict that in five years the sentiment of the entire country will be overwhelmingly in favor of Prohibition and the people will not for a moment think of abandoning the prohibition principle.

ARTHUR CAPPER,  
United States Senator.

### Great Amount of Good Accomplished; Liquor Becoming More Difficult and Dangerous to Secure.

The Goulds Manufacturing Co.,  
Seneca Falls, N. Y., March 17, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

We quite agree with you that a great amount of good has already been accomplished through Prohibition. While it has been apparently impossible to strictly enforce the laws, the securing of liquor is becoming more and more difficult and dangerous.

We believe that a large volume of savings deposits in this community as well as practically every other community in the United States, at a time when industrial workers are on short time and many out of employment, is indicative of the disposition on the part of these men to save money which was formerly spent for liquor, etc.

It will undoubtedly take some time to secure enforcement of the law because of the present attitude toward the Prohibition question of quite a large body of our citizens who otherwise are law abiding.

H. S. FREDENBURGH, Secretary.

### Opposed to Any Relaxing of Standard Which Has Been Established: Less Intoxication and Better Homes Than Ever Before.

Harvard University.  
Division of History, Government, and Economics.  
Cambridge, Mass., March 23, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I am much interested in your attempt to ascertain the present opinion of the one thousand Americans who signed the Prohibition petition in 1917. I am very glad for one to inform you that I hold now the same opinion as then on the subject of Prohibition. Now as then I believe the elimination of the curse of the liquor traffic to be of the utmost importance both on economic and moral grounds. It is evident what all Prohibitionists foresaw in advance that the problem of enforcement would be serious. No doubt with further experience it will be possible to improve existing enforcement legislation, but until existing laws have received a thorough trial I should be opposed to any relaxing of the standard which has been established.

I have made no special study of the effect of Prohibition on the laborer in the saving of money formerly spent on liquor, but so far as my observation goes it has improved the conditions of home life. Particularly the conditions of life for women and children in homes where the money was formerly spent for drink. In this part of the country drunkenness is less frequent than before Prohibition and crimes resulting from intoxication have greatly diminished. Local tradesmen tell me that business in food and clothing and many of the less expensive luxuries has been better than ever before and collection of accounts due more certain.

A. N. HOLCOMBE.

### Wonderful Gain All Around.

Frank O. Wells,  
Weldon Hotel,  
Greenfield, Mass., March 20, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

As far as my observation goes, in the smaller town and cities Prohibition has worked out splendidly.

There is much less drunkenness, people are working more steadily, and there is a wonderful gain all around. In the larger cities where the laws are not obeyed so close, its hard work to get anything of this sort, put over, but I feel its a good move and should be followed up.

F. O. WELLS.

**Coming Generations Will Know Little about Whiskey  
Except from History.**

The Carborundum Company,  
Manufacturers of  
Abrasive and Refractory Materials.  
Niagara Falls, N. Y., March 20, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

In reference to your letter relative to the practical results of Prohibition, we can speak with reference to the effect noticed among our own employees only.

Men used to carry liquor into the factory but do not now. It was a daily occurrence to have one or more employees report for work under the influence of liquor, now it is very infrequent. As a result of the above we experience fewer accidents and a better grade of work.

We used to discharge men for bringing liquor into the plant and coming to work under its influence, but the number disregarding rules did not seem to decrease until Prohibition became a law. From then until now the number has gradually decreased as indicated.

We attribute these results to two causes.

First—A more careful selection of men.

Second—Young men are not learning to use liquor as formerly, thus leaving unfilled the ranks of the old drinkers.

We believe Prohibition is a good thing. We want to see it remain the law of the land. We deplore the fact that there is "bootlegging" but believe such traffic will gradually disappear and that the oncoming generations will know but little about liquor and its influence except from history.

W. E. GUACK, Superintendent Service Department.

**Better Class of Citizens in Favor of More Stringency in  
Prohibition Enforcement.**

University of Tennessee,  
College of Engineering,  
Knoxville, Tenn., March 18, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I do not believe that public sentiment would for a moment tolerate the open saloon, in this part of the country. I am confident that if a law were passed allowing the free sale of beer and wine, the contrast with present conditions would be so marked that a demand would be overwhelming, to have the law repealed, and to eliminate the saloon.

There is no comparison between the public drunkenness of the days before Prohibition, and that at the present time. This is naturally a moonshine district, but so far as I have heard, the sentiment of the better class of citizens is in favor of more stringency rather than in favor of relaxing the enforcement of the Prohibition laws.

CHAS. A. PERKINS, Ph. D.,  
Professor of Electrical Engineering.

**Labor Conditions Much Improved Since Prohibition.**

University of Michigan,  
College of Engineering,  
Ann Arbor, Mich., March 25, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

My feeling in the matter is essentially the same as it was two years ago. I think every one regrets that the Prohibition laws have been somewhat ineffective, but my personal opinion is that this is a matter which will continually improve with time.

My experience in manufacturing is that labor conditions have been very much improved since Prohibition came into effect. The factory which I am connected with produces just as much on Monday as on Wednesday, which was far from being the condition in former years.

BENJ. F. BAILEY, Ph. D.,  
Professor Dept. Electrical Engineering.

**Sale of Alcoholic Liquors Should Be Prohibited; Violators  
Always Found of Any Legislative Enactment.**

Union College,  
Scheuectady, N. Y., March 18, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I have always felt, and feel now, very strongly that the sale of alcoholic liquors should be prohibited, just as we prohibit by law the sale of other harmful things. I am not certain that it would be safe to make any exception in the operation of a prohibitory law as far as alcoholic liquors are concerned; but if it were safe to make such exception, I think I would favor excepting malt beers of a very small alcoholic content; by very small I mean not more than two per cent. If, in order to secure the result of preventing the sale of liquors of high alcoholic content, it is necessary to prevent also the sale of liquors of small alcoholic content, then I am decidedly in favor of a complete Prohibition. Doubtless in a few years we shall have learned how to enforce the law to the satisfaction of the vast majority of our citizens. While we are learning how to accomplish this end, we must exercise the greatest patience along with our watchfulness. There will probably always be violations of any legislative enactment. We must expect that. But we also have the right to expect that obedience to our laws will become more widespread as time passes. In the enforcement of this or any law, we must encourage with hearty support all to whom enforcement is entrusted, removing from office all untrustworthy officers as soon as they are found. I believe that in a very few years the great majority of our citizens will congratulate themselves that the United States has prohibited in its fundamental law the sale of harmful, intoxicating liquors.

EDWARD ELLERY, Dean of the Faculty.

**People Are Better Financially, Have More Home Comforts,  
and Less Domestic Trouble. Will We Develop a Tolerance  
for the Law Violator as for the Tax Dodger.**

The State Agricultural College,  
Fort Collins, Colo., March 27, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

We are more in favor of Prohibition, if that be possible, than we were when the National Prohibition Act went into effect.

While we are experiencing many difficulties in the enforcement of the measure and see the development of some peculiar reactions in the attitude of the public toward the Prohibition Act, the results of Prohibition are altogether positive in our opinion, and as far as we can learn the people do not want to go back to the open saloon.

We had experience in State Prohibition in Colorado before the National Prohibition Act went into effect, but the latter did away with a number of our difficulties, namely, the importation of liquor from surrounding non-prohibition territory. It brought a new difficulty in the illicit still and illicit liquor traffic, but both of these difficulties are gradually being overcome, and I am convinced that people are better off financially, that they pay their bills more promptly, they have more comforts for the home, less domestic trouble, the women and children are happier and better cared for than was ever possible under the open saloon regime; while drunkenness has become the exception, a drunken man on the street excites comment and the pertinent query why the officers of the law are not doing their duty.

One of the peculiar developments of the Act at present is the satisfaction that some people seem to get in making their own liquor or in having some in stock for their friends, which leads us to wonder whether we are going to develop the same tolerance for the individual who violates the Prohibition laws as we have developed for the tax dodger.

CHAS. A. LORY, President.

**Prohibition an Overwhelming Success and Has Moved Our Whole Conception of National Morals and Conscience to a Higher Plane.**

The Keystone Driller Co.,  
Beaver Falls, Pa., March 21, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

Our opinion of the 18th Amendment has changed, materially. When the Law went into effect we had some doubts as to the possibility of the practical enforcement of the Law. Now we have none.

Again, at that time we *thought* the benefit of the Amendment would be incalculable,—now we *know* it. In our own factories, in three states, it has absolutely eliminated alcoholism as a procuring cause of accidents, penury and strikes.

We do not believe there is an industrial manager between the oceans, who looks at this question with the eyes of a patriot, who has a regard for the life and limbs of his employes, and who has observed the actual effects of the law upon society, business, industry and public morals, who does not know just what we know.

It would be a monumental crime of which the United States is incapable as well as an irreparable calamity to return to the rule of alcohol. To our mind, speaking as manufacturers, (and therefore employers) this whole question is absolutely as undebatable as would be the question of a return to slavery.

Prohibition was, in a sense, our principal gain from the Great War; "and it is worth our present National debt twice over. Among other things it has moved our whole conception of National morals and conscience up to a level never heretofore attained by any other nation, and has cleared the way for permanent industrial prosperity as nothing else could have done.

R. M. DOWNIE, Secretary and Manager.  
(A Manufacturer for 40 Years.)

**Not Only A Blessing to World From Moral Standpoint, but to All Business in View of One of South's Business Leaders.**

Bristol, Tenn., March 27, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

Referring to the petition, which I signed some five years ago for our Congress calling attention to the great evil of the licensed liquor traffic, I am very glad to report that we made no mistake in urging the Eighteenth Amendment, so far as my observation is concerned. I am sure it is a great blessing to our industries that work many laborers.

This is my experience as a manufacturer, and information which I receive from other manufacturers; even those who were opposed to the Amendment say that it has been a great benefit in their business.

I know there is a great effort on the part of some of the liquor men in our large cities to encourage the violation of this Law and make it as difficult as possible to enforce same. I am glad to say in this section it is gradually growing more favorable to the enforcement of the Law.

I wish to say in justice to the former dealers of liquor in Bristol, they are making good, law-abiding citizens, some of them are conducting some of our leading business houses, and are favorably regarded by our people generally. Several of them have joined our leading Churches. I don't know of any instance in which they have encouraged violation of the Law. [Note:—Would that all liquor dealers would follow their good example. *Editor Manufacturers Record.*]

Our whole country is due you a debt of gratitude for the courageous stand that you took on this great moral question, which is not only a blessing to the world from a moral standpoint, but a great blessing in the industries, which you represent very largely. Long may you live as a righteous and industrial leader of our country.

A. D. REYNOLDS.

**Next to Lying and Stealing Nothing So Destroys Dependability as Drunkenness.**

Harvard University.

Cambridge, Mass., March 20, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I am still opposed to the liquor traffic to the same extent that I was when I signed the petition to Congress. It was the most conspicuous form of waste to be found anywhere in the life of the American people. The waste of money, however, was not the serious phase of the question; it was the waste of man power that counted. The money formerly spent on drink is spent for other things, and the loss to the liquor business is therefore fully made up by the gain in other lines of business.

**We cannot maintain a high state of civilization without a great deal of interdependence. There can be no great amount of interdependence where there is no dependability. Next to lying and stealing, nothing so destroys dependability as drunkenness. Anything, therefore, which increases drunkenness fixes a lower limit to the possibilities of civilization. Anything that decreases drunkenness raises that limit and makes it possible for us to be more civilized than we could otherwise become.**

My impression is that drunkenness is much less common than it was before Prohibition came in. This impression is supported by such statistics as are available.

T. N. CARVER,  
Department of Economics.

**Beyond the Shadow of a Doubt Prohibition Has Done Good.**

Ferris Institute,

Big Rapids, Michigan, April 4, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I am still opposed to the liquor traffic. I have fought the liquor traffic for fifty years and I am not inclined to cease. I have not changed my views.

Beyond the shadow of a doubt Prohibition has done much for labor and the betterment of laborers' homes, but the benefits of Prohibition are not entirely a part of the life of the laboring man; other homes have been more attractive than ever before.

Drunkenness is not so common as it was with the open saloon. I am hoping, however, that the Government will use sensible and wholesome methods for enforcing Prohibition and more particularly for encouraging that form of life which would lessen even the inclination to use intoxicating liquors.

W. N. FERRIS,  
Former Governor of Michigan.

**Passage of Eighteenth Amendment Marked Beginning of New Era in American History.**

The Johns Hopkins University,

School of Hygiene and Public Health,

Baltimore, Md., March 28, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I am still opposed to traffic in intoxicating liquors, and believe that the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment was a step in the right direction; that Prohibition is working insofar as the great majority of our population is concerned notwithstanding the great publicity which is given to violations brought about by the demand for liquor by a small number of people who can afford to pay exorbitant prices. I feel confident that the enterprise of destroying the liquor traffic will ultimately be successful, and that the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment marks the beginning of a new era in American history.

E. V. MCCOLLUM,  
Professor Chemical Hygiene.

**Noticeable Improvement in Habits of Workmen in Various Plants of This Company Despite Lack of Adequate Enforcement of Law.**

Link-Belt Company,  
Executive Offices

Chicago, Ill., March 31, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

Our various plants report a noticeable improvement in the habits of workmen, particularly those of foreign birth, since the abolition of the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors. From the standpoint of plant administration, therefore, I can speak most favorably of the change, but I am not so certain how the failure to properly enforce the Law is affecting both our native and foreign born citizens.

Chicago is noticeably lax in law enforcement, and it is easy, not only to get illicit liquor, but to make it for home consumption. A large part of the increase in crime in the Chicago district seems to have its origin in bootlegging. There is, in consequence, a growing sentiment among thinking men, that the enforcement of the Prohibition Act will prove unsuccessful, and that the failure to enforce it opens up a rich field of revenue for crooked and lawless citizens.

With a large percentage of foreign born citizens, I doubt very much whether public sentiment in Chicago is overwhelmingly for law enforcement, and if this is the case, I despair of achieving in this district at least, the full economic and moral benefits which the prohibition of manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors is supposed to effect.

CHARLES PIEZ, President.

**No Greater Evidence of Intelligence of American People Ever Given Than the Adoption of Prohibition.**

Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints

Salt Lake City, Utah, March 27, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I am still just as much opposed to the liquor traffic as I have ever been. In my judgment, nothing has occurred in the history of our nation, since the framing of the Constitution, that reflects more credit upon and gives greater evidence of the intelligence of the great American people than the passage and ratification of this measure. I cannot see how any conscientious man could be influenced to vote for its repeal.

No one could foresee just what would be the early accomplishments of the Prohibition Law but all thinking people must have anticipated the strenuous fight that is being made upon it by its opponents.

I sincerely hope that there may be a concerted and effective drive made to counteract the efforts that are being made to have this Law repealed. While, in some respects, it may be inadequate, this is no reason why it should be repealed. My firm belief is that the inadequacy is not so much in the Law but rather in its enforcement.

It is my opinion that a wonderful amount of good has already been accomplished; that the laboring classes have been materially benefitted and that their families have been better provided for and made much happier. The curtailment of the use of liquor that has resulted from the enforcement, inadequate as it has been, has, to me demonstrated the increased good that can be accomplished, and if the onslaughts of the opponents to create public opinion against this Law can be checkmated for just a few years and the enforcement become gradually more pronounced, the beneficial results will become so apparent that I feel sure support will take the place of opposition.

Hoping that the same spirit that actuated those who were influential in having the Prohibition Amendment made to our glorious Constitution may prevail with increased force among those who are influential in creating and maintaining public opinion in favor of its enforcement, I am,

HERBERT J. GRANT, President.

**In Another Generation Liquor Will Have Disappeared from Our Politics and Our Memories.**

University of Missouri,

Department of Experimental Psychology,

Columbia, Mo., March 20, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I do not see how among people who place the welfare of humanity above an accidentally acquired habit of some individuals there can be any difference of opinion concerning alcohol prohibition. That some people drink as much as before Prohibition, no matter how much or how little that statement may be true, is not a relevant argument in the face of the general social betterment. We might as well argue for the abolishment of all police forces on the basis of the statement that some people still commit crimes. I believe that those who, living in the large cities, have the relatively few cases of extreme vice so near them, lose thereby the ability to see the condition of the whole country as it actually is. In another generation those drunkards who are attracted by the cellars of the metropolitan cities and by the smuggling possible in our ports, will virtually have died out and it will be true what President Harding has said that liquor will have disappeared not merely from our politics, but from our memories.

MAX F. MEYER, Ph. D.

**Hopes Prohibition Will Justify Itself.**

Robt. H. Ingersoll & Bro.,

Ingersoll Watches

New York, N. Y., April 12, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

Answering yours of the 16th is very difficult for me, especially as I am not inclined to accept second hand opinions or take things for granted, or assume that my viewpoint is necessarily a safe one. The fact is from such personal observation as I have made, Prohibition seems to have stimulated a disposition to drink, obtain drink, distil drink under cover, etc., as I notice much more of all these activities especially amongst the young people than formerly.

I understand, on the other hand, that the results among the so-called common people, workers and others, have been favorable, and to this I have heard the criticism that Prohibition has worked undemocratically.

Perhaps what I notice is a passing phase—I hope so, and that Prohibition will justify itself in the long run.

Again, although I signed the original petition, it was against a very large measure of adherence to the personal liberty belief, and a belief that people are not made moral and good by statute law.

I appreciate that this answer is not the sort you are looking for, and that it expresses a large measure of confusion on a very important subject.

CHAS. H. INGERSOLL.

**Good Results in Massachusetts Despite No Local Enforcement Law.**

Richard C. Cabot, M. D.

Boston, Mass., March 17, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

Assuredly I do favor Prohibition as strongly as I ever did, and I am certain that its good results are manifest in Massachusetts, despite the fact that we have as yet no local enforcement law.

The foolish rich probably drink as much as before Prohibition, or more. The ordinary man certainly drinks less and from the economic, medical and penological standpoint, gains are still very clear, though not quite as great in 1921 as in 1920.

RICHARD C. CABOT.

**Our Children's Children Will Wonder That We Ever  
Tolerated the Liquor Traffic.**

The D. M. Bare Paper Company,  
Roaring Springs, Pa., March 17, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I am absolutely opposed to the liquor traffic, and was never more so. It is Evil and only Evil. I have been pretty actively opposed to the saloon for more than forty years. I remember some fifteen or more years ago in conversation with the president of our County Anti-Saloon League, I remarked that while I did not expect to live to see Prohibition to be the law of our country (I was then probably seventy years old) I believed it was coming and eventually it would pass. He replied, "Oh: you will live to see it." I probably doubted it then, but I am very happy to know that I have lived to see the last saloon in this great country of ours outlawed.

Our town with a present population of 2500 has not had a licensed saloon for forty years, hence the change here is not so great as in towns where there were saloons, but from general information I believe there has been an improvement everywhere, but that has depended much on the loyalty or disloyalty of the enforcement officers. I believe that service is being radically improved at this time and will continue.

Yes, Prohibition is a great blessing to this country, and our children's children, fifty years hence, will probably wonder why their ancestors ever allowed such an iniquity as the saloon to exist in this fair land of ours.

D. M. BARE.

**Prohibition Effective Despite Difficulties of Mismanagement.**

Carnegie Institution of Washington,  
Department of Genetics,

Cold Springs Harbor, Long Island, N. Y., March 18, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I have no reason for changing my views in regard to the prohibition of the liquor traffic. I do, however, feel keenly that this Prohibition has brought out disgraceful mismanagement. This is experienced by me as director of a biological institution in my attempts to get alcohol for the ordinary preservation of material and for the ordinary chemical operations. In one case our application was not filled for over a year. In visiting the office of the Prohibition Director in New York City I have been greatly impressed by the resemblance of most of the applicants who crowded the rooms and halls to the type of the saloon keeper. From my experience I conclude that the Law has not been sufficiently enforced. Certainly we get numerous rumors of extensive graft in connection with the work of attempted enforcement. The only change then in my views would be that the liquor traffic should be prohibited if it is possible to secure an efficient, honest government. Otherwise I should think it better to return to regulated traffic.

That Prohibition has been, despite all difficulties, somewhat effective is shown by the marked decrease in the number of alcoholics in institutions for the insane, the inebriate asylums and the emergency hospitals, like Bellevue, New York. I am in first hand contact with the Kings Park State Hospital, near here, and there was a marked reduction in the number of alcoholics in the first year or two of Prohibition but, I understand, the numbers are now mounting again. I do not know about the effect of Prohibition in the saving of money and the betterment of homes, as I have no first hand means of securing data on this topic.

It seems to me drunkenness is less common at the present time that before Prohibition. However, as I live in a rural community I do not have much chance for observation and comparison. I was in a roadhouse last Sunday and noted that the men stood in two ranks in front of the small bar. They may have, however, been drinking lemonade, I did not

investigate. One phenomenon which has followed Prohibition may not be due to it but is quite noticeable about here, namely, the marked development of roadhouses in rural communities. The workmen that I come in contact with state that there is little difficulty now in getting liquor. I can not help having a good deal of sympathy for (but I would not myself wish to "stand for it") the statement that a friend of mine makes that the administration of the Prohibition Law in the United States is the blackest spot upon our national escutcheon.

CHAS. B. DAVENPORT, Director.

**Prohibition Is Proving A Blessing to All Classes—Miraculous  
Change for Better Seen in Slum Sections of Cities and  
Towns—Abolition of Liquor Traffic Most Important Forward  
Step in Our Government.**

Wm. Goodell Frost,

Berea, Ky., April 12, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I am very glad that you are pursuing the campaign for a better America, in so energetic and able a manner.

Let me assure you that I feel that the abolition of the liquor traffic is by far the most important forward step taken in our generation.

The immediate results for good are much greater than I expected. It seems little short of a miracle to pass through the slums of our great cities and the little pockets of misery in smaller towns and see the evident change for the better; and it is no less marvelous to note the decided change of public sentiment even in those places where the liquor traffic seemed most strongly entrenched. Not a few individuals of my acquaintance who were formerly connected in some indirect way with the liquor business, having inherited shares in distilleries or owning buildings which were rented for liquor uses, are heartily glad to be rid of the whole miserable business.

There is of course opposition to the enforcement of the new Law, but it is much less than I anticipated. The majority of drinking men have simply stopped drinking, found other pleasures and are heartily glad of the change. The opposition so far as my personal knowledge extends is from a few of the weaker and more reckless members of society and this of the more aristocratic and pretentious who hold themselves as too good to be controlled by any law, and besides this there is a subtle political opposition on the part of those who have used the liquor traffic and the drinking habits of their fellow citizens as a means for controlling elections.

My own home is in a region most infested by moonshiners and they have had a pretty free swing but they are steadily coming under control. By and large, and more and more, Prohibition is proving a blessing to all classes of our fellow citizens.

WM. GOODELL FROST,  
President Berea College.

**Benefit, Says an Alabama Iron Company's  
Vice President.**

The Alabama Company

Birmingham, Ala., March 21, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

Inasmuch as the State of Alabama has virtually been dry ever since the organization of The Alabama Company, we have been without the menace of the saloon at our mines, and are not in position to form a very accurate comparative idea as to the difference between conditions at present and those in effect before the Prohibition laws were passed in this state. However, there is no doubt in my mind but that, from an economic standpoint entirely, Prohibition has been of great benefit to all employers of labor.

H. W. COFFIN, Vice-President.

### If Habit of Moderate Drinking Makes Men Break Law, Then Even Moderate Drinking Should Be Abolished.

Palo Alto, Cal., March 25, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I have seen no reason for changing my opinion as to the desirability of Prohibition in the United States.

I am well aware that the Prohibition Law is not being satisfactorily enforced, and that there is a great amount of lawlessness among men whom we have heretofore regarded as loyal citizens, but in so far as this fact becomes an argument it seems to me altogether in favor of Prohibition.

**If the habit of moderate drinking will make a man so regardless of the will of the majority in a republic, then it is essential to the perpetuation of republican institutions that even moderate drinking shall be abolished.**

I am not discouraged as to the ultimate enforcement of the Law. The irreconcilables are losing in numbers and influence all the time. The supply of standard alcoholic beverages is becoming more meager all the time, and one must be very dependent upon alcoholic stimulation to remain long a patron of the commercial bootlegger.

FERNANDO SANFORD,  
Professor (Emeritus) Stanford University.

### From Open Saloons to Dispensary, State Prohibition and National Prohibition With Improvement in Each Step.

Mallison Braided Cord Company,  
Athens, Ga., March 16, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

In our city we have tried the open saloon and the dispensary. There was less drunkenness under the sale of liquor through the dispensary than when we had the open saloon.

We next had State Prohibition and found still further decrease in the use of liquor.

Prohibition as at present is evidently better than either the saloon or the dispensary as many women and children are provided with some of the comforts of life from the saving of money formerly spent for whiskey.

While there is room for considerable improvement in the enforcement of the law, we believe that there is better enforcement than a few months since.

We are convinced that many of the young men will never form the drink habit, and this will mean that we will have scarcely any drunkenness in the not far distant future. If Prohibition accomplishes nothing other than to save our young men from drink, it is certainly a great blessing.

J. H. MAPP, Secretary & Manager.

### Slaves of Habit and Home Wreckers Still Willing to Wreck Laws.

The Land and Loan Co., (Inc.),  
Red Bank, N. J., March 17, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I am more opposed to the liquor traffic as I see its slaves of habit and home wreckers still willing to become wreckers of laws and Constitutional authority for selfish gratification and greed.

There is great satisfaction in the fact that the Eighteenth Amendment has resulted in thousands more of happy homes and a better day for women and children, as shown by the increased attendance in our schools and the higher standard of living enjoyed by them.

**Drunkenness will decrease still faster as the laws are enforced and this generation of drinkers' pass on to the moonshiners' and bootleggers' reward.**

NEWTON DOREMUS,  
President and Treasurer.

### Breaking the Prohibition Law Is Becoming Unprofitable and Disreputable.

C. H. Masland & Sons, Inc.  
Rugs and Carpets,  
"Amber Mills"  
Philadelphia, Pa., March 22, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I emphatically approve of the most rigid enforcement of the Prohibition Laws.

The enforcement of the Prohibition Law in Philadelphia, even though partially applied, has nevertheless been very marked in its benefit to its working people during a period of continued business depression that would ordinarily have brought great distress.

There is no doubt in our minds that the ability of the working people to sustain themselves during the extended depression, such as we have had the last 18 months, is very largely due to prohibitory laws.

C. W. MASLAND.

The answer of Mr. Masland to our questions is as follows:

1. Our opposition is more pronounced than before, as we have seen the great advantage to the whole community from the merely partial enforcement applied in our State.

2. We have had a close-up study of the effect on labor, as we are large employers and have been able to observe the ability of the workmen to sustain their homes during the serious depression just passing, and we have not heard of any public soup kitchens being open either.

3. Drunkenness is decidedly uncommon. We have one man in our employ who occasionally comes under the influence of liquor, where we previously had fifty.

4. In our observation, breaking of the Prohibition laws is becoming unprofitable and disreputable.

### Families Better Cared for and Workmen Have More Saving Deposits.

Minneapolis, Minn., March 18, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I am still opposed to the liquor traffic to the extent that I was when I signed the petition to Congress. Much good has already been done by Prohibition, though as yet only partially enforced. We are rid of the open saloon with streams of young men going into it. There is less drunkenness and less drinking than formerly. More working men have deposits in savings banks. Families are better cared for.

Bootleggers and their allies of course make trouble, as was to be expected. You cannot even by law, banish liquor entirely from millions of people who have been accustomed to use it. Many of them will get it if they can; but more will not get it and the result is going to be good finally, and Prohibition, backed by the Constitution, will prohibit.

CYRUS NORTHROP,  
(Ex-President University Minnesota).

### Former Governor Dorsey Finds Less Drunkenness in Georgia.

Law Offices of  
Dorsey, Brewster, Howell & Heyman  
Atlanta, Ga., March 21, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I am still opposed to the liquor traffic and to the same extent as when I signed the petition to Congress. My views have undergone no change. Much of the money formerly spent for whiskey is now being devoted to the support and education of families and the improvement of home conditions. Drunkenness is by no means as common at the present time as under the open saloon and free liquor traffic program.

HUGH M. DORSEY.



**No Longer Necessary to Maintain Wards in Hospitals for Treatment of Alcoholic Victims.**

E. E. Montgomery, M. D.,  
Philadelphia, Pa., March 17, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

In spite of the difficulty of enforcing the Law against the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors, I am more than ever convinced of the wisdom of the enforcement of the Act.

Its opponents are loud in their vociferations against the failure to enforce the Law and in the assertion that more drinking is being done, but, only those who do not wish to see are convinced by these statements.

No longer, is it necessary to maintain wards in hospitals for the treatment of the victims of alcohol and those who walk the streets are impressed with the infrequency of drunken men. The situation would render them particularly noticeable were they frequent.

What is needed is continued education so that the young may feel that in indulgence they are not only imperiling their future health and comfort but are placing themselves outside the pale of respectability.

I do not believe there is anything like the suffering under present conditions there would be were the saloons open as before the passage of the 18th Amendment.

E. E. MONTGOMERY.

**"Time" Works for, Not Against Temperance.**

University of Pittsburgh,  
Pittsburgh, Pa., March 18, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

President Harding (as quoted by you) expresses, quite fully, the benefits of Prohibition. Undoubtedly all college and university people bear the same testimony. Certainly,—so far as I can observe,—the President's words are true.

It occurs to me that possibly there is a field of activity not quite fully worked,—the activity directed against the low comedy which provokes the "vacant laugh" against sobriety. The joke is an American estate,—but intemperance is no joke.

Were press and pulpit and "after dinner" men,—instructors and talkers generally to substitute some other form of joke than at the expense of sobriety,—people of "sense, sobriety and substance" might ultimately even answer a sneer.

But "Time" works for, not against, temperance.

FRANCIS N. THORPE.

**Sober Thought of Country Believes in Prohibition.**

University of Michigan,  
President's Office,  
Ann Arbor, April 4, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

My answer to your letter of March 16 must be regarded as a personal one and not connected with the official position which I now occupy as President of the University of Michigan.

As an individual and as a citizen I claim the privilege in spite of my position of having judgment upon public issues of the day. I am, therefore, glad to say to you that I still hold the same views in regard to Prohibition that I did when I signed the petition that went to Congress. The recent agitation of the subject has in no way changed my reasons for thinking as I did at that time. I am convinced that the economic issue lies at the basis of this question and that the second sober thought of our country believes in the support of Prohibition. It seems quite apparent to me, from my observation, that drunkenness is not as common now as it was prior to the enforcement of the Volstead Act.

M. L. BURTON.

**Sees Greater Transformation Than Thought Possible.**

The University of Wisconsin  
Madison, Wis., March 18, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

My support of Prohibition is stronger now than when I signed the petition for it five years ago. The country has been dried up more completely than I had supposed would be possible within two years after the adoption of the Amendment. The transformation of customs and the modification of habits in a beneficent way are even more marked than I had anticipated. We hear a great deal about drinking at the present time but I understand perfectly that this is mostly propaganda and my own observation convinces me that the amount of drinking and drunkenness is greatly reduced unless it be in a few of our largest cities.

I expect a more extensive transformation from Prohibition within the next thirty years than formerly I considered possible.

E. A. ROSS, Department of Economics.

**Discipline With 1800 Students Better Than With 600 Before Prohibition. If Country Keeps Improving, in Ten Years All Will Favor Prohibition.**

West Virginia University,  
Morgantown, W. Va., March 18, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I am glad to say that in no way at all has my opinion in regard to Prohibition changed except to become stronger. The benefits of Prohibition are seen on every side and with 1800 students under my paternal care I find that the discipline now with that number is not nearly so difficult as it was six years ago with 600. If we keep on for the next ten or fifteen years at the rate we are going now in this country there will be, I think, no advocates of the other side.

FRANK B. TROTTER, President.

**Prohibition Good in Morals and Sound in Political Science.**

Oberlin College,  
Department of Political Science,  
Oberlin, Ohio, March 18, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

Although Prohibition was enacted, in part at least, as a war measure to conserve the energies of the people by preventing the waste of a non-productive and destructive industry, I see no reason for not continuing its enforcement, at least until there is more positive evidence of its impracticability than we have had up to the present time.

In fact, aside from its demoralizing effects upon the individual and society, there never was a time when the elimination of all non-productive and wasteful industries was more urgent than at present. When millions are starving for want of grain it should require no lengthy argument to convince men that to manufacture that grain into a product that destroys life and happiness is a violation of one of the most elementary principles of humanity and civilization. While there is also a great moral principle involved in this issue, I speak not as a moralist but as a student of political science. Moreover, while I do not accept many of the current theories of social control—I think on the whole we are controlled too much—there is a legitimate field for government control and that field covers all agencies or forces which tend to limit human capacity or to promote economic waste. Here government and law should step in and interfere to the end that the individual may develop in a society freed from all useless and vicious impediments to human progress. This, I maintain, is not only good morals but sound political science.

KARL F. GEISER,  
Professor of Political Science.

**Strict Enforcement of Prohibition Law Needed.**

Title Guarantee and Trust Company,  
Capital and Surplus \$18,500,000

New York, March 25, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I desire to say that I am still in favor of the strict enforcement of the Prohibition Law and that while there seems to be great resistance to it and otherwise respectable people of prominence are deliberately violating it, I believe with President Harding, as reported in this morning's papers, that they should be called upon in the interest of all the people to return to an attitude of obedience to law, to conduct comporting with good morals, and to setting an example to their children and the young who need strengthening in right living instead of examples of selfish indulgence and disrespect for the law of the land.

CLARENCE H. KELSEY, President.

**Eighteenth Amendment Best Asset to Country.**

C. Edward Murray.

Trenton, N. J., March 18, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

Today, 50 per cent of the opponents of the Eighteenth Amendment deep down in their hearts know and feel the Amendment is the best asset Uncle Sam has, and ten years from now 90 per cent will take a very different view of the so-called erratic, narrow-minded Prohibition.

I am just as enthusiastic over the suppression of all liquor traffic as ever, and heartily endorse President Harding's recent statement on the subject.

C. EDWARD MURRAY.

**Many English People Anxious to Follow Our Example.**

University of Colorado,  
Department of Biology.

Boulder, Col., March 21, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I am still entirely convinced of the necessity for Prohibition. I am one of those who hold that personal liberty should not be interfered with unless there are very strong reasons, abundantly supported by adequate evidence. In the present case it seems to me that the reasons and evidence are much more than adequate.

One hears it said that Prohibition does not prohibit. It is a fact that liquor is used here in Boulder by certain persons who are specially anxious to get it or have kept it a number of years. These persons are, however, in a small minority, and the mass of the population gets along perfectly well without it, while the young people are growing up without coming in contact with it. Actually the thing is a great success, and the exceptions, while they may be deplorable, are of minor consequence.

Last year I was in England, and I was glad to find people there alive to the problem. Many people with whom I talked said they would vote for Prohibition should the opportunity come.

Unquestionably great benefits, especially to the women, have been obtained under Prohibition. Men who used to spend all their spare money on themselves for drink now spend it on the whole family. In fact, one of our big problems today is to find suitable ways of spending the surplus so that it may give permanent benefits and real happiness to all concerned. We are not yet as expert in this matter as I trust we shall become, but compared with former times the advance is marvelous.

THEO. D. A. COCKERELL.

**Everything Has Strengthened His Conviction as to Wisdom of Prohibition.**

N. W. Ayer & Son  
Advertising Headquarters,  
Philadelphia, Pa., March 31, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

All that has transpired since the Federal Government took steps to prohibit the manufacture, sale, import, export or transport of alcoholic liquors in the United States has strengthened my conviction of the wisdom of that legislation.

The Savings Banks tell one side of the story. The disappearance of saloons from our streets furnishes another eloquent endorsement of Prohibition, as does also the extremely rare appearance of a drunken man in public.

The extremes to which some men will go for the sake of profit in the attempt to defeat proper administration of anti-liquor laws is a sad commentary on the perversity of human nature when the love of money really grips a man.

F. W. AYER.

**Even Where Enforcement Is Lax, Improvement Is Definite.**

Stanford University, Cal., March 25, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

The evils involved in the liquor traffic are plain and evident. I do not know of any reason to change the judgment that the traffic should be prohibited. Such observation as I have been able to make in different sections of the Pacific Coast lead me to be strongly of the opinion that family life has been much bettered and drunkenness decidedly lessened. This is more markedly the case in the Pacific Northwest than in California, because of the fact that opinion in the latter State is not so united and enforcement is more lax. Even here the improvement is definite in spite of concerted opposition to the Law.

W. G. BEACH,  
Professor of Social Science.

**Paradoxical! Says Liquor Traffic Has Increased, But Liquor Has Disappeared.**

Adam Cook's Sons,  
Manufacturers of Lubricants.

New York, N. Y., March 18, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

Contrary to the views expressed, the increase of money finding its way into the savings banks is due primarily to these institutions having recognized the value of advertising, and of placing their proposition squarely before the public.

The liquor traffic instead of having decreased, has materially increased—although illegal. At the same time millions of dollars in revenue have been lost to this Government. It is true "liquor" has disappeared, but in its place has sprung up an evil a thousand times worse, and over which the Government cannot constitutionally exercise entire legal control.

One thing that would not only go a long way toward restoring prosperity to the United States, but at the same time fill the Government coffers with the realm of the country, would be the legalizing of the sale of beer and light wines.

The dark saloons with their cheap whiskeys are better forgotten, but the open cafes available to the entire family would make the "men who saw service" feel that they had not fought for a principle which we as Americans ourselves do not enjoy.

I thank you heartily for the courtesy of having permitted me to express my opinions on this subject, and sincerely trust that you will see fit to publish this side of the question.

GEO. BAUER, General Manager.

### **Understands Sordid Motives of These Trying to Break Prohibition Law.**

The Bedford Steam Stone Works,  
Bedford Limestone,  
Bedford, Ind., Mar. 18, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I am glad to have the opportunity again to express my views in as strong terms as possible in favor of Prohibition. I indeed welcome such efforts as you are making to help uphold the present laws for the enforcement of Prohibition, knowing as I so well know the good effects upon our labor that it has produced.

**Our jail here now has no inmates, while it was full to overflowing when we had saloons.** Before Prohibition came, we had to change the date of our pay day because many of our men were off the next day. We changed to Saturday so that if drunk and off the works, they had Sunday to sober up in. Now we do not have a single man who drinks and a drunk man in our city is never seen any more.

We regret exceedingly the efforts being made to break down our laws to enforce Prohibition but can understand the sordid motives behind these efforts and trust that the people of our land will not be fooled by these efforts but will rally to the support of Congressmen and Senators who are in favor of maintaining and strengthening the Volstead Law.

Trusting that your efforts may bolster up and sustain the great cause of temperance, I am,

E. B. THORNTON, President.

### **Believes Sentiment for Prohibition and Better Enforcement Will Grow Stronger.**

Valley Waste Mills,  
La Grange, Ga., March 13, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

As a large proportion of our employees are unskilled or semi-skilled negroes, we are especially in position to appreciate the practical results of Prohibition.

It was naturally to be expected that such a sweeping change would not be received with general approbation from the beginning, but we believe that as more and more people see the practical benefits of Prohibition to their weaker brothers, especially, the sentiment for retaining the Prohibition Law and for more complete enforcement will grow stronger.

CASON J. CALLAWAY, Treasurer and Manager.

### **None But the Blind, Deaf and Dumb Dispute Value of Prohibition.**

Asa G. Candler,  
Atlanta, Ga., March 14, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

The American public should be very happy that their President entertains the views that he does on the question of Prohibition of manufacture, sale and use as a beverage, of liquor of all varieties. I feel quite honored that my views are those expressed by our distinguished President. No one not influenced by a desire to get mouey, any way regardless of the interest of all others, can dispute the position taken by our honorable President. I regret to believe that there are men so selfish that they do not regard the life, liberty or prosperity of their fellowmen.

None but one who is blind, deaf and dumb can dispute the statement that Prohibition in this or any other community has greatly benefited employers and employees. I am proud of much good that has been accomplished in this community, but none has been of more value than that of Prohibition.

ASA G. CANDLER.

### **Prohibition Positive Benefit Economically.**

Williamsport, Pa., March 13, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

Laying aside all personal feelings, and viewing the question as economic only, I am free to say that Prohibition has been a positive benefit. Men are more efficient, because their power to work has been less enfeebled, while their savings of necessity have increased and their families have had better care and their homes more attention.

Because this Law is difficult of enforcement is no reason why it should be repealed or its stringency relaxed. It may take a full generation to secure the complete benefits of Prohibition, but those who come after us will wonder why its advent was so long delayed.

C. LARUE MUNSON.

### **Prohibition Has Done Good—Believes Absolute Enforcement as Impossible as Abolishment of Murder and Theft.**

Anchor Duck Mills,  
Rome, Ga., March 13, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I believe Prohibition has done a great deal of good. However, the value of a law cannot be determined either for its good or bad effects until it is strictly enforced. I have always been in favor of Prohibition and have never failed to vote my conviction in this connection.

The evil effect of "moonshine" whiskey and that of chemicals, together with wood alcohol has, no doubt, done a great deal of harm.

The question of light wines and beer is a popular one, and if put to a vote there is no doubt but that it would take the majority vote, more especially from the large cities.

I do not believe Prohibition can be any more enforced than murder and theft can be prevented, and there will always be a certain element who will traffic in "moonshine" whiskey and other intoxicants.

J. S. BACHMAN, Superintendent.

### **Consumption of Alcoholic Liquors Reduced 85 to 90 Per Cent—Should Laws Against Murder and Theft Be Abolished Because They Are Freely Broken?**

Southern College  
of  
Young Men's Christian Associations  
Nashville, Tenn., March 23, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I am even more clear in my own mind than I was when I signed the original petition for National Prohibition that it is a step in the right direction. While National Prohibition has not completely prohibited, my observation is that it has cut tremendously the use of alcoholic liquors. My judgment is that it has cut the amount used down to ten or even fifteen per cent in my section of the country, and I understand we are considered the worst section from the standpoint of illicit distilling. The National Prohibition Law has further removed the temptation from thousands of young men who would otherwise have been swept away by this temptation.

I rarely ever see a drunken man. I do not think I have seen a dozen in the City of Nashville since the National Prohibition Law went into effect. By all means we ought to keep it.

**The fact that some men break the law cannot be used as an excuse for saying that Prohibition produces lawlessness. Men also break the law against murder, and against theft, and every other law that I know anything about. I am for Prohibition first, last and all the time.**

W. D. WEATHERFORD, President.

**Alcohol Has Been the Curse of the World and Has Caused More Misery, Degeneracy and Disaster Than Any Other Agency Since the Beginning of Time.**

L. M. Maus, Colonel U. S. A., Retired,

Rockville, Md.

1. Yes. Alcohol has been the curse of the world. I have always felt that the Evil Spirit so frequently quoted in religious literature, is closely related to it, if not the Devil himself. I am still glad to lend my weight of opinion to the suppression of the greatest evil the world has ever known—one that has provoked more human misery, degeneracy, crime and general disaster than any other agency since the beginning of time.

2. I have not changed my views on the subject, in fact I am more than ever convinced that alcohol in any form has no place beyond its industrial uses.

3. National Prohibition is the greatest legal reform ever instituted in our country and its declaration our greatest National event. It has already improved the condition of every class of society beyond our expectations and it still but in its infancy in that regard.

4. In my opinion drunkenness has decreased throughout every class of society 90 per cent. There is really not 10 per cent of drinking at present the opponents of Prohibition would lead us to believe.

5. Temperance among the masses will follow as a sequence of the benefits which result from every standpoint of life and society. Its growth will be slow, and its complete observance not until many influential members of society discover its true merits. There are still too many intelligent men and women of social prominence who consider it a joke, and are too much inclined to break the law without considering it a moral or legal crime.

**John Barleycorn Will Never Again Live Except as an Outlaw.**

Frederic Almy, A. B., A. M.,

Buffalo, N. Y., March 21, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

Prohibition is already succeeding visibly, though its full results will not appear for a generation. Of course Prohibition did not kill thirst, and the thirsty now get such dangerous liquor that they are more often drunk than formerly, but our boys who lack the habit are not forming it.

Already savings banks, hospitals, police courts and charitable agencies show notable changes, and, economically, wet countries will find it difficult to compete with a dry one.

John Barleycorn is charming but an undesirable citizen. He is a red, and we do well to deport him. He will never regain citizenship, but will live on only as an outlaw, like opium and gambling.

FREDERIC ALMY,  
(Retired Social Worker.)

**Brought More Happiness, Promoted Better Citizenship and Economic Conditions.**

United States Senate,  
Committee on Commerce.

Washington, D. C., March 25, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I am, if possible, more strongly in favor of Prohibition now than I was five years ago. It has made labor more efficient, increased savings deposits, brought more and better food and clothing to the home, led to more kindly treatment of wife and children and brought more happiness to the people generally and promoted a better citizenship than ever.

WESLEY L. JONES.

**Prominent Editor and Writer a Staunch Believer in Prohibition.**

Mark Sullivan,

Washington, D. C., March 20, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

In response to your letter of March 16th, the answer is "Yes". I am as much in favor of Prohibition as ever I was. If I had time I should be glad to elaborate it, for I hold this position strongly.

MARK SULLIVAN.

**Under Turmoil of War's Aftermath Country Would Have Been Worse Off Without Prohibition.**

University of Kansas.

Lawrence, Kans., March 23, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

The liquor traffic since the advent of Prohibition has demonstrated even more clearly than before the evil of the habit of using alcohol. The need for Prohibition is certainly felt as keenly today as ever.

Unfortunately, so many other factors such as the war and the return of soldiers from France have entered to disturb the natural workings of National Prohibition that it is impossible to say what the effect of the Amendment has been upon labor. However, if we take the country as a whole, there is no question but that labor would be worse off without this limitation.

Furthermore, the suffering of women and children during these times of depression is ever so much less than it would be if alcohol were readily available to the men.

Nothing is more ridiculous than to assert that drunkenness is as common nowadays, as it was with the open bar-room.

The greatest question raised in my mind in connection with the whole problem of Prohibition is the general question of how far we have to insist that individuals shall conform with the demands of public welfare against their personal desires. Stated the other way, how far by the processes of education can we get people to desire to conform to the needs of public welfare in their individual conduct.

F. J. KELLY,  
Dean of University Administration.

**Thinks the Object Right But the Method Wrong.**

Swarthmore College,

Swarthmore, Pa., March 27, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

On the whole I think Prohibition has been good along certain lines, e. g.: When a man brings his wages home and is a better husband and father; but I feel it would be accomplished by other means. (A) High license. (B) Severe penalty for selling liquor to minors or to intoxicated persons. (C) Selling drinks over bars (stopping the treating habit) should be done away with. Liquor only sold in quantity and at a fairly high price.

The present method of Prohibition encourages "home brewing", evasion of law, poisonous quality of drink used. The crux of the whole matter is, in my opinion, the control of sale, and the rigid enforcement of a penalty on the part of those who sell liquor to minors or to known inebriates, or who in any way sell bad liquor of any sort. A penalty should be attached to the manufacture of any liquor and the sale of same unless of the highest grade.

I am not a believer in Prohibition under its present aspects, and I am not a drinking man myself. On the whole the object is right but the method is wrong.

SPENCER TROTTER, M. D.  
Department of Biology.

**Against ALL Violators.****The Attorney General Says Laws Will Be Rigidly Enforced**

Department of Justice,  
Office of the Attorney General,

Washington, D. C., April 21, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

So far as this office is concerned there is but one position for it to assume, and that is that so long as the Eighteenth Amendment and the prohibition enforcement laws are on the statute books of this country every effort must be made to secure, without fear or favor, effective enforcement of the Law. No right resides in any officer to choose which laws he will enforce. So long as I remain the responsible head of the Department of Justice I am charged with the duty of prosecuting all violators of any law. The National Prohibition Act is part of the law of the land and this Department will continue to use every agency within its power to enforce it.

The policy of the Law and the wisdom of its enactment is not for our discussion. The will of the people, speaking through Congress, placed it on the books. The function of this Department is to enforce it. Every law-abiding resident of our country, whatever his station in life, citizen or alien, will respect and be governed by our laws. Those who are not law-abiding must nevertheless be compelled to respect and obey the Constitution and laws made thereunder.

Trusting that your proposed edition will be helpful in inculcating a deeper feeling of regard for the Law, I am

Respectfully,

H. M. DAUGHERTY,  
Attorney General.

**The Law Must Be More Vigorously Enforced to Secure Full Results.**

Teachers College  
Miami University

Oxford, Ohio, March 21, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I am as strongly opposed to the liquor traffic now as I was when I answered the previous inquiry, but I am also convinced that we are not going to derive the benefits from the Constitutional enactment until the Law is more completely enforced. I am convinced that it is quite easy to secure alcohol at present if you have the money.

I have no doubt that an enormous amount of good has resulted thus far but I am convinced that we can not adequately estimate all the influences of Prohibition in less than 50 or 100 years.

J. E. W. WALLIN,  
Director Bureau of Special Education.

**Hardly Expected Full Prohibition at Once—Situation Will Improve Year by Year.**

The Provident Life and Trust Company

Philadelphia, Pa., March 17, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I am still opposed to the liquor traffic to the extent that I was when I signed the petition to Congress five years ago. I am not discouraged or much disappointed at the seeming failure to effect full prohibition at once. That was hardly to be expected.

The extent to which liquor was used before the Prohibition Amendment, created a habit which it is almost impossible to eradicate in the near future, but with education and the new generation coming on, I feel sure that year by year the situation will improve. The temptation to drink is not displayed at every corner in our cities, and while intoxicating liquor can probably be obtained in any city, it has to be obtained stealthily, and those who obtain it are doing it at

the risk of prosecution, so that the game is attractive mostly to those who would break the law any way, and who must be dealt with accordingly.

I have great sympathy with the respectable citizens who in the past have used wine or other drinks temperately, with no harm to themselves, who feel the infringement of personal liberty in the Prohibition Amendment, but even these should, it seems to me, consider that it is for the general good of the community, more than their own private inclinations.

ASA S. WING, President.

**A Banker Who Is More Opposed Than Ever to Liquor Traffic.**

William J. Montgomery,

Philadelphia, Pa., March 17, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

No one who has been interested in watching the developments thus far of Prohibition can fail to be opposed to the liquor traffic.

Savings deposits in the bank with which I am connected are to-day the largest in its history and I believe this to be the general rule.

A man to-day under the influence of liquor is a very conspicuous person and folks turn about and wonder where he got it. Before Prohibition no attention was paid to such a person.

Personally, I am more opposed than ever to the liquor traffic and will do everything in my power to make Prohibition prohibit.

WM. J. MONTGOMERY,  
President, Eighth National Bank.

**Inconceivable We Should Go Back to Old System.**

CHARLES K. GILBERT, Executive Secretary,  
Social Service Commission, New York, N. Y.

1. Yes. It is inconceivable that we could go back to the old system. But a vast amount of hard fighting needs still to be done to inspire respect for the law.

3. Have no direct means of knowing but competent testimony on this point appears favorable.

4. No, but there has been notable increase in recent months.

**Family Life Better Stabilized—Believes Some Moderation in Law for Medicinal Alcohol.**

E. O. Goss, President,  
Scovill Manufacturing Company.

Waterbury, Conn.

1. I am.

2. My views heretofore expressed have not changed.

3. My experience is that our workman are, almost without exception, in better condition both to render normal, efficient service and to resist disease. Their family life is better stabilized.

4. Drunkenness is not common at the present time, in so far as the classes who formerly patronized the open saloon are concerned. It is, however, more prevalent among persons who are the so-called idle class, or who have too much leisure on their hands.

5. I think the Enforcement Act should be so modified as to make it possible to obtain pure grain alcohol for medicinal purposes, at a price which places it within the reach of the ordinary individual. In other words, the dealers who are allowed to sell it are exploiting it to the detriment of the community. Pure alcohol for this purpose should retail at not more than \$10.00 per gallon, and it is frequently impossible to secure it at less than \$30.00 per gallon.

**The Trade in Alcoholic Liquors Is Under the Ban and Its Discredit Will Deepen With Every Passing Year.**

Wake Forest College,  
The Office of the President  
Wake Forest, N. C., April 4, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

The illicit manufacture of alcoholic drinks and the trade in them do not justly discredit the principle of universal Prohibition. They merely mean that the drink habit is inveterate and widespread and that the business which ministers to it has acquired a momentum of great power. The habit is not establishing itself in the younger generation. The older generation is passing out. I look for a tremendous improvement, accordingly, in the course of a few more years. The trade in alcoholic liquors is under the ban and its discredit will deepen with every passing year, just as the demand for its material will decrease. Even now the noise which is made about illicit manufacture and sale creates an impression which is not justified, the impression, namely, that there is as much drinking now as in pre-prohibition days. All the facts in the case show quite the contrary. The country over the situation has enormously improved. The majority of any community, whether a municipality, a state, or a nation, has the right to dictate the policy of the community, and the minority in this matter, as in all others, must submit to the guidance and control of the majority.

WM. LOUIS POTEAT, President.

**Real Test of Prohibition Will be Its Effect on Next Generation.**

Dartmouth Medical School,  
Hanover, N. H., March 30, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I find it impossible to give definite answers to the questions raised in your letter of March 16th with relation to Prohibition and allied problems. I believe that the time has been too short, and the enforcement too incomplete, to enable anyone to draw safe conclusions. We are entirely without accurate data as to the number at present using alcoholic liquor, as to the amount of illegal manufacture, as to the relative effects of undoubtedly inferior liquor and many other similar matters. On the other hand though savings bank balances may be higher, so too have been wages. In fact it may be a mistake to expect the full benefits of Prohibition in this generation. The real test will be the effect on the next.

In the meantime I should not be inclined to change my opinion as to the desirability of enacting and enforcing Prohibition.

COLIN C. STEWART, PH. D.,  
Secretary.

**As Strongly in Favor of Prohibition as Ever.**

Oberlin College,  
Office of the President,  
Oberlin, Ohio, March 20, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

My conviction concerning the prohibition of the liquor traffic has not changed since I signed the petition to Congress.

The essential reasons for the policy seem to me still to be practically just what they were when the prohibition of the liquor traffic was up for vote. I have not been able to test from personal observation to any particular extent the comparative success of the enforcement of the Law, but I expected that there would be difficulties at that point for some time.

HENRY C. KING.

**Merchants, Business and Professional Men Say Business Is Better, Collections Better and Living Conditions Better Under Prohibition.**

N. P. Bowsher & Co., South Bend, Ind., April 13, 1922.  
South Bend, Ind., April 13, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

We are just as much for it as we ever were.

There is an under-current of objection to the enforcement of the Prohibition Law, in some quarters. But it is surprising to find how many men who were formerly wet, are in favor of a thorough, longtime try-out of Prohibition.

We do not have many men in our employ and probably our percentage of trouble on account of drunkenness in the past is less than would be found in other factories. But the general answer from merchants, business and professional men, throughout the city, when they are taxed right down to give a careful opinion, is that business is better, collections are better and the living conditions of hundreds of families are very much better than they were before Prohibition was tried out.

D. D. BOWSHER, Treasurer.

**A Christian's Duty to Advance Cause of Prohibition.**

H. S. Dulaney,  
Baltimore, Md., March 20, 1920.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I am still opposed to the liquor traffic to the extent that I was when I signed the petition, addressed to Congress, about five years ago.

I am quite sure that the effect of Prohibition on the laboring man cannot be anything but for his betterment.

So far as I can learn from observation and statistics, drunkenness is not nearly so common as it was under the license liquor traffic.

As a Christian man, I feel it my duty, in every way that I possibly can, to advance the cause of Prohibition in this and every other country of the world.

HENRY S. DULANEY.

**Has Brought About Economic, Social and Intellectual Improvement—Selling and Consumption of Liquor More and More Confined to Criminal and Semi-criminal Classes.**

Institute of Politics  
Williamstown, Mass., March 24, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I expressed myself some five years ago as in favor of Prohibition because I considered that Americans outside of the Army and Navy should have the same chance as those in the Service. I was convinced, at that time, that the men in the Service, being protected from saloons, were in a favorable position and my desire was to see the favors extended to all of the people. I am now more strongly in favor of Prohibition than I was five years ago. The results of the measure have more than justified my belief that it would bring about an economic, social and intellectual improvement in all our communities. I am not particularly disturbed by the notoriety obtained by the bottlegger and his associates, for I feel that alcoholic beverages and the habit of consuming them are being more and more confined to the criminal or semi-criminal class in the country.

All great social reforms require a considerable period of time in which to work themselves out and I would be satisfied if in the second or third generation after Prohibition, the habit of drunkenness, and even the memory of a saloon should have disappeared.

WALTER W. McLAREN,  
Executive Secretary.

**A Godsend to Men in Shipping and Lumber Business.**

The Robert Dollar Co.,  
Shipping and Lumber  
San Francisco, Cal., March 22, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

In the shipping and lumbering business in which we are engaged we have found great benefits from Prohibition. While the sale of liquor continues, it is carried on secretly and in a different way and does not do the damage that it did when the saloons were wide open. The discontinuance of the saloons has been a godsend to the men.

ROBERT DOLLAR.

**No Difference Among Its Thrifty Employees.**

Norton Company  
Grinding Wheels and Grinding Machines  
Worcester, Mass., March 11, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

The Norton Company has noticed no difference among its employes since Prohibition. Our workers have always been a thrifty, home-loving class of men, who used beer and wines in moderation, and in my long experience here, going over ten years, I have only known of one or two cases of abuse of alcohol.

Our feeling here is that the influence of illegal selling and home brewing is worse than the legalized sale of beer and wines under a good license commissioner.

W. I. CLARK, JR., Service Director.

**Sees Advantage of Prohibition in Parish Works, Less Drunkenness.**

The Church of the Ascension.  
New York, N. Y., March 20, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I am as opposed to the liquor traffic today as when I signed the petition to Congress, five years ago.

In my parish work I see the advantages of Prohibition, and in one or two manufacturing cities in New England, with which I am in close touch.

Of course drunkenness is not as common at present as it was under the open saloon and free liquor traffic.

PERCY STICKNEY GRANT, D. D.

**Opposed Liquor Traffic Because of Demoralizing Influence Upon Women.**

Law Offices  
Church, McMurdy, Harpel & Wagner,  
Chicago, Ill., March 20, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I am still of the same mind respecting Prohibition. My opposition to the liquor traffic has always been largely because of its demoralizing influence upon women. Prohibition has very greatly lessened this evil.

ROBERT McMURDY.

**Money Formerly Spent for Liquor Now Goes to Family.**

W. A. Mitchell,  
Lowell, Mass., March 13, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I subscribe most heartily to President Harding's views on Prohibition. In this city drunkenness is less common at the present time than it was under the open saloon and free liquor traffic.

I truly believe that the money formerly spent for liquor is now being used in the betterment of homes, and the better care of women and children.

W. A. MITCHELL.

**Prohibition Amendment Will Prove Blessing to Country.**

United States Casualty Company  
New York, March 18, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I admit that the Prohibition question is debateable; but after trying conscientiously to take account of every rightful consideration, I verily believe that the Prohibition Amendment will, in time, prove to be a great blessing to our country.

EDSON S. LOTT, President.

**Give Prohibition Laws Longer Test Period.**

International Falls, Minn., March 27, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

In my opinion we should give present laws on the Prohibition question a longer test period, in order to demonstrate the merits or demerits of its workings.

E. W. BACKUS.

**Abundant Evidence on Every Hand of Beneficial Effect of Prohibition.**

George F. Cotterill,  
Civil Engineer and former Mayor of Seattle,

Seattle, Wash.

1. I am. The opinion expressed in the petition to Congress was on my part the result of an extended study and observation of the effects of the use and traffic in alcoholic liquors. I had a deep conviction of the necessity and desirability of Prohibition as the most adequate remedy for this great and acknowledged evil with its recognized dangers to individuals and to society. I have not in any degree changed my views, but am confirmed in their soundness by the experience of the past five years.

3. Beyond any question, there has been and is manifest on every hand abundant evidence of the beneficial effects of Prohibition upon labor conditions, savings, betterment of homes and better care of women and children dependent upon men who formerly spent freely for drink.

4. Drunkenness has practically disappeared throughout nine-tenths of our communities and country districts. In the larger cities, especially near national boundaries, it still remains to not exceeding one-fourth of its former commonness. Plainly this will further decrease to the practical vanishing point, with the exhaustion of old liquor supplies and continued law enforcement.

5. It is my observation and best information that all told from lawful and illicit sources of supply, not exceeding one-twentieth part of the alcoholic beverage volume consumed under the legalized manufacture and sale system is now being used. Prohibition is at least 95 per cent efficient, and will go on to 100 per cent with steadfast and determined law enforcement throughout America. The great need now is that other nations and peoples should for their own sake follow our Prohibition example, and thereby increase our protection from illicit invasion.

**Thinks It Was Mistake to Have Abolished Liquor Traffic So Abruptly.**

W. S. Morris, Coal, Detroit, Mich.

1. No! In fact I now think it was a mistake to have entirely abolished the liquor traffic so abruptly.

2. I was 100 per cent Anti-Saloon League, but now I think its policy hurtful in its drasticness—and is being re-sented.

3. Reports say very considerable portion of labor is making its own "liquor" or being supplied by others.

4. Drunks are common; whether more numerous I do not know.

5. I am told those who can pay get all the liquor they want, when and where they want it, and I believe this to be true.

**Men Saving Money and Buying Homes. Lawlessness of Bootleggers Only Natural Outcome of Lawlessness of Liquor Interests.**

Lockhart Iron and Steel Co.,  
Office of the President,  
Pittsburgh, Pa., March 22, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I herewith return your questionnaire with my replies as follows:

1. Yes, emphatically so.
2. Our experience under Prohibition has made us more determinedly opposed to the liquor traffic than ever.
3. Labor is more efficient. Have practically no trouble with absentees from work after pay day on account of intoxication—men are saving their money and buying homes and supplying the needs of their families as never before.
4. Emphatically no. This has been reduced to a minimum among working men.

In order that I might give you the views of our operating department I referred your letters to our mill superintendent. As a result of our experience since Prohibition was adopted he pronounces himself emphatically in its favor and reports that whereas on Mondays after pay day there was serious trouble in running our mills on account of the large number of employees absent on account of drinking, we have practically no trouble of this kind now. Men are at their jobs after pay day the same as other days.

We also find that our men are saving their money, buying homes and providing for their families the comforts of life as never before.

It is contributing very materially to clear thinking on the part of workingmen regarding industrial questions, political matters and educational affairs. They no longer go to the polls partially stupefied by liquor to vote at the behest of the saloon politician and the younger generation is being trained in the habits of sobriety which give great encouragement for the future.

Of course there has been a great amount of lawlessness resulting in bootlegging and kindred crimes but this was naturally to be expected as liquor sellers, saloon keepers and all that class have always been noted for their violation of law, naturally they violate the Prohibition Law. This, however, is being rapidly cleared up and the public are realizing the importance of the enforcement of the Volstead Act as well as laws against robbery, murder and other crimes. While the opponents of Prohibition have been magnifying the violations of the Law it is to be noted that such disrespect for law as has been shown regarding the Volstead Enactment has always been shown regarding other laws. The number of bank robberies, automobile thefts and general lawlessness in other directions is largely the outcome of the war and all of these conditions will be materially improved when the public are more fully educated to realize that violations of any law are detrimental to the welfare of the entire community. Respect for law and law enforcement must be more thoroughly indoctrinated into our boys and girls, our men and women in every rank of life.

With appreciation of your work on behalf of Prohibition and my hope that you will continue your activities, I am

T. J. GILLESPIE, President.

**Conditions of Families Vastly Improved.**

Francis H. Gavisk,

Rector of St. John's Catholic Church, Indianapolis, Ind.

1. Yes.
3. Generally speaking more money saved, homes are better and the condition of families vastly improved.
4. No. Formerly gave from eight to ten pledges against liquor per week. Now, very rarely called upon to do so. There is "bootlegging" but the evils are far less than under the "regulated" saloon, which was not "regulated."

**Most of Good Work Expected Now Realized.**

C. A. Vincedge,

Railway Official, St. Louis, Mo.

1. Am still opposed to the liquor traffic, and believe when laws are fully enforced, the expected good results will be realized.

2. Have not changed my views of the matter in any way.

3. The effect of Prohibition has not been realized to the extent that it can be fully measured and set forth in tangible facts for the reason that it became effective in abnormal war times when such effects were not separable, comparable and distinguishable from other abnormal conditions, but I fully believe a large percentage of money formerly spent for liquor is being saved, used for building homes and for better care of families.

5. I believe that Prohibition is effective among the greater mass or majority of people comprising the middle and working classes which constitute the backbone and framework and muscle of our population, and that most of the good results expected are being realized and that drinking is largely confined to the dissipated, idle, well-to-do and sporting classes of people, which constitute a very small, but just now and by reason of Prohibition, a very noticeable proportion of the population, whose room in the human family is much more to be desired than their company, from the standpoint of human welfare and progress, and who are always drinkers and will continue to be so until the full effective force of Prohibition laws is felt.

**Certain Elements, Learning Law Is Not Strictly Enforced, Drinking More Since First Months of Prohibition. Wants Question Put to Vote of People So That A Popular Verdict Would Command Full Enforcement.**

H. Gideon Wells, Physician,

University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

1. Yes, during the first months after Prohibition was established the effects were wonderful, as seen in a large charity hospital and a public morgue. Now that the public has learned that the Law is not to be enforced there is again more trouble.

2. If the Prohibition Act had been put through as a popular measure, which could have been done sooner or later, it would have public support and enforcement. Forced over as a war measure, the average man feels that he has been cheated and that to show his independence he should violate the Law.

3. Can only speak of its effect on the charity hospital population—there the results on health, serious alcoholism, etc., were marvelous, as long as there was some resemblance of Prohibition.

4. Not so common but of worse character. Fewer drunks, but drunker.

5. Should like to see the matter put to popular vote. With the women voting I believe Prohibition will carry, and then there would be no difficulty in enforcing it with the popular verdict.

**Liquor Interests Licked But We Must See That They Stay Licked.**

Chas. W. Garfield, Banker,

Grand Rapids, Mich.

1. Emphatically so.
3. We have innumerable instances in our city of the beneficial results of eliminating the saloons—in the promotion of thrift, better housing, improved domestic conditions and happier women and children.
4. It is not, and the intoxicated man is a subject of severe criticism instead of laughter, and an occasional piece of ivory, the drunken man, is condemned and punished.
5. The liquor interests are licked but alertness is required to see that they stay licked. The beer and light wine subterfuge in the interest of the laboring man must be met promptly.



**A Great Iron Manufacturer's Vigorous Endorsement.**

C. Edwin Michael,  
President Virginia Bridge & Iron Co.,  
Roanoke, Va.

1. I am still opposed to the liquor traffic as strenuously as when I signed the former petition.
2. No change.
3. My experience confirms my former belief that Prohibition, if reasonably enforced, is a great blessing to our people.
4. No, I am sure it is not—But, much liquor is secretly made and used by many of our people.
5. The one thing necessary is a more rigid enforcement of the Prohibition Law.

**Any Juggling With Question Such as Permitting Wine and Beer Would Be as Pernicious as Repealing Amendment.**

John M. Dodson,  
Physician, Dean Medical Courses, Rush Medical College  
and University of Chicago,  
Chicago, Ill.

1. Yes: at least until we have bred a generation or two of men and women free from the pernicious influences of alcoholism, the saloon and all accompaniments, any juggling with the question—such as permission to sell and use light wines and beer would be as pernicious as the repeal of the whole Amendment.
3. A very marked and growing improvement.
4. No.
5. I think the above answers express my views completely.

**The "Smart Set" Which Breaks the Law and Violates Patriotism Justly Denounced.**

A. J. Wurts, Professor of Research, Carnegie Institute of  
Technology,  
Pittsburgh, Pa.

1. Yes, and if possible more so.
2. Have not changed my views. I see no other way to rid our land of the liquor evil.
3. Last summer I saw in the war stricken towns and cities of Europe men and women of the middle and poorer classes sitting at tables on the sidewalks drinking beer and other liquors. They were spending their money on drink and then asking us for help and I think we have been the more able to help because of Prohibition. Liquor is in a class with opium. Both should be rooted out, because moral suasion having failed and because moral and ethical standards being unequal to the temptation, there is no other way.
4. Much less common among the middle and poorer classes, but my impression is that hard drinking has increased among those who have the money or liquors or both. The situation as I hear about it, here, among the young of the "smart set" is deplorable. Is it not a monstrous thing that people who consider themselves among the splendid, cultured and educated in the land are unwilling to lead their moral and personal support to this gigantic effort to rid this country of the vice, misery and woe that liquor leaves in its trail?
5. It is most astonishing that so many of our youth wilfully violate the Constitution of this country, brag about it, and encourage others to do the same. Oh! where is their Patriotism! Could not the rising generation be reached through the Public Schools? Could not the public at large be reached through the newspapers and magazines, creating an atmosphere against this evil, so that it will become "bad form" and unpatriotic to drink? What a difference there is between the man who is proud to show his friends that he has plenty of cocktails in his cellar and the man who is proud because he has no cocktail ingredients in his cellar—and is not the latter a better citizen and a better type of manhood?

**Forty-Six States Have Ratified the Prohibition Amendment. No Party Will Dare Attempt Its Repeal.**

Raymond Robins, Social Worker and Economist,  
Chicago, Ill.

1. I am more than ever opposed to the liquor traffic. The covert or open violation of the fundamental law by its advocates, producers, distributors and dupes makes it more than in the past the common enemy of law, social order and a decent human life. Always willing and constantly seeking to increase its sales by illegal methods, in the past, now that it has been outlawed, it violates the Constitution with the same criminal impudence with which it used to violate municipal regulations.

2. No change except to deepen those convictions.
3. Prohibition has greatly increased the comfort, food supply, savings and general well being of the working people of the United States. Money formerly spent for liquor goes for food, clothes, books, the movies and savings. Every mother can tell you the difference in the increased resources and comfort of the home.
4. Not by over half. All the propaganda tales to the contrary, express the guile or stupidity of its advocates. The arrests for drunkenness have decreased fifty per cent since prohibition began to be effective.

Using a four-year period arrests for drunkenness have decreased in 59 large cities over sixty per cent. Last year the commitments for drunkenness were only one seventh of what they were four years ago, in the New York metropolitan area.

5. Prohibition is one of the oldest subjects of discussion and agitation in American politics. Two thirds of the States voted dry by popular referendum before the passage of the Prohibition Amendment to the Constitution. More than two thirds of each house of Congress voted to submit the amendment. Forty-six States have ratified this amendment. New Jersey came in the other day with a ratification delay of over two years. It was supposed to be the wettest territory in the United States. No political party dares to support repeal of the Volstead Act much less the Amendment. There will be several years of battle to finally break the back of the whiskey ring and then the liquor traffic will be as extinct as the dodo.

**Increasingly Opposed to Liquor Traffic From Standpoint of Health, Finance, Commerce, Religion, Home, School and Civilization.**

L. M. Bowers,  
Retired Iron, Coal, Ship Building and Commercial Affairs,  
Employing Great Many Thousand Men For More  
Than 25 Years To 1921.  
Binghamton, N. Y.

1. Decidedly opposed and increasingly so from every standpoint; moral, financial, commercial, religious and for the good of mankind, the home, the school, and civilization.
3. The home has wonderfully benefited, especially among the foreign laboring men, wife beating and brawls reduced almost to zero among that class.
4. Comparisons from arrests are misleading generally. For few were arrested before Prohibition, unless creating disorder, now every drunken man on the streets is arrested. The former saloon keepers who sell liquor drive half drunken men out, fearing their own safety from arrest.

**Women and Children Healthier and Happier.**

Robert L. Kelly,  
Executive, Association American College, Leonin, N. J.

1. Yes.
2. No.
3. The women and children are healthier and happier.
4. No.

### Purchaser Is Equally Guilty of Violating Law and Should Be Punished Along With Seller.

H. T. Graham, D. D.,

Pastor First Presbyterian Church, Florence, S. C.

1. I am still as stoutly opposed to the liquor traffic in every form as I was when my name was signed to the petition to Congress requesting the stoppage of the traffic. The more I have seen of the liquor business, the more I have been impressed with its monstrous nature and the frightful tax which it has laid upon the moral, spiritual and material interests of mankind.

2. My views, therefore, have not undergone any change.

3. That labor has been enormously helped by Prohibition can scarcely be doubted. The money that was wasted in saloons is now spent in making better provision for the worker and his household. The plea that "the saloon is the poor man's club" was true, but not in the sense intended by its friends, for it was a "club" that was used to break his head and the hearts of his wife and children. Wherever I have lived since Prohibition came into effect, either in state or nation, I have been greatly impressed with the improved conditions both in town and in country life. The wave of better order and more decent living conditions and of greater prosperity speaks for itself. Open saloons during the period of inflated business following the war would have made the Southland an exceedingly dangerous place in which to live, for the negro is intimately bound up in this problem as in every other economic problem that faces the South.

4. Drunkenness is very rare in this community and this section now. There is of course some bootlegging and blockading, but I should estimate that where one quart of rotten liquor is consumed today, probably twenty gallons were consumed ten years ago.

5. I am satisfied that enforcement will proceed more rapidly and effectively when the laws are so amended as to make the selling of liquor a jail offense without the alternative of a fine. They will fight shy of the chaingang, while the payment of a money fine can be covered by an increase in their sales.

I am satisfied also that the purchaser is as much a law-breaker as the seller or blockader, and as he is often a more intelligent individual, his influence in the matter of law defiance is a more serious problem. He should therefore be included in the penalty imposed on equal terms with the poor creature who strives to line his pockets by engaging in this rotten and contemptible business.

### Not One-Tenth as Much Drinking Now: Should Have Penalties More Severe for Direct Violation of Law.

James Mitchell, Pres., Clearfield National Bank,  
Clearfield, Pa.

1. I am certainly as much opposed as ever to the liquor traffic. The traffic would not last long if it was not the money made at it. It is really shoved on the liquor drinkers by bad men.

2. I have not changed my views in any way.

3. While there is some drinking I do not believe in our little city that there is one tenth drunk as when we have saloons. The expenditure with saloons was upwards of \$700 per day. Now it is very small and of course everything is better.

4. Drunkenness is not very common with us but some old toppers still seem to know where to get it and if this was looked after it seems to me could soon be stopped.

5. I am not disheartened at the outlook and believe conditions will get better and better but believe the penalties should be more severe for a direct violation of the Law.

### Marked Decrease in Amount of Drinking Which Makes Few Who Do Drink Much in Evidence.

H. H. Stock,

Professor of Mining Engineering,  
Urbana, Ill.

1. Most decidedly so, although I have no specific figures to quote. I believe there is much less drinking than formerly, excepting among a few who are deliberately trying to create the impression that drinking is on the increase. I attended a number of meetings of State and National societies each year, and most certainly there is a marked decrease in the amount of drinking observable. The few who do drink are much in evidence, and many of them remind me of small boys smoking their first cigarettes.

3. I have heard very diverse opinions. One employer of large numbers of men told me personally that the absence list in his business on Monday and after a pay day was greatly reduced. Others have assured me that there has been no difference.

4. Not nearly so prevalent so far as my observation goes.

5. I believe the desire to get "hootch" and to circumvent the Law is a natural reaction on the part of many, that will so on wear out, as will also the desire to ridicule the Law, and to boast of evading it, just as many foolish women and men boast of evading the income tax laws and the import duties.

### Thinks Volstead Bill Was a Mistake but That We Would Better Test It for 2 or 3 Years.

Wm. Starr Myers, Professor of Politics,  
Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.

1. Yes, but I was opposed to the extreme provisions of the Volstead Act, and think the whole thing was a mistake.

2. I think we better stand by the Volstead Act for another two or three years until we can see where we are, and then make further changes in the light of experience at the time.

3. The improvement has been enormous.

4. No.

5. There are two reasons for unenforcement. 1. The officials are exempted from Civil Service requirements and the spoils system is rampant. 2. It will take ten years to get the enforcing machinery in working order.

### Does Not Want to See Wine and Beer Saddled on the Country.

Warren P. Lombard,  
Professor of Physiology,  
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.

1. Yes.

2. Views not changed.

3. I know definite cases in which Prohibition has been positively beneficial.

4. Certainly not in Ann Arbor.

5. Important economic as well as hygienic problems are involved in the Alcohol question.

One cannot live and travel in Europe, without being impressed by the large amount of land, labor and capital devoted to the growth of materials used in the manufacture of wines and beers, instead of the production of much more important food.

Wines and beers served a useful purpose in Europe in the old days when clean water supplies were lacking. That is why they were regarded as healthy.

They are not needed in this country, and we do not want to see wine and beer industries saddled on the country, because of the economic problems involved, in addition to the well known hygienic objections to the use of alcoholic beverages.

### A Physician Specialist in Physiology Records His Unalterable Opposition to Alcohol.

Winfield Scott Hall, M. D.,  
Member Medical Faculty,  
Northwestern University, Chicago, Ill.

1. I am unalterably opposed to the manufacture, distribution, sale and drinking of intoxicating beverages, alcoholic or spirituous drink.

2. My earlier convictions against the use of alcoholic beverages have only been confirmed and strengthened by the experiences and observations of the last three years.

3. While my personal observation has not been extensive in this matter it has, without one exception, been to the effect that Prohibition has generally benefitted the laboring man and his family.

4. Drunkenness is far less common than it was before the 18th Amendment was put into force.

5. I am a physician, a specialist in physiology. I believe that alcohol is of very questionable use in the practice of medicine, i.e. that it has little if any remedial effect in any internal case.

### Continued Enforcement of Prohibition Will Lessen Poverty and Inheritable Diseases and Improves the Race.

Alfred Scott Warthin, M. D., Professor of Pathology,  
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.

1. Yes. Even more so. I believe that conditions are much better at the present time than they were before Prohibition, that even with Prohibition laws imperfectly observed, as they are, no doubt, in certain parts of the country, that there has been a great reduction in the general evils resulting from the use of alcohol.

3. I believe that the effects of Prohibition have been in every way for the betterment of conditions throughout the country as far as labor efficiency, and the saving of money, and living conditions are concerned.

4. I believe drunkenness is less common than it was under the open saloon and free liquor traffic; because of the fact that the cases that do occur are violations of the law they are exaggerated in importance and therefore receive more notice. As a matter of fact, I believe that there has been a tremendous lessening in the actual occurrence of drunkenness.

5. I am more strongly in favor of Prohibition than ever before and believe that its continued enforcement will result in a great diminution of poverty and of inheritable disease and will result in a great improvement of the race.

### Have Better Class of Operatives Now.

Otis N. Pierce, President, Grinnell Mfg. Corp.,  
New Bedford, Mass.

1. Yes.

3. We have a better class of operatives. I believe the working men's families are much better cared for.

4. No. We have considerable drunkenness on account of the poor enforcement of the Law.

### Better Care of Women and Children.

F. N. WHITTIER, M. D.,  
Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me.

1. I am still opposed to the liquor traffic to the extent that I was when I signed the petition to Congress.

2. I have not changed my views.

3. I have found the effect of Prohibition to be favorable in labor, the saving of money, and the better care for women and children.

4. No.

### Co-operation Is Needed in the Battle for Right.

B. R. Hieronymus,  
President, Illinois National Bank,  
Springfield, Ill.

1. Most assuredly I am. The fight is not won. A co-operation of County, State and Federal authorities in the battle is the thing now needed.

2. Have not changed.

3. Savings accounts have increased in a large way among the laboring classes.

4. Nothing like as common. It is a rare thing now to see a drunken man on the streets. Formerly it was a common sight.

### Suggests Cumulative Jail Sentence for Bootleggers With Sufficient Fine to Absorb Profits of Defendant. Not One Case of Drunkenness Now to a Hundred in Oregon Before Prohibition.

Wm. S. U'Ren, Attorney at Law,  
Portland, Ore.

1. Yes.

2. I am more fully convinced of the wisdom of Prohibition. The penalty for bootlegging and moonshining should be a jail sentence, cumulative with each conviction, and in addition a fine sufficient to more than absorb the estimated profits of the defendant.

3. It is impossible to estimate the benefit that Prohibition has conferred on the wives and children of all the habitual drinkers, except those who are rich enough to think they can violate the law with impunity.

4. There is not one drunk in Oregon now where there used to be one hundred in the days of the open saloon.

5. The sentiment in Oregon against alcoholic liquors may be gauged with certainty from the fact that there is no suggestion of any initiative petition to amend the Law for restoration of beer and light wine. If the sale and use of narcotic drugs is increased it is chiefly because special attention was not called to the traffic until very recently.

### Much Good Has Been Accomplished: Law Is Being Better Enforced.

Foster Copeland, Banker and Manufacturer, Columbus, O.

1. I am more strongly opposed to the liquor traffic than I was five years ago, because, notwithstanding the lack of sympathy and enthusiastic cooperation on the part of many officers of the Law, including some judges, so much good has already been accomplished.

3. Of course, we have gone through most unusual times, so that many laborers during the War made tremendous wages; but if we had not had Prohibition we would not have had anything like the savings we have in banks today, and instead of having Liberty Bonds upon which to borrow, many more than now would before this have been in the hands of loan sharks.

4. The records of our courts, as well as observation and inquiry answer No!

5. I am of the opinion that the Law is being better and better enforced.

### Great Improvement in Morale of Community.

Elmira Cotton Mills Co.,  
Burlington, N. C., March 13, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

We have a great improvement in the morale of our labor as well as in the community. The banks show a considerable improvement, and we know nothing we could say better than what President Harding has already said, a copy of which you sent us in your letter of the 9th.

E. C. HOLT, President and Treasurer.

**Any "License Law" for Liquor Is a License to Ruin Homes, Degrade Old and Young, Incite to Crime and Sap the Nation's Manhood.**

Robert Fletcher,  
Director Emeritis, Thayer School of Civil Engineering,  
Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.

1. Have always abhorred the liquor traffic. The question for me was put beyond debate 50 years ago.

2. Why argue this question forever? We do not argue about murder, adultery, theft and other crimes. The liquor traffic eventually involves all of these. It has ever been defiant of the laws.

3. Why my limited experience? Your enclosed letter states or implies the facts. Ask the wives, mothers and sisters. There never was and never can be anything said honestly in favor of the liquor traffic.

4. Certainly not. But I have lived here in a college town where local option followed by State Prohibition has prevailed more than 40 years.

5. Any "license law" has always meant license to ruin homes, degrade the old and young, incite to crime, sap the strength and character of the manhood of the nation, and cause want and misery wherever it prevails. Enough said!

**Law Enforcement League With 100,000 Members in Philadelphia Alone Shows How Right-Minded Citizens Are Determined That the Law Shall Be Enforced.**

Wm. R. Nicholson, President, The Land Title and Trust  
Company,  
Philadelphia, Pa.

1. Yes. My return on April 1st from a month and half annual trip through the Western country to the Pacific Coast convinces me that the opposition to the 18th Amendment is largely confined to the territory East of Chicago.

2. No.

3. The effect even here in Philadelphia is particularly gratifying.

4. No.

5. The wonderful success of the Law Enforcement League which was organized in February last and now has over 100,000 members in this city clearly shows that right thinking citizens are for the enforcement of the law.

**Great Success: To Return to Open Saloon Days Would be Calamity to Country.**

E. P. Selden, Manufacturer of Steam, Engines and Boilers,  
Erie City Iron Works, Erie, Pa.

1. Yes, I am still definitely opposed to the liquor traffic as it has been conducted in the past.

2. My views are not changed.

3. Prohibition, in spite of the efforts of liquor men to make us think to the contrary, has been a great success. Money that was formerly used to buy drink is now used for food and clothing and the betterment of the home.

4. No, it is not as common. We hear of some drinking, but it is by no means as open or manifest.

5. Prohibition from every right viewpoint is a success, and to return to the old day of the open saloon would be a calamity for the whole community.

**Decided Improvement.**

John L. Grandin, Lumber,  
Boston, Mass.

1. Yes.

3. Decided improvement. There is no possible doubt as to this.

4. Decidedly not.

**Drunkenness Has Been Lessened by Law and the Drunkard Is Passing Away.**

Charles W. Stiles,  
Professor U. S. Public Health Service,  
Washington, D. C.

1. Yes, but I consider that as applied to medical work, Prohibition had gone too far and that on this account many physicians conscientiously are turning against the Law. We should make Prohibition our servant and should not make ourselves the slave of Prohibition.

3. My observations have been chiefly in the South. Many people resent Prohibition, but illogically. I see less drunkenness than formerly and feel that while women are safer than in former years, there is some increase in drinking among young men who want to show off.

4. No.

5. The drunkard will not be reformed by law. He must be allowed gradually to die out. It will take two generations for Prohibition to prohibit.

**Unfavorable Attitude of Some Prominent Men and News Vendors Encourages Law Breaking.**

W. A. May, President, Coal Companies,  
Scranton, Pa.

1. Yes, I am.

3. The bank statements and the number of new depositors lead me to believe more money is being saved by those who previously spent their earnings for liquor. I am not in a position to say as to the betterment of homes and the better care of families.

4. No, it is not as common, although it exists to a greater extent than it would if the laws were enforced.

5. The unfavorable attitude of some prominent men and powerful vendors of news toward the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act tends to the violation of law and is greatly to be deprecated. They themselves will suffer most in the long run; but the rest of us will suffer with them.

**National Prohibition Was Real Solution of Liquor Problem.**

Arthur J. Dunton,  
States Attorney for Sagadahoc County, Bath, Me.

1. I am thoroughly convinced that National Prohibition is the one real solution of the liquor problem. It was a stupendous undertaking but I believe the results show the policy amply justified.

2. I am convinced that the Law is possible of enforcement. As was to have been expected, time is required to get an effective, efficient enforcement organization educated to the work. I believe this is being accomplished.

3. I believe it has proved a great benefit to the families of many working men and to these men themselves.

4. My observation has been largely in Maine and in a county where we had very good enforcement of our State prohibitory law before the Federal law went into effect, but we see a difference even here, as it is much more difficult for people here to send out of the State to get liquor as they did to a considerable extent formerly.

**Less Drunkenness.**

James Bronson Reynolds, Lawyer,  
North Haven, Conn.

1. Yes.

2. Unchanged.

3. No experience.

4. This is a question which should be determined by truthful and dispassionate inquiry. My impression and belief are that in spite of much noise to the contrary, there is less drunkenness at present.

### A Bulwark Against the Dissolute, the Sordid and the Anarchistic.

James Schermerhorn, Editor, Detroit, Mich.

1. Brazen attempts to discredit and break down the 18th Amendment only go to confirm the great moral achievement of its adoption. There it stands, a bulwark against the dissolute, the sordid and the anarchistic.

3. What has been saved and conserved of health, wealth and fireside content, comprises a more sensational story than anything ever printed about bootlegging.

4. Far from it. I go about a great deal and seldom see that most offensive of all sights—a besotted American, once an ever-present nuisance. The public drunk has vanished.

5. The traffic come-back is sought by the abominable methods it used to intrench itself when it was made respectable by Government co-partnership. Falsehood and law-defiance, specious appeals to the cupidity and appetites of the weak and vicious.

### Liquor Traffic Menace to Health and Morals of the Nation.

Morton J. Elrod, Professor of Biology, State University, Missoula, Mont.

1. Yes. It is a menace to the good health and morals of the nation. It is an expensive, useless and harmful agent when used as drink, with no beneficial return to the purchaser and drinker. Not referring to scientific uses.

2. Have not changed. If anything am more firmly convinced

3. All newspaper reports give larger bank deposits, lessening of crime, less poverty, better credit, less loss from workmen, better safety in travel.

4. Publicity is now given to every case of drunkenness, and to every source of purchase by those who oppose the Law. The facts are there seem to be fewer cases. Drunken men in my town a common sight a few years since. Now they are a rarity. The jails are being filled with bootleggers, rather than by drunken men.

5. There are those who try in every way to make the Law and its enforcement odious, with the hope there may be a change to the old system. There are those who want a thing because the laws say they cannot have it. There are those who break the laws because of the money they can make from those who will purchase at any price. These will become fewer as enforcement becomes more stringent.

### Has Emptied Jails and Hospitals for Inebriates.

Jessica B. Peixotto,  
Professor of Social Economics,  
University of California, Berkeley, Cal.

1. Yes.

3. The principal effect has in my judgment been to empty the county jails of the State and to leave the wards of the hospitals for inebriates almost empty.

4. Drunkenness has diminished according to our political statistics by about 50 per cent in rural districts and almost as much as that in the larger cities.

### Regardless of Evasion of the Law Conditions Are Better—Present Lawlessness Temporary Phase.

Mary E. Wolley, President  
Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass.

1. Yes, in spite of the evasion and defiance of the Law I believe that conditions are better than they were before it was passed and that the present lawlessness is a temporary phase.

3. That the betterment of homes and better care of women and children of the men who formerly spent freely for drink are marked.

4. No.

### Results Achieved Are Already Beyond Expectations.

J. S. Wilson,  
Lecturer and Writer,  
(Ex-Mayor of Berkeley),

Berkeley, Cal.

1. Yes. Most emphatically. Ancient evils die hard. There is no need for discouragement. A generation must pass before we see the real fruits of Prohibition.

2. The results already achieved are beyond my expectations. I had expected to see riots and possibly inspired uprisings to resist Prohibition.

3. This is probably the greatest single direct advantage. The open saloon was the robber of the workers' home.

4. Certainly not.

5. The violation of the Volstead Act by the rich classes is the most serious aspect of the liquor situation today. It is infecting the nation with lawlessness.

### Methods of Suppressing Illegal Liquor Traffic Will Improve.

W. B. Bonfield, Pres. First National Bank,  
Ottumwa, Ia.

1. If possible, I am more in favor of Prohibition than before the passage of the Amendment.

3. I am convinced that Prohibition has resulted in increased savings by the laboring people, less crime and poverty and better home life.

4. Drunkenness is not nearly so prevalent and will soon be still further decreased owing to vile quality of bootleggers' stuff, and better methods of suppressing illegal traffic which will develop as time goes on.

5. This was a very wet town where liquor interests were strong and the marked improvement here must be at least equalled in most other places.

### Less Drunkenness, But Still Room for Improvement and for Support of Law Enforcement.

University of Maine,  
Orono, Maine, March 18, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I am certainly as much opposed to the liquor traffic as when I signed the petition to Congress. It seems to me that our experience with Prohibition under the prohibitory amendment has been reasonably satisfactory in Maine where we had Prohibition before the passage of the amendment and the fact that the traffic when outlawed throughout the nation helps the officers in Maine in their enforcement of the law. I believe that there is less drunkenness in Maine than there was previous to the passage of the Amendment but there is still considerable opportunity for improvement and it behooves every believer in the enforcement of the Law to be active in the support of the laws prohibiting the liquor traffic.

J. N. HART, Dean.

### Has a Distinctly Beneficial Effect on Labor—Shameful Disregard of Law by Some People of Wealth and Privilege.

C. H. Brent, Bishop,  
Buffalo, N. Y.

1. I have never varied in my judgment as to the desirability of Prohibition.

3. From such information as I have been able to gather I believe Prohibition has had a distinctly beneficial effect both on efficiency and labor and on saving money, to say nothing of the betterment of homes.

4. It depends on your community. A frontier city like Buffalo has more drinking than an inland town. There is shameful disregard of law on the part of some people of wealth and privilege. Among school boys and young girls in society there is more drinking than hitherto.

**Prohibition Even in Most Absurd Treatment, Improvement Upon Former Conditions.**

Edwin C. Reynolds, Lawyer,  
Portland, Me.

1. I am.
2. I am disappointed that the beneficial effects which do result from abstinence from the use of liquor should in such appreciable degree seem neutralized by those in authoritative positions, and by the example of those in the so called "higher circles."
3. I believe it, even in its most absurd treatment, an improvement upon other conditions.
4. It is said to be, but do not think so.

**Too Much Maudlin Sentiment for Bootleggers.**

L. J. Colman,  
Creosoting Piling and Timber,  
Seattle, Wash.

1. Indeed I am. While there is some bootlegging it is nothing like in the old days with saloons on every corner, in some parts of the city, and the younger boys and men are not tempted as of yore.
2. Have not changed my views, but the enforcing branch of the Law is not doing as well as we hoped, and they are not getting the support of the people who believe in Prohibition, as they should.
3. It has been a great thing for the laboring people and bank deposits show a marked increase from the laboring class.
4. Decidedly not, in fact it is very seldom now that one sees a drunken person on the streets of our city.
5. There is far too great a tendency among people who do not believe in the liquor business to wink at the "blind pigger" and have sympathy for him when caught, instead of helping to make an example of him.

**Opposed to Whole Liquor Traffic, Including Beer and Wines.**

Charles H. Gilbert,  
Professor of Zoology,  
Stanford University, California.

1. As firmly opposed as ever to legalizing the liquor traffic even to the extent of beer and light wines.
2. Am less optimistic concerning the possibility in the near future of reasonably enforcing the Law, but have not changed my views as to desirability of enforcing it as well as possible.
3. Have only indirect testimony on these subjects.
4. My observation in a number of large cities leads me to believe open drunkenness is far less common.

**Should Have Expected a Period of Adjustment—Time Will Bring Success.**

W. W. Comfort, President, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.

1. Yes.
3. No personal observation.
4. Drunkenness is largely confined to rich law-breakers.
5. Period of adjustment necessary in case of such radical legislation. Success is assured with time.

**Progress Satisfactory—Evil Can be Eradicated.**

Harold B. Smith, Prof. Electrical Engineering,  
Worcester Polytechnic Institute,  
Worcester, Mass.

1. Yes.
2. No.
3. Favorable in all respects.
4. No.
5. Progress appears satisfactory—Evil can probably be eradicated arbitrarily at once.

**Money Saved Through Prohibition Spent in Betterment of Homes and Providing Comforts for Wives and Children.**

Robert H. Gardiner,  
Trustee and Farmer,  
Gardiner, Me.

1. I am still heartily opposed to the liquor traffic.
3. I think it has saved much money which has been spent in the betterment of homes and providing more comforts for wives and children.
4. I think drunkenness has decreased.
5. I deplore the example of defiance of the Law set by the rich and well-to-do and by men in public life who posed as advocates of the Amendment to the Constitution. The appeal of the American Bar Association for strict obedience to the Law has been too much neglected.

**Young Generation Freed From Temptation of System That Made the Old Drunkard Who Now Drinks Moonshine When it Can Be Had.**

Wm. H. Butler, Shoe Manufacturer,  
Haverhill, Mass.

1. Yes. It is as injurious today as ever.
2. No change.
3. The young men are steadier in employment and do not seem to seek out opportunities to secure it. The old confirmed drunkard is drinking moonshine but our hope is the young man.
4. No.
5. Our employment absentees due to liquor very small compared with the open saloon days.

**Continued Campaign of Education Needed to Annul False Glamor Literature Has Thrown Around Drunkenness.**

William W. Folwell, Retired Accountant and Historian,  
Minneapolis, Minn.

1. Yes.
2. No.
3. My range of observation is limited, but it seems to me that there has been great betterment. The old saloon has gone.
4. It seems to me, *not*.
5. I suggest a continued campaign of education, aimed principally to investigate and at length annul the glamor which literature has thrown around drunkenness.

**Energy and Money Turned to Higher Levels.**

Emory S. Bogardus, Ph. D.,  
University Teacher,  
Los Angeles, Cal.

1. Yes, no serious evils have followed the enactment of the 18th Amendment, and much economic and social gain has resulted.
2. No change, except a deeper belief in the wisdom of abolishing the liquor traffic.
3. Has turned millions of dollars into more productive channels.
4. Apparently one-tenth to one-third as much drunkenness now, dependent upon class of people concerned.
5. The chief change has been the transfer of energy and money from destructive or low producing levels to higher levels.

**Still For Prohibition.**

Geo. A. Hulett, Teacher, Princeton, N. J.

1. I am of the same opinion.
2. Have not.
3. I have no complete information.
4. Less here.

**Money Formerly Wasted Now Clothes Women and Children.**

Wm. T. Thompson, Ex-Attorney General of Nebraska,  
Lincoln, Neb.

1. I am of the same opinion now and that opinion has been strengthened to a conviction by what has since been shown.
2. No.
3. My experience or observation convinces me that Prohibition has been of great benefit to labor and instead of throwing much of the wages into the sewer has placed it on the backs of children and wives for their happiness and comfort.
4. No, nothing like it.
5. We carried Nebraska in 1916 for Constitutional Prohibition by about 30,000. My judgment is that if voted on today it would carry by 120,000 or more.

**Thank God the Coming Generation Will Live in a Better Environment!**

E. C. DeWolfe, Advertising & Catalogues, Chicago, Ill.

1. Yes. It takes time to develop a radical change. A coming generation will live in a different environment.
3. Very definitely improved conditions.
4. Certainly not. The isolated cases seen are more conspicuous because of their rarity.
5. The unfortunate thing is that men who would deny any aspersions upon their Americanism are flouting this element of our fundamental law and contributing to the tendencies to lawlessness which in other matters they deplore.

**Wants Beer and Light Wines Distributed to Homes Only By Government, Thus Making the Government a Co-worker With Evil.**

Battle Creek, Mich., March 19, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

While it is true that I signed the petition for Prohibition, after looking at its workings and studying the situation, I am strongly opposed to the present enactment of the Law, and am in favor of beer and light wines, to be distributed under supervision of the Government to homes only, and not to restaurants or bar rooms.

F. L. TAPMAN,  
349 Broadway, New York.

**Selfishness Which Violates the Law Should be Punished.**

Frank H. Brooks,  
Trustee and Director,  
St. Johnsbury, Vermont.

1. More so than ever.
2. Changed them only to be more convinced that the present law breakers should be punished.
3. I believe it is absolutely beneficial to the vast majority in every way.
4. Not among the rank and file. Among the well-to-do and those who can pay, there seems to be a determined fight to break laws, ridicule a beneficent law and try to succeed in showing selfishness.
5. The rich high-class who connive with bootleggers should be classed as criminals and criminally responsible for insisting upon having their drinks in defiance of the Constitution and the laws of the land.

**Drunkenness a Rare Sight Now.**

EDWARD A. STEINER, Professor,  
Grinnell College, Grinnell, Ia.

1. Yes, decidedly do.
3. The home of the average American citizen especially that of the workingman has been decidedly benefited.
4. Not nearly as common, in fact a rare sight though I travel constantly all over the United States.

**Only the Idle Rich Increase in Drunkenness.**

Upton Sinclair, Author,  
Pasadena, Cal.

1. I am as much opposed to it. I didn't suppose it could be enforced all at once. We shall have to educate, and keep at it, as with any other hard, slow job.
4. Not so much among labor, only among the idle rich.
5. I am opposed to the use of alcohol for medical or religious uses. Think we can't get real Prohibition until we stop its manufacture in any form which can be drunk.

**No Question as to Economic Benefits.**

P. F. Walker,  
Dean School of Engineering,  
University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kans.

1. Yes.
2. There can be no question as to the economic benefits that have resulted in many parts of the country from the application of the prohibitory law.
3. My residence being in a State that has had a prohibitory law for many years, there is no perceptible change. I cannot speak therefore as to this question. My impression is that in States which had an effective law before the National Law was passed have had some increased difficulties with bootlegging, but feel that this is a temporary matter, however.

**Movement to Get Wine and Beer in Interest of Open Saloons.**

B. F. Davis, Banker,  
City National Bank,  
Lansing, Michigan.

1. Yes. I think the movement to get beer and wines back is in the interest of the open saloon. Politicians can better and cheaper corral votes that way, hence the drive.
3. We have many evidences of better conditions on account of absence of saloons. Dealers have reported payment of bills that had been charged off and forgotten.
4. No.
5. If activities of bootleggers could be better looked after conditions would be ideal.

**The Liquor Evil Dies Hard.**

F. E. Horack, Professor, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia.

1. Yes. Rome was not built in a day, and we all know the liquor interests die hard.
2. Have not changed my views on the subject.
3. The Sheriff tells me that there are fewer occupants of the jail now and my banker tells me men have savings accounts now who never had them before.
4. One hears much of moonshine and homebrew, but a drunk on the streets of Iowa City is a very rare sight now.
5. More reliance must be placed upon enforcement by outside authorities. Local authorities hate to make trouble for their friends or relatives or influential voters.

**No Reason to Change View on Prohibition.**

J. P. Lichtenberger,  
Professor University of Pennsylvania,  
Philadelphia, Pa.

1. I see no reason for changing my views as expressed in the former petition.
3. Have not studied it carefully. My impression is that the general effect is good.
4. I think it probably is just now. The chief source of liquor are bad concoctions that are more deadly in their effects.
5. I think the reaction against Prohibition is natural but it will subside gradually. I hear no arguments for the re-establishment of the saloon.

**Has Improved Moral Tone, Lessened Crime, Increased Savings and Wrought More Than We Can Enumerate.**

Chase S. Osborn,  
Former Governor of Michigan,  
Sault St. Marie, Mich.

1. More opposed even than ever. The results have more than justified every hope. The average of those who drink now will die in less than 20 years. Younger generation will gradually become immune.

3. Prohibition has improved the moral tone of the country, lessened crime, increased savings, made possible for the people to weather a period of extreme financial depression and readjustment with a minimum of suffering. Has done so much that cannot be enumerated or even seen.

4. Not common at all. Drunkenness is rarely to be seen. See statistics of police courts and mortuary statistics of death from alcoholism, etc.

5. America is more nearly sober and sensible and sane than at any previous time. Booze and bootleggers are flopping like a chicken with its head off or a fish dying out of water.

**Ineffective Enforcement Has Made Results Other Than We Should Have.**

Henry R. Seager,  
Professor of Political Economy,  
Columbia University, New York, N. Y.

1. Yes, although the enforcement of the Volstead Law has been so disappointing.

3. My limited observation makes me think that in States where public opinion is really behind Prohibition the effects have been beneficial. Fairly convincing evidence of this was supplied in the survey of the effects of Prohibition on conditions in Grand Rapids, Michigan, published as a special number of the Survey magazine about one year ago.

4. Not so prevalent so far as my observation goes, but the improvement is much less than was hoped for because of ineffective enforcement in communities like New York City where public opinion on the whole is not favorable to Prohibition.

**Illicit Drinking, Like Other Crimes, Can be Reduced to Minimum.**

A. Holmes, President, Drake University,  
Des Moines, Ia.

1. Yes. My reasons for opposing the liquor traffic before the Prohibition Amendment have not been changed by any facts or evidence which have come out since then.

3. My observation has been limited to personal observation of a few families in which betterment of the homes is clearly apparent.

4. No, not by any means.

5. Great good has been accomplished by closing the saloons, the places where many young men were *taught* to drink alcohol. Total abstinence is a personal matter and will come with education. Illicit drinking is like any other crime; it can be reduced to a minimum.

**Human Welfare Promoted in Highest Degree.**

John Harvey Kellogg, M. D., LL. D., F. A. C. S.,  
Superintendent, Battle Creek Sanitarium, Battle Creek, Mich.

1. Yes.

2. No change.

3. Prohibition in the highest degree promotes human welfare and business prosperity and is in no way opposed to these interests.

4. By no means. Drunkenness is now exceedingly rare whereas formerly it was very common.

**Buying Homes and Taking Better Care of Family.**

J. W. Fieldhouse, Real Estate Dealer,  
Elkhart, Ind.

1. Yes, and more so than ever.

3. They are buying homes more than before and are taking better care of their families.

4. No not one-twentieth as much.

**Collective Will Secures Social Freedom.**

Vida D. Scudder, Professor,  
Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.

1. Yes. My views are the usual ones. The collective will secures social freedom by curtailing individual rights to indulgence in a degrading habit.

2. I wish simpler provision might be made for very old delicate people securing choice cordials.

3. I am sure it is all so, but have had no chance at personal observation.

4. I see fewer drunken men about.

**A Physician Claims That 90 Per Cent of His Acquaintances Are Law Breakers—Possibly a New Selection Is Needed.**

Henry J. Berkeley, Physician,  
Baltimore, Md.

1. The farce called the Volstead Law spells demoralization not Prohibition. Full 90 per cent of my acquaintances are now law breakers, and the drop from the moral law is now leading many of them astray in other ways. For legitimate medical uses, even external ones, no alcohol can be had. For illegitimate purposes one can buy all the whiskey they wish and at a price but slightly higher than the old one. The result is much more secret drinking than of old, and the tendency is to drain the bottle, rather than take a drink or two.

2. My present views are answered as above.

3. My knowledge relating to this question is too vague to be able to answer it.

4. Among young men, and especially among young women of the so-called better classes, there is far more drunkenness than five years ago.

5. While I would not have "hard" liquors and the saloon back, the only solution of the problem I can see is the restoration of beers and wines to be drunk in the open. This will avoid many of the present evils.

**Believes in Changing the Law Instead of Enforcing the Law.**

Walter Renton Ingalls, Consulting Engineer, New York, N. Y.

1. If it be true that about five years ago I, "in company with a thousand other leading men in the country," signed a petition to Congress advocating the Prohibition of alcoholic drink in the United States, I now reverse that opinion and advocacy. All possible economic benefit that might have been expected to result from the prohibition of alcoholic drink is offset by the disrespect for all laws that is being produced among the best classes of citizens.

3. I am sure that there is no adequate statistical evidence enabling this question to be answered one way or another.

4. I never moved among circles of people who were in the habit of getting drunk.

5. I am convinced that the enactment and enforcement of the Prohibition laws is producing dangerous moral decadence. It will probably be difficult to cancel the 18th Amendment, but the Volstead Law should be repealed and something substituted to the effect that anything with less than 50 per cent alcohol is not intoxicating, or something like that; not a mere authorization of the use of light wines and beer.



**Decrease in Drunkenness Despite Law Breakers.**

Thomas W. Elkinton,  
Works Manager, Philadelphia Quartz Co., Philadelphia, Pa.;  
Factories, Anderson, Ind., Buffalo, N. Y., Chester, Pa.,  
Kansas City, Kan., and Rahway, N. J.

1. Our company is still opposed to the liquor traffic to the extent that it was when we signed the petition to Congress referred to.

2. We have no statistics which show that there has been a definite saving of money which was formerly spent for liquor, as regards the group of men who are employed at our works. There is little or no absenteeism on Monday morning, which was a regular event with certain men before Prohibition was made effective. We know of a few cases in the families where we have been able to learn of the home condition, that there was a definite change in the family life when it became impossible for the head of the family to spend money freely for drink.

3. This question has been answered specifically as applied to our works in No. 2. In general, we feel that drunkenness is not as common as it was heretofore, although there are plenty of law breakers and it apparently seems to be a fad to see how far you can go in breaking the Law.

**Charity Workers Say Drink Problem Has Been Eliminated From Their Problems.**

J. H. James,  
Professor of Chemistry,  
Carnegie Institute of Technology,  
Pittsburgh, Pa.

1. Yes.

2. I have not changed my views as to the desirability of having Prohibition, but I rather feel that the American public is not quite ready for as radical a change. The excessive lawbreaking that is going on, makes one tremble for the future of our Government. I am not sure but that we could have had the benefits noted below with the ban on all forms of alcohol except beer. The open defiance of the Law, as it is now enforced, may in the long run be worse than the evils of drink.

3. There is no question as to the effect the removal of strong drink has had on the laboring classes. Charity workers state that the drink factor has been eliminated from their problems.

**Permission of Light Wines and Beer Would Make Way Easier for "Hard" Liquor Disposal.**

Elliott Frost,  
Industrial Management Council,  
Chamber of Commerce, Rochester, N. Y.

1. Ideally, I should prefer (a) to permit light wines and beer, (b) to prohibit the strong liquor saloon.

2. My chief reason is the disrespect for law engendered at present.

3. Distinctly favorable to Prohibition.

4. No.

**Prohibition Means Improved Home Life.**

Joseph M. Steele,  
Engineer and Constructor,  
Philadelphia, Pa.

1. I am most certainly opposed to the liquor traffic and am sure great benefits will result when the Law is enforced.

3. Prohibition means improved home life and conditions, better health and loyal citizenship and stoppage of waste.

4. No. It is only occasionally we see men on the street under influence of liquor.

5. Our future generations will be greatly benefitted.

**Full Purses and Empty Heads Still Get Drunk, but Prohibition Has Benefitted the Families.**

Frederick H. Howard, M. D.,  
Williamstown, Mass.

1. The obvious benefit already resulting from partial Prohibition is a very clear proof of the evils of unrestricted sale of liquor.

2. No change.

3. Personal experience—My wife is chairman of a local relief organization. Since Prohibition was established the number of families needing assistance has diminished more than half.

4. Much less common among the rank and file of the people. Those who have full purses and empty heads still get drunk, but they are an unimportant class.

5. I am in doubt about the Volstead Act. The ideal would be to prohibit spiritous liquor and to allow the sale of wine and beer, although the difficulties of administration of such a policy are obvious. They would perhaps be no greater than the enforcement of total Prohibition.

**Strongly Opposed to Former Saloon System—Thinks Present Law Extreme Though Admits General Effect of Prohibition Has Been Good.**

E. G. Conklin,  
Prof. of Biology,  
Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.

1. Yes, personally I am just as strongly opposed to the old saloon as ever, but I am convinced that Congress has gone too far in defining any beverage as intoxicating that contains more than  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent alcohol.

2. The Law as at present enforced is bringing about a general disregard for all law. Lawlessness with regard to Prohibition is condoned by many leading citizens and the effect will be disastrous.

3. In general the effect has been very good.

4. No, not in general, but we have had more cases of discipline for drunkenness among college students than ever before.

5. President Wilson's idea of prohibiting distilled liquors, but permitting manufacture and sale of light wines and beer should be adopted by Congress.

**Labors Efficiency Raised and Home Conditions Improved.**

Charles R. Fitch, Manager,  
The Stanley Works,  
Bridgewater, Mass.

1. We are still opposed to the liquor traffic as formerly conducted, but we do believe in permitting the consumption of light wine and beer.

3. Our observation convinces us that Prohibition has raised the laborer's efficiency, has improved home conditions and brought about a general betterment in behalf of those dependent on his efforts.

4. No, it is only upon rare occasions we see evidences of intoxication in our locality.

**Full Effect of Prohibition Will Be Realized When Present Generation of Alcoholics Dies.**

A. B. Wolfe, Professor  
Economics and Sociology, University of Texas, Austin, Tex.

1. Yes.

2. No change.

3. I have made no study.

4. It is not, so far as my personal observation goes.

5. It stands to reason that the full effects of Prohibition will not be apparent for many years—until the generation accustomed to drink dies and a new generation comes on.

### The Violator of Prohibition Laws Places Himself With Anarchists.

George F. Bovard, President Emeritus of University of Southern California, Hermosa Beach, Cal.

1. Yes. A very severe penalty should be meted out to the violators of the Law.
3. There are some worthless fellows who use Prohibition as an excuse for their worthlessness; but I believe it has been a God-send to the great mass of laborers and has been a great blessing to their families.
4. No. We scarcely see a man under the influence of liquor in Los Angeles. It used to be a very common occurrence.
5. I am not a "party" Prohibitionist; but a strong believer in the supremacy of the Law.

The man who violates the Prohibition Law is not in a position where he can complain of the radical Socialist-Anarchists and the like.

### There Will Be no Repeal of the Prohibition Statute, for Results to Public Good Unquestionably Justify the Law.

William B. Sheppard, Judge,  
Pensacola, Fla.

1. Experience has modified my views as to the nature of most effective legislation but such views are nebulous, but would favor dispensary experimentation.
2. Some changes might induce greater respect for the Statute. Public opinion must be won to effect stricter enforcement.
3. Results unquestionably justify the Law, poorly as it works and futile as is its enforcement. Prohibition conduces to better social conditions, diminishes crime, improves citizenship and makes for the public good.
4. Marked decrease in drunkenness. Better order generally and almost total absence of the disorder and resultant offenses which formerly filled the police courts every Monday morning.
5. There is a steadily growing contentment among the sober thinking classes in favor of Prohibition. There may be some changes, but no repeal of the Prohibition Statute.

### Admits Considerable Betterment in the Home but Wants to Give in to Law Breakers Because of Lax Enforcement, Which Would Undo All Good Accomplished and Make People Subservient to Any Criminal Element Strong Enough to Resist Law.

Thomas J. McKay, Manufacturer,  
Pittsburgh, Pa.

1. No! Feel that the Law should be revised, allowing light wines and beers, obtainable through Government dispensaries. Unalterably opposed to heavy alcoholics or saloons.
2. Feel that the Law cannot be enforced as now enacted, as opposition is too great and a premium, as it were, being put on "law breaking," thereby causing a contempt for the Law, which cannot be changed as long as the law of fermentation exists.
3. From the point of view of labor, my observation leads me to believe there has been a considerable betterment in the home.
4. Openly, No! Otherwise, Yes!

### A University Town Without Drunkenness.

C. N. Little,  
Dean, College of Engineers, University of Idaho,  
Moscow, Idaho.

1. Yes, I am convinced that the Prohibition amendment and the activity of Congress in enforcing it are resulting in great benefit to the country.
4. No. At the present time I practically never see and rarely hear of a case of drunkenness in this University town of 5000 people.

### Seen Only One Drunken Man Since Prohibition Went Into Effect.

Wm. Romaie Newbold,  
Professor of Philosophy,  
University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

1. Yes and more.
2. I am open to conviction, but not convinced as to the desirability of permitting free sale of light beers and wines.
3. I have no opportunity for such observation.
4. I have seen only one drunken man since Prohibition Law went into effect.

### Cellar Tenements a Thing of the Past.

Arthur Perry, Banker, Boston, Mass.  
Boston, Mass.

1. I am still opposed to the liquor traffic.
3. The open saloon has practically wholly disappeared, wages are saved, cellar tenements a thing of the past and children and women are better fed and better clothed.
4. Decidedly not. With the distilleries shut down and with the very limited amount of liquor released from bond by the Government it is clear that not more than a fraction of the amount formerly consumed is now drunk.

### Intensive Study Shows Great Improvement in Family Conditions.

Herbert N. Shenton, Instructor in Sociology,  
Columbia University,  
New York City.

1. I am. I can see no reason why the traffic would not have the same effects today that it had ten or twenty years ago, save that in some cases the effects would be intensified.
2. No change.
3. A careful study of a community about a mile square in Jersey City has shown numerous benefits resulting from the present regulation of the traffic.
4. So far as my intensive study in Jersey City is concerned, the answer is absolutely no. Numerous families (many of foreign ancestry) are for the first time socially and economically on a substantial basis, according to their own statements, particularly because of the disappearance of the open saloon.
5. I shall welcome every scientific investigation of the social and economic effects of the Eighteenth Amendment and will try to study it in an unprejudiced spirit.

### Greater Reverence for Law Must be Created.

Robert J. Aley, President Butler College,  
Indianapolis, Ind.

1. I am still opposed to the liquor traffic in every way. I believe in it more today than ever before.
3. There has certainly been a great increase in savings since the adoption of Prohibition. Officers who have to do with the care of women and children report uniformly that the need of help is less than formerly.
4. I believe that drunkenness is much less common now than at any time previous to this.
5. One of the great needs is that there be created in America a great reverence for law. The attitude of some good people toward the prohibitory law is breeding contempt for all law among many others.

### For Prohibition.

Philip Sellers, Engineer & Architect,  
New Haven, Conn.

1. Yes.

### Two National Banks With \$2,000,000 Deposits Now Stand Where Two Saloons Stood.

Wm. J. Faux, President Logan Coal Co.,  
Philadelphia, Pa.

1. A knowledge of the beneficial results of Prohibition has proven to me I was correct in advocating the Law.
2. I more than ever favor Prohibition.
3. The families of the laboring class are better fed and clothed—the children wear shoes and stockings, that formerly were bare footed. Courage and content has taken the place of fear and despair. The men who were most frequently in the saloon give expression to the hope that whiskey and beer will never come back.
4. Positively no, and no honest man can say to the contrary.
5. The most cogent reason I can give, aside from the cheerful, contented faces of the families, is that since the days of Prohibition where there formerly stood two saloons, now stand two National Banks, with a deposit list of about two million dollars. Who would have the saloon back?

### Men Live Better—Crime and Destitution Less Under Prohibition.

H. L. Paddock, Paper Manufacturer,  
Fulton, N. Y.

1. Yes. I am absolutely opposed to the liquor traffic on account of its harmful effect to the community—on men, women and children.
3. Less trouble with labor—men work steadily instead of staying out for few days after pay day. Men live better—clothe family better.
4. No, not nearly so common as before.
5. Our local court officer, Judge H. G. Wilson, says crime *here* is much less—destitution much less under present conditions.

### Disrespect for Law Is No Excuse for Yielding to Lawbreakers.

Madison Bentley,  
Professor of Psychology,  
University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.

1. My views have somewhat changed.
2. I still think the elimination of the saloon desirable. The attempt to enforce the Prohibition Amendment to the Constitution has brought about a number of deplorable results, one of which is a general disrespect for law and its enforcement.
3. No first hand experience. My opinion is that economic results of the Amendment have been important and beneficial.
4. I don't know.

### A Physician's Testimony to Prohibition Benefits.

Joseph McFarland, M. D.,  
Professor of Pathology and Bacteriology,  
University of Pennsylvania, Germantown, Phila., Pa.

1. I am just as much opposed to the liquor traffic as ever. In fact, somewhat more so as it seems to endeavor to maintain itself contrary to Law.
2. No change except as stated above.
3. It seems to me that labor people have been benefitted, and those with whom I have talked agree with me, even though they sometimes regret what has taken place.
4. I used to see drunken persons about every day; now I see them *very rarely*.
5. I think conditions very encouraging, and believe the people will soon become accustomed to the new conditions and that the evasions of the Law will diminish.

### Nation-Wide Prohibition Has Greatly Reduced Intemperance.

American Museum of Natural History,  
For the People, For Education, For Science  
New York, N. Y., March 21, 1922.

- I take pleasure in answering your questionnaire as follows:
1. I am still strongly opposed to the liquor traffic.
  2. I have not changed my views.
  3. I believe, on the whole, that American homes are much better off.
  4. Drunkenness is much less common.

After consulting with Professor C. E. A. Winslow, Curator of the Department of Public Health in this Museum, I find no reason to change the position which I took five years ago when I signed the petition for Nation-wide Prohibition. I am convinced that, on the whole, Nation-wide Prohibition has greatly reduced intemperance and that the effects have been decidedly beneficial, outside of certain special classes of a community in the larger cities.

I trust you will give wide publicity to this expression of my opinion.

HENRY FAIRFIELD OSBORNE, President.

### Better Home Life, More Savings, More Decent Streets and Trains Under Prohibition.

Ellwood P. Cubberley,  
Dean of School of Education,  
Stauford University, California.

1. Yes. It was a blight on our homes, our industry and our youth. We are well rid of it. It cost us heavy toll also in the sufferings of our women and children.
3. Better home life, more bath tubs, marked increase in savings deposits, more decent streets and trains, and Saturday night and Sunday wholesome. I notice, particularly, the marked change in character of the Overland trains.
4. I seldom see or smell anyone under influence of liquor. I think it is confined today almost exclusively to the rich, with a diminishing supply to draw on.
5. Trains to Chicago used to be one long drink, with much noise and loud talking at night in the sleepers. Now they are clean and quiet, and any drinking is confined to the drawing rooms.

### A Boon to Women and Children.

William T. Foster, PH.D., LL.D., director, Pollak Foundation for Economic Research (formerly president of Reed College), Newton, Mass.

1. Prohibition has worked thus far just about as I anticipated. I am still in favor of the Law, and for the same reasons as formerly.
2. Most of the current references to failures to enforce the Law are either wholly beside the point or show no understanding of the necessarily slow and uneven progress of all social reform.
3. Every source of evidence which I have been able personally to verify shows that Prohibition already has been a boon to women and children.
4. My observations on this point are too limited to be of any use as evidence.

### Liquor Produces Economic Waste and Misery.

Chester W. Wright,  
Professor of Economics, University of Chicago.

1. Yes, because of the economic waste and general misery and suffering it involves.
2. No.
3. I have no personal experience as to the effects.
4. No.

**Sickness and Accidents Lessened Under Prohibition.**

W. A. Evans, M. D.,  
Health Department,

The Chicago Tribune, Chicago, Ill.

1. Yes. It takes about thirty years to make Prohibition effective. I am not disappointed that a Federal Amendment has not effected the change over night.

3. Labor situation has been abnormal from several angles for several years. Analysis of the complex to be of value should be extensive.

4. No.

5. There is medical evidence (files from American Medical Association) that cirrhosis of liver, heart stroke and certain types of accidents have been lessened, also certain kinds of pneumonia.

**The Nation Must Fight to Enforce Its Laws Against Liquor.**

Wm. A Schapur, Manufacturer,  
Minneapolis, Minn.

1. Yes, I am opposed to the liquor traffic now and always have been.

3. The present business conditions obscure the real effect of Prohibition. The situation is too abnormal to trace the results of Prohibition. The crime wave now sweeping the whole world has no connection with liquor. It is the aftermath of the war, and effects all nations.

4. No it is not. There is some drunkenness, a good deal of it in all our cities. But that is inevitable. The drink craze cannot be stamped out by act of legislation. It takes years of fighting to enforce such laws after they are enacted.

5. Of course there was some foreign war propaganda directed against the liquor business in the United States that has switched about now that its purpose has been effected. We must fight the liquor evil all the harder.

**Improvement All Along the Line.**

Wm. H. Hamilton,  
Manager Operations,

Coatesville, Pa.

1. I am, just as much as ever.

2. I have not changed my views in the least.

3. There has been much improvement. Do not see how we would have gotten through these times.

4. Not nearly so bad.

5. There is no doubt of the improvement all along the whole line since the saloon has been done away with.

**Bootlegging on the Decline.**

T. W. Sims,  
Former Member of Congress,  
Attorney-at-Law,

Linden, Teun.

1. My opposition to the liquor traffic is unabated.

2. No change.

3. Very decided improvement.

4. Drunkenness is by no means as common now as it was under the open saloon.

5. I think that bootlegging is on the decline and that the law is being better enforced.

**Homes and Children Benefited.**

W. A. Rogers, Contractor and Civil Engineer,  
Chicago, Ill.

1. Yes.

3. Labor saves now more than formerly, homes and children are benefited thereby.

4. No.

**Money Formerly Used for Liquor Now More Wisely Used.**

E. L. Bogart,  
Professor of Economics,

University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.

1. Yes, my opposition to the liquor traffic is based upon purely economic grounds. Those have not altered.

3. It is impossible to state what the effect of Prohibition has been on labor, for the World War completely changed the labor situation. There can, I think, be no doubt but that much of the money formerly devoted to liquor is now used more wisely.

4. Drunkenness is probably not so common today, but the disregard of law, which has followed the passage of the Volstead Act is nearly as pernicious in its far-reaching effects.

**Continued Prohibition Our Only Cure for Present Evils.**

W. P. Manley, President,  
The Security National Bank,  
Sioux City, Ia.

1. I am still opposed to the liquor traffic and have not changed my views in any way.

3. I have no occasion to change my views so far as the beneficial effect of Prohibition has had on the liquor traffic.

4. Drunkenness is rather uncommon and not as common as formerly under the open saloon.

5. Continuous Prohibition of the liquor traffic is our only cure for present evils.

**The Next Generation Will be Without a Liquor Craving Appetite.**

Edward L. Munson,  
Army Surgeon,

Washington, D. C.

1. Absolutely opposed.

2. No change.

3. Money no longer spent on liquor is available for more useful purpose.

4. No. The alcoholic will get liquor to satisfy a craving artificially produced. But the next generation will grow up without such a craving by reason of relative inability to establish the alcohol habit. The question solves itself in one generation.

5. The liquor men have brought out every specious argument in favor of a return to liquor sale. But they haven't mentioned their one real argument, that they want the money.

**Prohibition Beneficial to All Classes.**

W. R. Bixler, Asst. Mgr., The Kenton Hardware Co.,  
Kenton, O.

1. Yes, still opposed to the same degree or more.

3. Prohibition has been beneficial to all classes especially laboring class.

4. No. In our community drunkenness is practically unknown.

5. Would very much regret to see Prohibition Act repealed. The benefits of same will be much more apparent in the next generation.

**Old "Bums" Disappearing.**

Mrs. V. G. Simkhovitch, Director, Greenwich House,  
New York, N. Y.

1. I am very doubtful.

2. Universal lawbreaking.

3. See very little difference so far, but expect to.

4. Yes, but by a different group. Old jums disappearing—  
young people drinking more.

**General Moral and Physical Improvement Under Prohibition.**

Charles J. Hauck, The Selby Shoe Company,  
Portsmouth, O.

1. Emphatically just as much opposed as ever, or if it were possible even more so, due to the general moral as well as physical improvement due to Prohibition.

2. Answer in number 1.

3. Through Prohibition labor is not as irregular and as a whole in a better frame of mind and more open to reason. Those who formerly patronized the saloon are providing for their families not only in the necessities but in the way of pleasure. There are more who are buying their own homes, have savings accounts and own automobiles than there were under the open saloon.

4. While drunkenness is more noticeable it is far less common than under the open saloon.

5. There is not a foreman or executive in our organization who would want to go back to the open saloon because it now is so much more pleasant to deal with employees.

**Drunkards Have Become Sober and Families are Happier, Better Clothed and Better Fed.**

H. J. Patterson, Maryland Agricultural Experiment Station,  
College Park, Md.

1. Yes. Then we believed it would be a good thing to have Prohibition; now from experience we know that it is beneficial.

2. Labor is more reliable; many families happier, better treated, clothed, and fed. Many men are saving and paying for homes who formerly used all in drink. Less temptation for young men, and parents have feeling of satisfaction and safety with the removal of the saloon.

4. No. Many laboring men in this section were drunk each week end or month depending on pay day, and now always sober, different, better men.

5. I believe that the number who have a desire for liquor and who think that the present Law interferes with their personal liberty will become less each year and that the next generation will see but little agitation of this question.

**Men Who Oppose and Violate the Law Under Greatest Obligation to Support It.**

Benton Hanchett, Banker,  
Saginaw, Mich.

1. I am still opposed.

2. No, except by being strengthened and confirmed.

3. Most favorable in every respect.

4. Much less common.

5. The men who oppose and violate the Law are the men who are under the greatest obligations to support it.

**Question Now Is Not One of Liquor but of Suppressing Lawlessness.**

John Haynes Holmes,  
New York City.

1. Yes. Wanton violation of the Law does not alter the fact that the liquor traffic is a menace which cannot safely be tolerated in the nation's life.

3. Prohibition has had a most wholesome and beneficent effect. Large sums of money formerly spent in drink are now spent on necessities and comforts of life.

4. No, not in the country as a whole. In certain very restricted areas where peculiar conditions prevail there has been some increase but these are exceptional and temporary.

5. The question now before this nation is not one of liquor at all but of *lawlessness*. Anarchy is anarchy wherever it appears, whether with a bomb or a bottle.

**Unchangeably Opposed to Liquor Traffic—Prohibition Has Wrought Great Benefits.**

Walter B. Knight, Cotton Manufacturer,  
Williamantic, Conn.

1. I am as much opposed to the liquor traffic as ever. I have seen the misery it caused and I will never vote for its return.

2. I have not changed my view.

3. While there are a good many stills found amongst Poles, Italians and Jews, and a few amongst other nationalities in this section, the use of intoxicants has been greatly curtailed and workmen's houses and families are much better cared for.

4. Drunkenness is not as common as it was and is largely confined to the older drinkers. The youth are not being so much drawn into it.

5. As an employer we do not have anything like the trouble we formerly did with drunks being missing from their work on Monday mornings.

**Believes More Strongly Than Ever in Prohibition.**

F. W. Hinit, Minister, Indiana, Pa.

1. Even more so. The history of the opposition to the Amendment and its enforcement only increases my conviction as to its wisdom and need.

3. Wholly favorable to Prohibition.

4. No.

5. If reputable citizens would all be law-abiding, and set an example of restraint and decency by not cultivating bootleggers or indulging in a cheaply cynical attitude to the enforcement of the Law, it would be a great gain.

**Results Better Than Expected.**

P. C. Fuller, Lumber,  
Grand Rapids, Mich.

1. More than ever.

2. Better than I expected.

4. No. The record in Police Court shows an increase lately. Now police arrest anyone under the influence of liquor especially when driving automobiles. When there is an accident and liquor is found in the car or on any of occupants, they are arrested. In old days persons only "dead drunk" were arrested.

**Eighteenth Amendment One of Greatest Acts of Legislation Ever Passed.**

Walter A. Danforth,  
Treasurer Bangor Savings Bank,  
Bangor, Me.

1. Yes.

3. I am in fullest accord with the statement made by President Harding.

5. I regard the 18th Amendment as one of the greatest and most effective pieces of legislation this country has ever passed.

**Greater Benefit if Law Was Properly Enforced**

William H. Taylor, Supreme Court Justice,  
Hardwick, Vt.

1. Yes.

3. To the extent that the law is enforced it has, I feel confident, been beneficial along the lines indicated.

4. Emphatically, No.

5. The press is being filled with propoganda in the interest of the liquor traffic. There should be a well devised plan to counteract this.

**Should Meet Desperate Fight of Liquor Forces by Determined Resistance and Aggressiveness.**

K. G. Matheson,  
President, Georgia School of Technology,  
Atlanta, Ga.

1. I am more opposed than ever to the liquor traffic because of a keener realization of its evils. It is difficult to avoid the use of strong language in its condemnation.

3. Despite the liquor traffic, my observation and belief is that labor really is saving more money than ever before, and naturally, this saving will result in the betterment of homes.

4. I do not believe that drunkenness is as common as it was in the time of open saloons.

5. The desperate fight of the liquor forces to reinstate the liquor traffic should be met by the most determined resistance and aggressiveness on the part of Prohibition forces, instead of surrendering, we should carry the fight to the enemy.

**Liquor Forever Doomed if Temperance Men and Women Do Their Duty.**

Ex-Governor Samuel R. VanSant, Banker,  
Minneapolis, Minn.

1. "Old Booze" is dying hard but surely dying. Wine and beer means the saloon again. Our women voters know this and they will never vote against home and children. Favor keeping up the fight every day and more fully persuaded that Prohibition is a good thing both for the individual and the class.

3. Saving bank deposits show that the laboring people are now saving their money, their children are better fed and clothed and being better educated.

4. No. On July 4 I drove 200 miles through our State (Minn.) passing many town celebrations and never a drunken boy or man. Why? *No saloons.*

5. We must fight this propaganda circulated by the wets that Prohibition does not prohibit. If true, why don't the wets turn dry? Keep up the fight for in twenty years or less we will have a nation of young men who never saw or will see the saloon for it is doomed if all temperance men and women do their duty.

**Hopes the Government Will Enforce the Law.**

Ethelbert Talbot, Bishop of Bethlehem,  
Bethlehem, Pa.

1. Yes. Still opposed and hope the Government will enforce its Law efficiently.

2. Have not changed my views in the least.

3. My information and observation lead me to be convinced that great good has already been accomplished.

4. By no means.

5. If our people of social standing and influence would more loyally support the Amendment it would be a great help.

**Condition of Poor Bettered.**

Joseph Sailer, M. D.,  
Philadelphia, Pa.

1. Yes.

3. Condition of poor improving.

4. No.

5. Enforcement in large cities very imperfect, otherwise results would be better.

**Holds to Former Views Against Liquor.**

E. H. Sleight, Accountant,  
Moline, Ill.

1. Yes.

2. It has helped.

4. No.

**Not 5 Per Cent as Much Drunkenness as Before Prohibition.**

H. C. McComas,  
Professor, Princeton University,  
Princeton, N. J.

1. I am still opposed to the liquor traffic.

2. I am more inclined to think light wines and beers could be manufactured, if not sold in a saloon.

3. I have had some direct evidence of the improvements mentioned.

4. In my observation there is not 5 per cent of the drunkenness of pre-Prohibition days.

5. The admission for insanity due to alcohol in the State Hospital has dropped enormously.

**As "Old Toppers" Pass Away Conditions Will Improve.**

Arthur Jordan, Manufacturer,  
Indianapolis, Ind.

1. I am still opposed to the liquor traffic in every form and feel that the present laws should be enforced.

2. No change.

3. It is evident that there is more money being spent on the homes, and savings are increasing. However, men and especially laboring men are very restless.

4. Not nearly so much so as formerly.

5. It is my opinion that we will see an improvement in the conditions as time goes on, as the old toppers die off.

**For Working Classes Influence Has Been Wholly Good**

Eugene Lyman Fisk, M. D.,  
Medical Director, Life Extension Institute, Inc.  
New York, N. Y.

1. Yes.

2. No.

3. For the mass of the working class, the total influence has been wholly favorable.

4. No, not for the mass of people. Drinking has become a "fad" among leaders in certain social sets.

5. After 6000 to 10,000 years of alcoholic indulgence, we are entitled to at least ten years for a fair trial of abstinence. No one can say what the ultimate adjustment will be.

**A Vast Improvement in Citizenship.**

T. C. Munger,  
U. S. District Judge,  
Lincoln, Neb.

1. Yes. It is a useless waste of money and time, causes crime and poverty.

3. A vast improvement in industry and good citizenship.

4. Not one-hundredth part as much.

5. The general class of people, young or old, accept Prohibition willingly. It is mere bravado or wilfulness in those who do not, and time will soon make all willing to be abstainers.

**More Energetic Efforts to Uphold Law Necessary.**

J. G. Rounds, Des Moines, Ia.

1. Yes.

4. No.

5. I am spending the winter at Biloxi, Miss., and think the Government should take more energetic measures to suppress the large illicit traffic that is going on between the West Indies and this region.

**Favors Prohibition.**

Alan W. C. Menzies,  
Professor of Chemistry,  
Princeton, N. J.

1. Yes.

**Saloon Money Now Going to Homes.**

H. H. Franklin, H. H. Franklin Manufacturing Co.,  
Syracuse, N. Y.

1. Yes.
2. The percentage of wages formerly spent in the saloons is now reverting to the homes with telling effects. This, however, does not apply to our employes, as it has always been the policy of the company to procure a selected type of men.
4. Drunkenness not as common at present time. Cases of sickness reporting at our Emergency Hospital from this cause are very rare.

**Improvement Despite Bootlegging.**

Simon Casady, Banking,  
Des Moines, Ia.

1. Yes.
2. Have not changed my views.
3. A great improvement.
4. Not as common—but "bootlegging" is getting in its work to quite an extent.

**Wants the Government Engaged in the Liquor Business.**

Emmet Dwyer, Vice-President and Factory Mgr.,

The Michigan Stove Co., Detroit, Mich.

1. No, am not opposed to liquor traffic.
2. In favor of Government control of liquor.
3. Many men who never drank before are drinking today; there may not be as much drunkenness because there are no saloons, which is good, but drinking is done at home.
5. There should be No Saloons, but Government control of liquor.

**Many Practical Benefits From Prohibition.**

Springfield, Mass., March-18, 1922.

I feel that the test of the Prohibition Amendment is not complete; that there is some room for doubt whether Government dispensation might not have been a better course than Prohibition at the outset; that many practical benefits have resulted from Prohibition, but that it is a fair question whether the disregard for law does not counterbalance those results to a large extent.

E. O. SUTTON.

**Uncertain as to Results.**

Yarnell Henderson, Professor of Applied Physiology,  
Yale University,

New Haven, Conn.

1. I am uncertain whether Prohibition is really prohibiting or not.
2. I always thought a gradual development would be better than sweeping alteration of the peoples' habits. The first step should have been to eliminate whiskey.
3. I am not well posted, but I believe there is some improvement in this respect.
4. Probably not quite.

**Saloon Is Dead and Liquor Business Dying.**

Fred. E. Rogers, Publicity Manager,  
Davis Bournonville Co.,

Jersey City, N. J.

1. Yes.
2. Have not changed.
3. Probably for the better but an impartial opinion would require an analysis very difficult to make in view of present economic conditions.
4. No.
5. The liquor business is dying and the saloon is going out. Bootlegging still flourishes.

**Thousands of Families Saved.**

Arthur H. Hale, President,  
First National Bank,

Manchester, N. H.

1. Yes.
2. No change.
3. Thousands of whole families have been saved by Prohibition.
4. Not at all.
5. Always a few will do what they know they ought not to do.

**Better Homes and Better Surroundings.**

W. H. Metzler,  
Dean of Liberal Arts,

Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y.

1. Yes, more than ever.
2. No change.
3. Laboring men better off, saving more money, wife and children better cared for, better homes, and better surroundings.
4. No, it is not.

**Marked Gain.**

D. F. Grass,

Professor of Business Administration,

Grinnell College, Grinnell, Ia.

1. Yes.
2. Only more firmly convinced of the economic gain to laborer and families.
3. Slow but marked gain in this respect.
4. No.

**Effects of Prohibition Favorable.**

Homer Folks, Social Worker

New York, N. Y.

1. Yes. The impressions which I have gained in regard to the effects of Prohibition (which thus far are only impressions) have all been favorable.
2. I have not changed my mind.
3. I have no first hand information on these phases of the subject.
4. I have no first hand information on the subject.
5. I have no first hand information on the subject.

**Prohibition Has Come to Stay.**

G. E. Savage,  
Manufacturer,

Meriden, Conn.

1. Yes.
3. Better workmen; more money, and better every way.
4. No.
5. I trust Prohibition will be enforced. I believe it has come to stay and that the Law will be enforced more each year.

**Enforce the Law.**

E. J. Phelf, Banker,  
Kalamazoo, Mich.

1. Yes, I fully believe in Prohibition.
5. I believe in the Law and that it should be enforced.

**Generally Lessened Drunkenness.**

Edwin O. Jordan,  
University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

1. Yes.
4. In certain classes of society, yes. Generally, No.

**Better Food and Better Clothing for Women and Children.**

Thomas E. Campbell,  
Governor of Arizona,

Phoenix, Ariz.

1. Yes, I have not changed my views in any way with reference to the liquor traffic since signing the petition to Congress.

3. It is my experience that Prohibition has had a beneficial effect on labor, has resulted in increased savings, improved homes and better food and clothing for women and children of former drinkers. These savings would unquestionably be greater and conditions still more improved were it not for the illicit traffic in liquor.

4. No, although it has not diminished as much as supporters of Prohibition had hoped for, owing to the activities of bootleggers.

**For Betterment of Homes, Women and Children.**

F. T. Maxwell, Manufacturers,

Rockville, Conn.

1. Yes. Think it is a good thing. It will be more so later.

3. Helps on labor, for betterment of homes, women and children and more is saved. Children will know less about liquor in years to come. Good thing to get rid of saloons. Takes years to get whole effect of law.

4. Not nearly as much.

**Prohibition Has Resulted in Betterment of Working People.**

Charles Stelzle,  
Publicity Councilor,

New York City.

1. I am still opposed to the liquor traffic.

2. While I have not changed my views on the fundamental question I think that more time should have been taken to educate the great masses of the people regarding the question of personal liberty, especially workingmen and people who come from countries in which wines and beer are very generally used.

3. I have no means of securing accurate information on this point, except by general observation. There is no doubt that Prohibition has resulted in the saving of money formerly spent for liquor, and that the general conditions of workingmen have been improved by it.

4. Drunkenness in the streets is very common in New York City, where I spend most of my business life. The only way to arrive at an accurate statement on this question is to study the police records, although on account of the lack of uniformity in the enforcement of the laws, this is not altogether a satisfactory method.

**A Banker Whose Experience With 10,000 Small Depositors Proves the Value of Prohibition.**

Charles P. Smith,

President Burlington Savings Bank, Burlington, Vt.

1. Yes.

3. I am in full accord with the views expressed by President Harding in his letter.

4. No.

**Only Need Stricter Enforcement to Make Improvement More Pronounced.**

George G. Williams,

Farmington, Conn.

1. I am still most emphatically opposed to it, and always expect to be.

3. The effects have been marked, and will become more so as the laws are more strictly enforced.

4. By no means as common. Both observation and police court records show this to be so.

**Always Opposed to Liquor Traffic.**

Samuel S. Childs, Restaurant & Real Estate Operator,

New York, N. Y.

1. Always opposed to the liquor traffic.

4. Drunkenness is very much less.

5. Heartily endorse President Harding's statement quoted in your letter.

**Benefit Shown in Increased Savings.**

Herbert S. Kimball, Consulting Engineer,

Boston, Mass.

1. Yes.

2. No.

3. From reports it would seem that saving bank accounts are increasing.

4. Not on the streets.

**Conditions Improving Daily.**

John B. Lennon, Retired.

Bloomington, Ill.

1. Yes, stronger than ever.

2. No.

3. Results were excellent and are improving daily.

4. No, No, No.

**Very Beneficial.**

J. T. Patterson,  
Professor of Zoology,

University of Texas, Austin, Tex.

1. Yes, I am still opposed.

3. Very beneficial.

4. No.

**Store Accounts Better Paid Than Formerly.**

D. V. JACKSON, Judge District Court, Muscatine, Ia.

1. Yes.

2. No change.

3. It is the judgment of our merchants that store accounts are paid much better than formerly.

4. I think not.

**Wants Everlasting Prohibition.**

James Hartness,  
Governor of Vermont and President Jones & Lamson Machine  
Company, Springfield, Vt.

1. Yes.

2. All favorable to everlasting Prohibition.

4. No.

5. Just two sides—The home is for Prohibition, and appetite for alcohol and its profits is opposed.

**Families of Working Men Receive Better Care.**

W. H. Foster,

President, The General Fireproofing Co.,

Youngstown, O.

1. Yes.

2. I have not changed my view.

3. The families of the working men are better cared for.

4. By no means.

**Believes in Prohibition.**

H. W. Steele, Vice President,  
American Brass Co.,

Waterbury, Conn.

1. Yes.



**Unalterably Opposed to Liquor Traffic.**

Bert M. Fernald,  
United States Senator,  
Washington, D. C.

1. I am unalterably opposed to the liquor traffic which I believe subsersive to the public good, mental, moral, and physical.

2. My views are unchanged.

3. From information given me I feel convinced that more money is being saved, better treatment given women and children, and better work rendered by the laboring man under Prohibition.

4. Far less common.

5. I wish to be recorded as stannchly supporting the cause of Prohibition and earnestly desiring its adeqnete enforcement.

**Holds Same Views as President Harding.**

L. L. Woodruff, Professor of Biology, Yale University,  
New Haven, Conn.

1. Yes.

4. No.

5. My views are exactly expressed in the statement by President Harding which you quote in your letter of March 16, 1922.

**No Argument Against Prohibition.**

M. Alexander, Merchant, (Ex-Governor of Idaho).  
Boise, Idaho.

1. Yes.

2. No.

3. There is no argument against Prohibition.

4. No.

**Endorses What Others Have Said for Prohibition.**

C. R. Makepeace & Co.,  
Mill Engineers,  
Providence, R. I.

There is nothing we can add to say that has not been said already and better by others.

**Improvement in All Directions.**

Harry F. Ward,  
Professor, New York City.

1. Yes.

2. No change.

3. Improvement in all directions.

4. No.

**A Dry Section for Years.**

Jno. T. Shanahan,  
Sonyea, N. Y.

1. Previous petition was signed as a wartime necessity.

3. No change in this section as it has been dry for many years.

4. No change in recent years as this particular section was dry under local option.

**A College President's Endorsement of Prohibition.**

J. D. Eggleston, Prest.,  
Hampden-Sidney College,  
Hampden-Sidney, Va.

1. Yes, I see no reason to modify my view as then expressed.

3. Beneficial in every way.

4. No, very rare in this section.

**A Nation-Wide Known Merchant's Views.**

S. S. Kresge, Merchant,  
(Kresges 5 and 10c Stores), Detroit, Mich.

1. More so than ever.

3. More thrift; bills paid better; homes happier and better provided for.

4. No.

**All Laws Inadequately Enforced.**

S. S. McClure, Editor McClure's Magazine,  
New York, N. Y.

1. Yes.

3. Favorable to Prohibition.

4. No.

5. Our laws are inadequately enforced in all fields. We do as well in enforcing Prohibition as the law against murder.

**Homes Getting Money Formerly Spent in Saloons.**

John Fahnlne, Former Manager Driggs, Seabury Ordnance Co,  
Sharon, Pa.

1. Yes.

2. I have not changed my views.

3. The homes are getting the money.

4. No.

**Happier Homes.**

F. W. Sargent, President,  
New Hampshire Fire Insurance Co., Manchester, N. H.

1. Yes.

2. No.

3. Bills paid much more promptly. Happier homes, etc.

4. No, very much less.

5. No.

**As Much Opposed to Liquor Traffic as to Open Dispensary of Opiates.**

W. H. Wilbur,  
Manager, Southern Skein & Foundry Co., Chattanooga, Tenn.

1. YES! Just as bitterly opposed to the open saloon as would be to the open dispensary of opiates. They are all in the same class.

3. Labor more thrifty—and provide better for families than ever before.

4. No.

**Marked Change for Better.**

John L. Stewart,  
Professor in Lehigh University,  
Bethlehem, Pa.

1. Yes.

3. Marked change for the better.

4. No.

**Would "Take No Backward Step."**

Frank A. Youmans, U. S. District Judge, Fort Smith, Ark.

1. Yes, to use the language of General Grant, I would "take no backward step."

2. Have not changed.

3. Effect has been good.

4. No.

**All for the Better.**

James D. Barnett,  
Professor in University of Oregon, Eugene, Ore.

1. Yes.

2. No change.

3. All for the better.

4. No, less.

To the First Edition of 84 pages, we have added the following 16 pages, in this Second Edition, containing letters from railroad presidents and others which still further strengthen the value of this publication.

We trust that every reader will cooperate in the interest of the nation and law enforcement by helping to increase the circulation of this pamphlet.

# Railroad Presidents Tell of the Benefits of Their Rules That Forbid Train Employes Drinking.

"Personal Liberty" of These Employes Made Subservient to Public Welfare.

WHEN railroad officials established a rule that trainmen must not drink while on duty, and that even the frequenting of saloons when off duty would be cause for instant dismissal, no one ever questioned the wisdom of this decision; no one denounced railroad officials for destroying the "personal liberty" of their employes, nor did the employes resent the decision, and certainly the public did not—for every traveler knew that his life was the safer for that rule.

The railroad employes, being men of intelligence and honor, knew that the rule was a wise one and promptly obeyed it for the general good. They did not protest that their "personal liberty" was destroyed, nor did they seek to have the rule withdrawn. They readily yielded to the wisdom of the rule, even though here and there a black sheep was found who would secretly try to evade the rule. Every traveler heartily approves this order even though some one may himself drink to excess on the very train whose safety is insured by the integrity and soberness of the train men.

The nation saw the benefits of enforced sobriety on the part of railroad employes, and the nation, after half a century of fight against the liquor traffic, decided by an overwhelming vote in Congress and through state ratifications, to follow the railroad rule and forbid drinking by eliminating alcoholic beverages. If all the people had been as honorable and fair to their country's laws as the railroad employes were to the rules of their employers the whole country would, as in duty bound, have accepted these laws and abided by them as honorably as have the railroad employes by the rules of the roads. But no, the same spirit did not prevail. The liquor interests filled the land with propaganda for their interests. They talked about "personal liberty" and made many supposedly intelligent people believe that a great crime had been committed against "personal liberty", and yet nobody questions the wisdom of the rigid enforcement of Prohibition upon railroad employes. Other great corporations have followed the example of the railroads. No bonding company cares to bond a drinking man in any place of responsibility; no business man is willing to employ a clerk who drinks. Everywhere in business sobriety is in demand and the very men who are violating the Prohibition laws would look with the utmost horror upon any attempt made to demand that railroads should repeal their rules against drink. Such a movement would be denounced from one end of the land to the other.

With a view to securing the views of railroad presidents on the importance of their rule against drinking by their employes the following letter was sent leading railroad presidents:

(Copy)

May 31, 1922.

Dear Sir:

President Markham, of the Illinois Central Railroad, has recently called public attention to the notable decrease in railroad accidents. This decrease, it seems to me, is especially worthy of consideration and study in view of the difficulties under which railroads have been operated with inadequate rolling stock, and in many cases, inadequate track facilities, due to conditions brought about by Government administration.

Grand Chief Stone, of the Brotherhood of Locomotive En-

gineers, writing to the MANUFACTURERS RECORD very strongly favoring Prohibition, states that under Prohibition drunkenness (among workmen) has decreased 75 per cent, and it seems to me that President Markham's facts in regard to lessened accidents and Mr. Stone's statement about the decrease in drunkenness are both exceedingly suggestive. Railroads were among the first great interests in the country which forbade the use of alcoholic beverages by their employes, and travelers, therefore, necessarily felt a greater degree of safety when they knew that every railroad employe from the flagman to the conductor, engineer and dispatcher was free from the adverse influence of intoxicating drinks. I believe some roads extended this requirement that its train employes should not drink alcoholic beverages not only during the time they were on duty but when off duty.

I am interested in studying the influence of this requirement by the railroad officials that train employes should not drink, and especially so in connection with the remarkable statement by Mr. Stone of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers who bitterly denounces the drinking habit and upholds Prohibition to the extreme and says that it has lessened drunkenness (among workmen) by 75 per cent. I am, therefore, asking many of the leading railroad presidents of the Country if the order that their train employes shall not drink is still enforced and if they have found it beneficial in lessening the danger of accidents on their lines. If this order is still in force, have you found any pronounced opposition to it among the employes themselves, or have they accepted it in the spirit of Grand Chief Engineer Stone's views?

Your views on the subject will be greatly appreciated.

Very truly yours,

RICHARD H. EDMONDS, Editor.

The replies received are as follows:

## Prior to Adoption of Eighteenth Amendment Had Repeated Occasion to Discipline Employes for Drinking, But Only Three Times Since.

Buffalo & Susquehanna Railroad Corporation,  
Office of the President,

Buffalo, N. Y., June 12, 1922.

Editor *Manufacturers Record*:

We have long had and still have the following rule in effect on this road:

"The use of intoxicants by employes while on duty is prohibited. Their use, or the frequenting of places where they are sold, is sufficient cause for dismissal."

Prior to the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment, we had repeated occasion to discipline employes for the use of intoxicating liquors, sometimes because of such use while on duty, and sometimes because of the frequenting of saloons while off duty. Since the Amendment became effective, we have had only three employes disciplined for the violation of the rule quoted. We have not taken any formal expression of the views of employes, but our operating officials are firmly of the opinion that practically all of the employes are in favor of the strict enforcement of the rule as essential to the safety of employes, of the public, and of railroad property.

E. R. DARLOW, President.

**Railroad Rule Against Drinking Great Value in Elimination of Majority of Accidents and Its Enforcement Aided by Adoption of Prohibition.**

Union Pacific System,  
 Union Pacific Railroad Company,  
 Oregon Short Line Railroad Company,  
 Oregon-Washington Railroad & Navigation Company,  
 Los Angeles & Salt Lake Railroad Company,

Omaha, Neb., June 3, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

Rule "G", which is a part of the established regulations on all railroads, reads as follows:

"The use of intoxicants by employes while on duty is prohibited. Their use, or the frequenting of places where they are sold, is sufficient cause for dismissal."

**This rule is rigidly enforced and there is no question, but, that it has been of the very greatest value in the elimination of the majority of accidents. Its enforcement has been greatly aided by the adoption of prohibition in localities and states, and later by the Federal Government.**

CARL R. GRAY, President.

**Railroad Men Realize Use of Liquor Introduces Increased Hazard for Themselves and Public.**

The New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad Company,  
 The New England Steamship Company,

New Bedford, Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket Steamboat Company,

The Hartford and New York Transportation Company,  
 Office of the President,

New Haven, Conn., June 6, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

Regarding the effect of Prohibition on railroad employes and its relation to railroad accidents generally.

Rule G of our Operating Book of Rules reads as follows:

"The use of intoxicants while on or off duty, or the visiting of saloons or places where liquor is sold, is prohibited. Any violation of this rule by employes connected with train operation will be sufficient cause for dismissal."

This rule has been in effect, in its present form, since May 17, 1914, and in a slightly modified form, prior to that date, for a number of years.

Prior to the enactment of the Volstead Enforcement Act there was more or less discipline imposed for violation of the rule. Since the Volstead Act there has been a material improvement in this respect, which, no doubt, has had its effect upon the matter of safety in operation, although I attribute the results which we have obtained from the standpoint of safety work more to the efficiency of our Safety Department, coupled with the hearty co-operation on the part of our employes, than I do to the enactment of the Prohibition Law.

The employes, particularly those engaged in engine and train service, by reason of their organization beneficiary funds, and for other natural humanitarian reasons, have gradually increased their interest in safety work, which has been a very strong potential factor in safety results.

The railroads have likewise specialized in this branch of the service.

**The locomotive engineers, as an organization, have consistently forbidden the use of intoxicants by their members, and they rarely ever, as an organization, appeal for leniency for one of their members guilty of a violation of this fundamental law of their order.**

We have found no opposition to Rule G, above quoted, on the part of our employes, as they realize, quite as keenly as we do, that the use of liquor introduces a much increased hazard, not only for the employe himself, but for others who are immediately engaged in the service with him.

E. J. PEARSON, President.

**Railroads First Industry to Make Drive for Temperance.**

Southern Pacific Lines,

Morgan's Louisiana & Texas Railroad & Steamship Company,  
 Louisiana Western Railroad Company,  
 Iberia & Vermilion Railroad Company,  
 The Galveston, Harrisburg & San Antonio Railway Company,  
 Texas & New Orleans Railroad Company,  
 Houston & Texas Central Railroad Company,  
 The Houston East & West Texas Railway Company,  
 Houston & Shreveport Railroad Company,  
 Southern Pacific Terminal Company,  
 Direct Navigation Company,

Houston, Tex., June 7, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

Nearly all railroads have been actively engaged in the reduction of accidents for many years. The Southern Pacific Lines have perhaps pioneered in that direction and still follow up through every avenue the situations requiring correction with a view of reducing accidents. **The railroads were also first in making a drive for temperance among their employes and insisting that was a requisite that must be observed on the part of all concerned, and for many years the amount of drinking among railroad employes has been negligible. Therefore, since the advent of National Prohibition we have not noticed any change in the habits or morale of our employes in that direction. We still have in force a rule that has been in effect for many years prohibiting employes from indulging in liquor or frequenting places where liquor is sold. The latter clause, of course, is not now necessary, as it is not supposed that liquor is being sold any place under existing laws.**

W. R. SCOTT, President.

**Enforcement of Prohibition Among Train Employes While On or Off Duty Has Had Considerable Effect in Reducing Train Accidents.**

Florida East Coast Railway Co.,  
 Flagler System,

New York, June 10, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

Delay in replying to your favor of the 31 ult., relative to question of enforcement of Prohibition regulations upon our employes, has been due to my taking up the question with our people in the South to secure full information on the subject:

Rule "G" of our Standard Rule Book, reads as follows:

"The use of intoxicants by employes while on duty is prohibited. Their habitual use, or the frequenting of places where they are sold, is sufficient cause for dismissal."

This rule is also duplicated as a Special Rule in our Time Table, known as Special Rule "BX."

This is one of the old standard rules promulgated by the American Railway Association, and was, of course, framed during the time of open saloons. We also have in our Locomotive Engineers' Agreement the following rule:

"An engineer drinking on duty or allowing it to be drunk on his engine knowingly, or being drunk on or off duty, or knowingly permitting it to be carried on his engine, will be dismissed from the service of this Railway."

This company has always taken the position that it is a dischargeable offense for an employe in train service to be drunk off duty, as well as on duty, and this is very thoroughly understood by all of our men. The Committees have never taken any exception to our view of it.

**I think there is no doubt that enforcement of Prohibition among train employes against drinking while on or off duty has had a considerable effect in the reduction of accidents in train service and we have had very satisfactory co-operation from our employes towards that end.**

W. H. BEARDSLEY, President.

**No Question as to Value of Rule Against Drinking by Railroad Employes.**

Chicago and North Western Railway Co.,  
Office of the President,

Chicago, Ill., June 7, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

You request my opinion of the benefit secured by the rule prohibiting drinking by employes.

The rule in the standard regulations governing transportation department employes reads as follows:

"The use of intoxicating liquors by employes while on duty is prohibited. Their use, or the frequenting of places where they are sold, is sufficient cause for dismissal."

This rule is still in effect and is enforced, as it has been for a number of years.

I think there is no question whatever in the minds of any railroad officers of the value of this rule and of the benefits which have been secured by its enforcement. Furthermore, I do not believe there is any opposition to it among the employes themselves, for I think they have for years accepted it as being of as much value to themselves as to the railroad company and the traveling public.

WILLIAM H. FINLEY, President.

**Rule Forbidding Use of Intoxicants by Employes Materially Lessened Number of Accidents in Train Operation.**

The Nashville Chattanooga & St. Louis Railway,  
Office of President,

Nashville, Tenn., June 5, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

Paragraph 315 of the rules governing the Operating Department of this Railway, reads as follows:

"The use of intoxicants is prohibited. Frequenting places where they are sold will be sufficient cause for dismissal."

We have always undertaken to enforce this rule and have been fairly successful. I cannot recall a serious accident to our trains which could be traceable to intoxicants.

For the most part, the train service employes of this Railway come from families living along the line and are men of good character and habits. So far as I am advised there has been no pronounced opposition against Prohibition by our train service men. Their standards of living are such that their convictions for or against Prohibition are not more pronounced than those of other men in different walks of life.

I am of the opinion that the strict enforcement of the rule forbidding the use of intoxicants by employes has very materially lessened the number of accidents in train operation.

W. R. COLE, President.

**Continues to Enforce Regulations Prohibiting Drinking of Alcoholic Beverages.**

New York Central Lines,  
New York Central R. R. Co.,  
Michigan Central Railroad Co.,

Pittsburgh & Lake Erie R. R. Co.,

Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago & St. Louis Ry. Co.,

Toledo & Ohio Central Railway Co.,

New York, June 12, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

The New York Central Lines are continuing to enforce the regulations of the railroads prohibiting the drinking of alcoholic beverages now as we did before the enactment of the Prohibition Law. We have found no opposition from our employes—in fact, we have had their hearty co-operation in our efforts.

A. H. SMITH, President.

**Would Not Be Without Rule Against Use of Intoxicants by Employes.**

The Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Railway Co.,  
Chicago, Ill., June 6, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

Our Rule G. reads:

"The use of intoxicants by employes while on duty is prohibited. Their use, or the frequenting of places where they are sold, is sufficient cause for dismissal."

This rule, so far as I know, has the sanction of not only the officials of the company but also of the men in the working forces, particularly the men in the train service.

We do enforce that rule. We have not found any pronounced opposition to it among the employes themselves. On the contrary, they recognize its soundness and value to all concerned. Still, the record of dismissals for violation of Rule G, even since the country is supposed to have gone dry, is a continuing one. **We would not be without the rule; our intention is to continue enforcing it; we believe it does have its influences in the desired direction.**

I could not myself, nor do I appreciate how any other man can say, how much drunkenness has been decreased by Prohibition, by the enforcement of such a rule as ours or the personal preference of the individual to forego liquor after having used it for a longer or shorter period.

I really believed this country was going dry on a date named in the Federal Law, but time has shown I was mistaken in that belief. It is a subject upon which each individual seems to have a view, or, if you please, a conviction entirely satisfactory to himself or herself, possibly never voiced, but, as I believe, seldom, if ever, changed by the views or convictions of others.

J. E. GORMAN, President.

**B. & O. Has Enforced Rigidly for Fifteen Years Rule Against Drinking.**

The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company,  
Office of the President,

Baltimore, Md., June 7, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

Responding to your letter of May 31st, and answering specifically the questions asked in the third paragraph thereof:

1. Is the order that train employes shall not drink intoxicating liquors still in force?

2. Have we found it beneficial in lessening the danger of accidents?

The Baltimore & Ohio's rule regarding train employes drinking has been continuously enforced since its adoption some years ago. This rule is known as "Rule G", and reads as follows:

"The use of intoxicants by employes while on duty or subject to call is prohibited. Their use by any employe, or the frequenting of places where they are sold, is sufficient cause for dismissal."

Even before National Prohibition this rule was rigidly enforced, so that the introduction of Prohibition made little or no difference in our experience.

There was an appreciable reduction in train accidents which we reported to the Interstate Commerce Commission in the year 1921 compared with 1920. These accidents included collisions, derailments, locomotive boiler, other locomotive and miscellaneous train accidents. It would, I feel, be difficult to assign as a reason for this reduction, the fact that Prohibition is in effect.

We conducted two intensive safety campaigns during 1921, one from January 17th to February 17th and the other from April 1st to May 31st. These, no doubt, contributed materially to the reduction in train accidents. Furthermore, the gross ton miles and freight train miles in 1921 were substantially

less than in 1920, which year was high in most everything, and with all classes of equipment which were pressed into service there were many more things likely to occur, thus covering more classes of accidents which cannot be attributed in any way to drunkenness in 1920 as compared with 1921. As far as 1921 and 1920 are concerned, there was practically no difference in the total number of employes involved in violation of Rule "G".

We do not, of course, depend upon the Prohibition Amendment to protect us in the enforcement of Rule "G". That rule is enforced now as rigidly as ever and we intend to continue it. In fact, it has been a rigid rule for the past fifteen years.

Yours very truly,

DANIEL WILLARD, President.

### Railroads Led All Other Industries in Prohibiting Use of Alcoholic Beverages by Employes.

Norfolk Southern Railroad Company,

Norfolk, Va., June 5, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

Your letter calling attention to Mr. Markham's statement as to decrease in railroad accidents and Mr. Stone's statement as to Prohibition, reached me to-day.

I am firmly of the opinion that the decrease in the use of intoxicants among railroad employes is due primarily to the rule adopted by all railroads prohibiting the drinking of intoxicating liquors by their employes and the enforcement of that rule.

I believe that railroads were pioneers in practical temperance and have done more than any other agency to reduce drinking among employes generally, especially those holding positions of responsibility. I am saying this from close observation covering long experience.

G. R. LOYALL, President.

### Rule Against Use of Intoxicants by Railroad Employes Beneficial in Lessening Danger of Accidents.

Boston and Maine Railroad,

Boston, Mass., June 8, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

The rule regarding the use of intoxicants by employes is still in force and effect, and its operation has undoubtedly been beneficial in lessening the danger of accidents.

There is not, nor has there been, opposition to the rule among the employes themselves.

The attitude of the organization leaders local as well as national, so far as I have been able to observe, has not been in opposition to the rule.

J. H. HUSTIS, President.

### Conditions Very Much Improved Under Prohibition.

Atlanta, Birmingham & Atlantic Railway Company,

Atlanta, Ga., June 13, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

Rule "G" is more familiar to railroad employes than the Ten Commandments. This rule, as enforced on this railroad for the past ten years or more, is as follows:

"The use of intoxicants by employes while on duty is prohibited. Their habitual use, or the frequenting of places where they are sold, is sufficient cause for dismissal."

The rank and file of railway employes, so far as my experience goes, has always supported the enforcement of this rule, and I have never known of a case where discipline properly applied under the rule has been appealed or resisted.

There is no question in my mind that conditions are very much improved under Prohibition, and I should dislike very much to see the country ever return to the open saloon.

B. L. BUGG, Receiver.

### No Room for Intoxicating Liquors in Great Transportation System.

Canadian National Railways,

Office of the President,

Toronto, Ont., June 8, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

The Canadian railways have in effect a rule (known as Rule "G") which reads as follows:

"The use of intoxicants by employes while on duty is prohibited. Their use, or the frequenting of places where they are sold, is sufficient cause for dismissal."

In addition, a clause has been incorporated into the Railway Act, passed in July, 1919, (Sections 423 and 424) which provides:

423. "Every conductor, locomotive engineer, train dispatcher, telegraph operator, station agent, switchman, signal man, bridge tender or any other person who is intoxicated, or under the influence of liquor, while on duty, in charge of or in any employment having to do with the movement of trains upon any railway, is guilty of an offence, and shall be punished by fine, not exceeding four hundred dollars, or imprisonment, not exceeding five years, or both, in the discretion of the court before which the conviction is had, and according as such court considers the offence proved to be more or less grave as causing injury to any person or property, or as exposing or likely to expose any person or property to any injury, although no actual injury occurs. R. S., 37, s. 413."

424. "Every person who sells, gives or barter any spiritous or intoxicating liquor to or with any servant or employe of any company, while on duty, is liable on summary conviction to a penalty not exceeding fifty dollars, or to imprisonment, with or without hard labour, for a period not exceeding one month, or to both. R. S. c. 37, s. 414."

From this you will note, so far as Canada is concerned, the use of intoxicants by employes in railway service will not be tolerated.

I may say we have found no pronounced opposition to the regulations amongst the employes themselves, who on the whole are well aware that there is no room for intoxicating liquors in a great transportation system.

Grand Chief Stone's remarks are very interesting, and I have no doubt that he voices the sentiments of the entire membership of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, and certainly that of the majority of right-thinking citizens, who would not for a moment tolerate drunkenness amongst 'public servants' under which heading, after all, a railway man must be classified.

D. B. HANNA, President.

### Never Experienced Difficulty in Enforcing Rule Against Drinking But Other Views Contrary to Reports From Other Railroad Officials.

Louisville & Nashville Railroad Company,

Office of the President,

Louisville, Ky., June 5, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

The public statement of Grand Chief Stone, of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, did not come to my attention.

I assume that you are familiar with Operating Department Rule "G" which reads as follows:

"The use of intoxicants by employes while on duty is prohibited. Their use, or the frequenting of places where they are sold, is sufficient cause for dismissal."

The Louisville & Nashville Railroad Co. has never experienced any serious difficulty in enforcing this rule. Neither have we encountered very pronounced opposition to its maintenance and enforcement from the employes. As a matter of fact, I believe that evidence of guilt has generally been accepted with more willingness than has been the case with violations of other essential rules. The possible effect of National Prohibition upon the application of this rule is a rather uncertain question. Undoubtedly, Prohibition has

minimized the ability of supervising officials to detect transgressions of the rule when off duty. When there were established places for the sale of intoxicants it was not a difficult matter to obtain information when employes frequented such places, but now that drinking must be done surreptitiously, detection is practically impossible.

Some of our operating officials harbor the view that Prohibition has increased the temptation to drink while on duty, the idea being that an unsatisfied desire for drink occasionally leads employes to partake of intoxicants, when offered, even though on duty, whereas, if they were more easily obtainable, they would not yield to temptation while in the discharge of duty.

It is my personal belief that, irrespective of transportation employes, Prohibition has not resulted in appreciably decreasing the per capita consumption of intoxicating liquor.

W. L. MAPOTHER, President.

#### **Curtailement of Intoxicating Liquors Greatly Reduced Accidents.**

St. Louis-San Francisco Railway Company,  
Office of President,

St. Louis, Mo., June 7, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

This company has had a rule in effect for several years, prohibiting employes from partaking of intoxicating liquors either on or off duty; this is especially true with respect to men engaged in the Transportation Department. This rule is still in force.

There is no question in my mind but that the curtailment of intoxicating liquors, in connection with Transportation employes, has greatly reduced accidents.

J. M. KURN, President.

#### **Prohibition Has Decreased Drinking Among Railroad Men.**

Great Northern Railway Company,  
Executive Department,

St. Paul, Minn., June 8, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

We have a general rule in the Operating Department book of rules, reading as follows:

"The use of intoxicants by employes while on duty is prohibited. Their use, or the frequenting of places where it is sold, is sufficient cause for dismissal."

If after employment it is found that a man uses liquor to excess, he is relieved from service. This is particularly true in engine, train and station service.

I think that Prohibition has decreased drinking among railroad men when on duty. We have found no pronounced opposition to Prohibition.

RALPH BUDD, President.

#### **Forbidding Use of Intoxicants by Employes Prominent Cause of Decrease in Railroad Accidents in Recent Years.**

Atlantic Coast Line Railroad Company,  
Office of President,

Wilmington, N. C., June 2, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I think that the large decrease in railroad accidents in recent years is due to many causes. Prominent among them is the rule prohibiting the use of intoxicating liquors by employes. For many years a standard rule has been in effect reading as follows:

"The use of intoxicants by employes while on duty is prohibited. Their use, or the frequenting of places where they are sold, is sufficient cause for dismissal."

This rule is still enforced and I have heard very little unfavorable comment from any of our employes.

J. R. KENLY, President.

#### **Prohibition Has Removed Temptation to Get Liquor and Railroad Rule Against It More Easily Enforced.**

The Chesapeake and Ohio Railway Company,

Richmond, Va., June 2, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

Relative to the question of Prohibition and its effect upon our employes.

The order mentioned is still being rigidly enforced and it must be to assure a proper grade of trainmen and proper care in handling their trains. Prohibition has made it much easier to enforce this order, because it has removed a lot of the temptation that men had when they were able to get liquor more easily. While there is still plenty of whiskey to be had, yet it is necessarily expensive and hard to get.

I do not find any pronounced opposition among our employes against the order—in fact, I know that they have accepted it as being absolutely essential to the proper operation of the railroad.

The other benefits which come from abstinence from liquor, in better support of their families and in better treatment of their families, are, of course, also a great aid.

Before Prohibition came, however, I felt that railroad employes, particularly train service employes, were freer from the liquor habit than any other class of men.

W. J. HARAHAN, President.

#### **Less Drinking Among Rank and File Since Prohibition.**

The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway System,  
President's Office,

Chicago, Ill., June 8, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

Our rule regarding the use of intoxicants by railroad employes reads as follows:

"The use of intoxicants by employes while on duty is prohibited. Their use, or the frequenting of places where they are sold, is sufficient cause for dismissal."

This rule has been in effect for many years and we have taken from service in the past many men who frequented saloons and for that cause. As we have had this rule steadily in effect we cannot make any comparison between conditions under that rule and what conditions would be without it, but the mere fact that we have felt it necessary to have such a rule evidences our belief that it does much to lessen the danger of accidents on our line.

We have never found any pronounced or organized opposition to Rule "G"; on the contrary, it seems to be accepted everywhere as proper and necessary.

We feel that there has been less drinking among our rank and file since the Prohibition Law went into effect, although there is still a good deal of bootlegging.

W. B. STOREY, President.

#### **No Mercy Shown to Railroad Employee Found Guilty of Using Intoxicants.**

Chicago and Eastern Illinois Railway Company,  
Office of the President,

Chicago, Ill., June 5, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

In reference to the matter of the notable decrease in railroad accidents, and Prohibition:

I desire to state that ever since I have been in charge of this property we have had a very strict rule covering the use of intoxicants by our employes and in each case where we found an employe guilty no mercy was shown. Since my connection with the C. & E. I., a number of years ago, we have not had an opposition to any of our rules, regarding this matter.

W. J. JACKSON, President.

**Less Drinking Among Railroad Employes as Well as Among  
Employes of Other Industries.**

Norfolk & Western Railway Company,  
Roanoke, Va., June 2, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

In the Rules and Regulations of the Operating Department of this Company is the following rule which is now in force and has been for some years:

"RULE "G": The use of intoxicants by employes is prohibited. Their use, or the frequenting of places where they are sold, is sufficient cause for dismissal."

**There is no doubt that there is less drinking among railroad employes, but I believe excessive drinking has ceased almost in the same proportion among employes of other industries.**

I believe further that the decrease in railroad accidents has been due to the Safety First movement, better facilities in the way of yards, shops and machinery, heavier rail, heavier power and heavier cars (which mean less trains run), more than to any other cause.

N. D. MAHER, President.

**Unquestionably Prohibition Materially Contributed to Reduction of Accidents and Injuries on Railroads.**

Gulf Coast Lines,

Executive Department, Houston, Tex., June 5, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

This Company has rigidly enforced its rule prohibiting drinking of intoxicating liquors on duty by officers or employes, and has exercised as much restriction as possible upon the conduct of employes with respect to drinking while off duty. Where employes have been known to drink to excess off duty they have been warned that such habits unfit them for service and continuance would not be permitted by the Company; usually the warning has been heeded, but in isolated cases we have found it necessary to take some men out of service in order to bring them to a realization of their duty to the Company and the public. Unquestionably Prohibition and the rigid enforcement of a rule by the railroads prohibiting drinking on duty and to excess off duty has contributed materially to the reduction of accidents and injuries on railroads generally throughout the country.

J. S. PYEATT, President.

**Have Not Been Troubled of Late Years by Drunkenness Among Employes.**

Bangor and Aroostook Railroad Company,  
Bangor, Me., June 2, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

This company has been very fortunate during the past two years in not having had any serious accidents and very few minor ones, no passengers having been killed or injured during that period; no employes killed and very few injured. This I attribute more particularly to strict discipline and thorough supervision than to anything else.

We have never been troubled very much, at least of late years, by drunkenness among our employes, probably because it has been so severely dealt with whenever it occurred, but judging from my observation in this part of the country outside of the railroad employes I am not inclined to agree with Grand Chief Stone of the Locomotive Engineers that Prohibition has decreased drunkenness by seventy-five per cent, as I doubt very much if it has decreased it at all in this section of the country.

Answering your specific question, our rule is very strict indeed, prohibiting employes from drinking on duty or "when going on duty," and if any case is called to our attention of our men drinking to excess or in a way to annoy anybody else while off duty, it is severely dealt with.

PERCY R. TODD, President.

**Railroad Employes for Good of Themselves and Public Must Refrain From Using Anything Tending to Reduce Efficiency.**

Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad Company,  
Office of President,

Chicago, Ill., June 6, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

We have a very strict rule prohibiting the use of alcoholic beverages by employes, especially those engaged in train, engine and telegraph service, and there has been no particular adverse reaction on the part of employes, from its enforcement. Men in railroad service, having anything to do with the handling of trains, cannot afford to jeopardize their position by running the risk of decreasing their efficiency and probably being responsible for accidents resulting in the loss of life, injury to persons, or heavy destruction of property. It is a physiological and economic fact that employes thus engaged, owe it not only to themselves, but the public as well, to refrain from the use of anything that may serve to lessen their ability to properly perform the service expected from them.

HALE HOLDEN, President.

**Rule Against Drinking in Effect for Years and Employes Recognize Importance of Sobriety.**

Seaboard Air Line Railway Company,

Baltimore, Md., June 7, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

The Seaboard Air Line Railway has rigid rules in respect to the use of intoxicants, and we have been very free from an infringement of these rules.

The rules in respect to the use of intoxicants have been in effect for ten years or more, and were, therefore, not the result of National Prohibition.

We feel that the men themselves recognize the great importance of sobriety in the conduct of their work, and there has always been splendid co-operation in this regard on the part of the employes of the Seaboard Air Line Railway.

S. DAVIES WARFIELD, President.

**Train Operation Could Not Be Made Safe if Employes Were Permitted to Drink.**

Northern Pacific Railway Company,

Office of the President,

St. Paul, Minn., June 5, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I am in receipt of your letter of May 31 asking if the employes on this railroad are still working under a rule that requires them to abstain from the use of liquor and, if so, whether we have found it beneficial in lessening the danger of accidents on our line.

**Most assuredly this order is in effect, and I believe to any fair-minded person it would be a self-evident fact that train operation could not be made safe if employes were permitted to use intoxicating beverages.**

CHARLES DONNELLY, President.

**Enforcement of Rule Against Drinking Has Lessened Railroad Accidents.**

Maine Central Railroad Company,

Office of the President,

Portland, Me., June 12, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

Our Rule "G" reads as follows:

"The use of intoxicants by employes while on duty is prohibited. Their use or the frequenting of places where they are sold, is sufficient cause for dismissal."

This rule we have always carried, and any known cases of violation have been treated by dismissal from the service. It is our opinion that our enforcement of this rule has lessened the danger of accidents.

MORRIS McDONALD, President.



**Two Unforgivable Offenses Are Drunkenness and Dishonesty.**

Central of Georgia Railway Company  
Office of President,

Savannah, Ga., June 7, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

We have in effect very stringent rules prohibiting the use of intoxicants by employes while on duty, any violation of which is punishable by dismissal from the service. Moreover, so far as men employed in the operation of trains are concerned, drunkenness when off duty is considered sufficient cause for discharge, and this penalty is inflicted where the charge is proven.

**You will readily understand why we more zealously guard the sobriety of the train service employes than any other. I do not find among employes any objection to the rule requiring sobriety; on the other hand, a great majority of our people approve of its enforcement, apparently recognizing the importance of such regulations, both to our patrons and to our employes. From our point of view, the two unforgivable offenses are drunkenness and dishonesty.**

I cannot say that the use of intoxicants by trainmen has been the cause of train accidents in recent years. Neither can I say that the need of disciplinary methods to prevent the growth of the habit has slackened during that period.

WILLIAM A. WINBURN, President.

**A Western Geologist's Experience.**

A. C. Boyle, Jr., Geologist, Ph. D.,

Laramie, Wyo.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I visit thousands of cities in a year. The good results of Prohibition are gratifying.

There are at least two factors which strike at the very heart of our civilization. One is ignorance, and the other is the indulgence in drink (liquor). Too few appreciate the millions spent in education, and some care not at all to destroy this achievement, by inducing people to indulge in liquor.

God grant that none will be so selfish, and so unmindful as to ever want to see liquor in any form brought back. Through Prohibition we have taken a step upward, and now that this height has been gained, let us never think of stepping downward.

A. C. BOYLE, JR.

**Regrets Prohibition Laws Not Better Enforced.**

HORACE A. MOSES, President Strathmore Paper Co.,

Mittineague, Mass.

I am a firm supporter of Prohibition, and as strongly opposed as ever to the liquor traffic. It is regrettable, however, that the Prohibition Law cannot be better enforced.

Statistics show that jails are no longer full, that savings bank deposits are steadily increasing, and that more of the money goes to the homes and less into the coffers of the saloons.

H. A. MOSES, President.

**Still Stands for Prohibition.**

The University of Hawaii,

Honolulu, Hawaii.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I see no reason to change my views regarding the advantages of Prohibition. I recognize, of course, that there is a considerable expense involved in the enforcement of the laws, as has been pointed out by a recent writer in the *Atlantic Monthly*, but it seems perfectly clear that the balance is in favor of Prohibition.

A. L. DEAN, President.

**Views of One of World's Foremost Surgeons.**

Dr. Howard A. Kelly,

Baltimore, Md.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

My daily life brings me into constant close touch with doctors from all parts of our country and Canada, and the testimony, practically universal, is, that the benefits of Prohibition are everywhere manifest even with an imperfect, often half-hearted law enforcement. I have not changed my views, therefore, than in this one particular, namely; that the events of these several years have demonstrated that the greatest criminals in our nation, the organizers and inspirers of crime, the determined foes of society and its legitimate authority, the insidious debauchers of the agents of the Department of Justice, are not the drunkards (God pity them!) nor yet the saloons—those club houses of the criminal classes and of corrupt politics. The greatest foes of our Government and its duly constituted authority are some brewers and distillers who inspire the law-violating propaganda in order to dishonor the nation that they may fill their pockets with gold.

As touching my own profession, the best sentiment of educated physicians is against the use of liquors as a medication and sturdily against the reintroduction of light wine and beer. A respected minority sees utility in the occasional use of liquor in its practice, but many of us hold that this minor advantage, if it be such, can readily be foregone in view of the vast good to the whole nation of absolute Prohibition, and in view of the danger of the entering wedge, and of the already obvious debauchery of a large number of doctors in their abuse of the 'privilege' of prescribing liquor. It has degraded some hundreds, if not thousands of physicians to the level of bartenders.

During our last election when I was a candidate in the Third Legislative District, I heard that there was much crookedness at the polls East of Jones' Falls. I visited forthwith the voting booths in the district reputed to be the worst in the city, and during the entire day saw but one drunken man. Thank God! Prohibition is here to stay in spite of the opposition of our often in other ways ably managed daily papers; in spite of wet conventions presided over by noble but visionless men.

I have but one serious charge to bring in this whole matter, and that is the failure of our Church people to act more earnestly and unremittingly as Christian propagandists in this great battle for the very life of a nation. I would also indict the Christian church for not treating those who oppose us in a spirit of love, seeking to win them from forces of evil and ally them with us in place of Satan. We have treated our opponents too much as enemies, instead of loving them as brethren. We have forgotten the great new Commandment—"As I have loved you that ye also love one another. In this shall all men know that ye are my disciples if ye have love one to another. Beloved, if a man love not his brother whom he hath seen how can he love God whom he hath not seen?"

HOWARD A. KELLY.

**A Manufacturer Who Sees Only Good in Prohibition.**

H. A. Carhart, President Carhart Bros. Foundry, Inc.,  
Syracuse, N. Y.

1. Absolutely. Country better in every way—Economically, morally and politically.

3. My men are better workmen. Have better homes. Women folks have more comforts and men know it and admit it. Some would probably vote for a return though.

4. No.

**How a Mississippi Town Was Revolutionized by Prohibition.**

W. H. Patton, Merchant,

Shubuta, Miss.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

Shubuta, Miss., was a town of less than 1000 inhabitants in the seventies with five liquor saloons, a dry goods store, and a drug store having a retail license, but no bar. Other stores sold by the gallon. The five saloons paid \$200 each as a State license (the minimum) and nothing to the town, and their receipts were \$25,000 annually. It cost the town \$900 to police the saloons. The municipal and county officers were selected in the gambling rooms of the saloons, the slate was carried into a hall and candidates nominated within a few minutes. The saloons of the State were organized and controlled the politics.

The laboring classes were the best patrons of the saloons. I saw lawyers, doctors, painters, brick masons, shoemakers, engineers, bookkeepers, clerks, and merchants incapacitated for business much of their time. Boys, young men, and some married women were becoming drunkards in 1879. I made up my mind that by the help of God I would have Shubuta a saloonless town, and with literature, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and half a dozen men it was accomplished in 1883. The first year after saloons closed there was one-twentieth as many gallons came in jugs; cost of the City government reduced one-half; the efficiency of all employes was increased very much; school attendance increased wonderfully; churches went from one-fourth time to full time; negroes bought land and stock, and many drunkards reclaimed. There was an average of 30 convicts on the streets and county roads, but after the saloons were outlawed we had to hire road squads. The cost of the Circuit Court was reduced one-half. The money that was spent in the saloons was spent on the family. Ladies could shop on Saturdays the same as any other day with the saloons gone.

While the State had saloons the free schools got an appropriation of \$300,000 and after Prohibition \$1,250,000 annually. The saloons were driven out of all but seven counties in the State and the Legislature made it State-wide by special enactment. Mississippi was the first State to ratify the 18th Amendment. The United States flag will never again float over a saloon in this nation. No nation that would license crime for revenue has a right to claim to be a Christian nation. We should now work for World Prohibition by 1930-40.

W. H. PATTON.

[In many other small towns and cities in all parts of the country similar wonderful results have been wrought by Prohibition—*Editor Manufacturers Record.*]

**A Cotton Manufacturer Who Denounces Prohibition.**

Buck Creek Cotton Mills,

Silnria, Ala.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I have noticed that a few families have been benefited very much, but a large majority have not. I find as much or more drunkenness among my men than before Prohibition, and it seems that more crime has been committed. Bootleggers and distillers have been shot down by law-enforcement officers in cold blood and in open violation of the law, and many officers have been ambushed and murdered by the moonshiners. This condition seems to be the result of the methods of the Anti-Saloon League in getting the Prohibition laws passed by Legislative enactment instead of the referendum. The people were never allowed an opportunity to vote on the question as an issue. The method adopted was in politics called 'pussyfooting.' Therefore, many people and many of our best law-abiding men have no compunction of conscience of violating the law to get whiskey and the excessive price

causes many men to go into the manufacture and illicit distilling, home-brew and vile stuff, as a rule.

I have been compelled to discharge more men for drunkenness since Prohibition went into effect than before. My company does business in all the Southern States and I find conditions about the same. The drinking in some localities is more marked than in others. The saloon should be a thing of the past, but wine and beer should be allowed and licensed and taxed. This would to my mind kill the business of the moonshiner and bootlegger. No sensible person would pay for 'stuff' if good wine and beer could be had.

I do not believe that our Government, State or National, will ever be able financially to suppress the traffic under the present State laws, and the Volstead Act, which is costing the country billions, is not effective. I am not proposing a remedy, but some new and modified laws should be enacted. This country will never submit to any political, religious, or so-called moral sect, enforcing its ideas on all people who differ with them. This may come, if it does and for the good of the country at large, I shall be glad. Let us join in politics, religion, and morals in a safe, sane and conservative course, fighting in the open for our Constitutional rights affording all others the same Constitutional privilege.

T. C. THOMPSON, President.

**Good Work of Prohibition as Seen by a University Professor.**

Albert P. Mathews, Professor of Biochemistry,

Cincinnati, O.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I am more than ever opposed to the liquor traffic because of the wholly unprincipled efforts they have been making to break the Law, to undermine obedience to all laws and by a powerful propaganda to mislead the people on this subject. Their great influence in the public press was never more evident than since the passage of the Prohibition Amendment and their flagrant violation of the Law whenever the opportunity offers is sufficient to damn them in the eyes of every true American.

As regards the effect of Prohibition, it has been very noticeable in Cincinnati and in particular the effect was marked in the first year before bootlegging had become organized. In the Cincinnati General Hospital there was a tremendous drop in the number of accidents and cases due to assault. There was a marked falling off in the venereal disease clinic. The workhouse was practically emptied and the jail had very few prisoners. Drunkenness has been almost unknown until rather recently but it is still far less prevalent than before. The effect on savings deposits has also been remarkable. I have known of several cases where for the first time the children in the family have been properly cared for. A politician in the city made the remark to a friend of mine that when the act was passed he was strongly opposed to it but that on observing its effects he was of the opinion that it was a very admirable thing. He stated that it had been his custom in the old days to buy shoes and other needed articles of clothing for poor people in his ward but that since the Prohibition Amendment he had had almost no calls for any such donations, and he attributed it to the fact that the fathers of families were now taking their wages home.

As already stated, drunkenness, in my opinion, is far less common than it formerly was and the amount of liquor consumed, even considering the home-brew is vastly less. There has been also an improvement in the price of property in the neighborhood of buildings formerly used as saloons. A number of my friends who were keenly opposed to Prohibition have assured me that since seeing its operation they are willing to endure the deprivation which they must suffer because of its undoubted benefits to others and that if the

question comes up again they will assuredly vote for Prohibition. I think this is the general opinion of the majority of thinking people. A number of acquaintances who are employers of labor have expressed themselves as unqualifiedly in favor of Prohibition. They state that Mondays are now normal days, whereas formerly they were marked by absence and very inefficient performance of duty on the part of those who were present.

I believe that the results are more favorable than were conservatively believed probable and that if the Law were really strictly enforced and the importation of whiskey prevented, still greater benefits would follow. I notice that a very considerable proportion of the murders, assaults and motor car accidents take place when those responsible for these things are under the influence of liquor.

As regards the medical profession and the medicinal use of beer, wines or distilled liquors, I believe a large proportion and perhaps a majority of the physicians would be willing to give up the use of these beverages as medicinal agents. Many of the ablest physicians of my acquaintance have told me that they almost never or never prescribe them.

ALBERT P. MATHEWS.

#### Seattle Manufacturer Praises Good Effects of Prohibition.

T. S. Lippy, Investor and Manufacturer, Seattle, Wash.

1. Yes, more than ever.
3. Workers families are living better, savings are growing in practically all thrift institutions.
4. No. Only occasionally are drunks seen on the street, bootlegging being the prime cause.
5. Only, that in my opinion, such sale as we had formerly would not now be tolerated.

#### Enforcement of Prohibition Must Be Taken Out of Politics.

W. R. Crane, Mining Engineer, Birmingham, Ala.

1. Morally and economically there can be but one decision relative to the abolition of the liquor traffic, manufacture and sale; it should be done promptly, thoroughly and effectively.
2. I have not changed my views.
3. Labor has been greatly benefited, suffering lessened and crime reduced to a minimum.
4. Drunkenness except with the politically immune has been greatly reduced and in many localities entirely eliminated.
5. The enforcement of Prohibition must be taken out of politics which is rendering it non-effective. "Good citizens" can get liquor without hindrance and make a joke of breaking the Law.

#### Of Advantage to Country in General.

ELLEN F. PENDLETON, President,  
Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.

1. Yes, I believe that while there are some unfortunate reactions to the Federal Amendment, on the whole it has proved to the advantage of the country in general.
3. I am not in a position to have any personal experience on this subject.
4. So far as I know, I should say no.

#### Effects Good—Less Drunkenness Among Workers.

Ray Stannard Baker, Writer, Amherst, Mass.

1. Yes, decidedly.
3. In the small New England town where I live the effect has been all to the good.
4. Very much less drunkenness here among working class.

#### Liquor Traffic Direct Menace to Personal Liberty of Every Citizen.

Stanford University, Cal.

May 31, 1922.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I have, in general, been opposed to acts of the national government undertaken to do what local authorities might or should accomplish.

But the sale and distribution of narcotic and other habit-forming poisons of which the most dangerous is alcohol, forms a special exception. The traffic strikes at the heart of our republic. It is a direct menace to the personal liberty of every good citizen. It endangers the life and development of every youth. It destroys to a greater or less degree the happiness and efficiency of its victims and of their families, constituting at the same time a social and political menace. The saloon is the open door to vice and crime as well as the source of most forms of political corruption.

I am not alarmed over the prevalence of the crimes and misdemeanors known as bootlegging. Most men engaged in the liquor business were in some degree criminal before the Eighteenth Amendment was adopted. Their deeds are now simply more conspicuous.

Dr. Cushny, the famous pharmacologist of the University of London, once said that "if alcohol were a new drug invented in some German laboratory, its use would be at once prohibited, just as cocaine, more useful and less dangerous has been already barred."

Prohibition has come to stay. Our people will not turn back and when Europe comes to her senses one country after another will follow. Economic reasons will be patent as well as moral and social.

DAVID STARR JORDAN.

#### Strong Endorsement by New York Professor.

Thomas M. Balliet, former professor New York University,  
New York, N. Y.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I am more strongly convinced of the importance and value of Prohibition than ever; because:

1. It has destroyed the saloon which was a curse in our social life. A large per cent of the saloons in all our cities were places of social vice, and therefore centers of infection of diseases which invade the home and blight the lives of innocent wives and children.
2. It has weakened and will soon destroy the liquor interests in our politics, which were among the most corrupting influences we had to contend with.
3. The saloon was not tolerated in the "residence" sections of our cities but was pushed into the sections where people of small means and the poor had to live and bring up their families. Prohibition has lifted this blighting curse from the homes of the poor and is making it possible for them to bring up their children in a purer moral atmosphere.
4. It has destroyed the liquor traffic in small towns and in rural sections.
5. The enforcement of the Law in our large cities is made difficult by business men, club men, certain professional men, and other men of similar classes, who, because they like their own beer and wine occasionally, oppose Prohibition. These men are willing that the liquor interests

should corrupt our politics, that the moral atmosphere of the poorer quarters of our cities should be poisoned in order that they may have what they are pleased to call personal liberty as to the use of alcoholic liquors. This class of men have most to lose by the spirit of lawlessness which they encourage and are themselves guilty of.

THOMAS M. BALLIET.

#### A Woman's Viewpoint.

Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Writer and Lecturer,  
New York, N. Y.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

Prohibition has been gradually adopted by State after State because of its proven good effects, and its Federal adoption rested on those facts.

The increase of drinking as a matter of bravado, among those able to afford present prices does not seem to me as injurious to the community as the drinking of working people everywhere, and in especial the yearly increase of drinking among boys which was necessary to keep up the business of the saloon.

We have still the demand of the dipsomaniac, and of those who think it smart to do what is forbidden; also the activity of the bootlegger; but we have not the tremendous push of invested millions trying to maintain and increase the demand for their goods. As it has been wisely remarked, they cannot advertise, nor distribute freely, which certainly discourages trade.

CHARLOTTE PERKINS GILMAN.

#### Young Men Will Grow Up Sober as Result of Prohibition.

ROBERT SIMPSON, Florist,

(Formerly President Phoenix Linen Co.), Clifton, N. J.

1. Even though the enforcement of Prohibition has been a good deal of a failure, and in this locality at least the Law is evaded, I am more in favor of Prohibition now than I was five years ago.

3. I think that many more working men are banking their savings, or building, or purchasing homes, and are living on a higher plane of existence than ever before, largely as a result of the Prohibition Amendment.

5. The man who loves booze dearly will go to much trouble to obtain it, but the temptation is not constantly before our young men today, and they are likely to grow up sober as a result.

#### Whole Country Better.

Edward Bailey, Banker, Harrisburg, Pa.

1. I am.
2. No change.
3. More money saved. Families better off. Men are better workmen.
4. No.
5. Believe the whole country better in every way.

#### Banker and Cotton Mill President Favors Prohibition.

L. C. Mandeville, Banker and President Cotton Mills,  
Carrollton, Ga.

1. Yes.
2. No.
3. Very favorable.
4. Not by any means.

#### As Strong as Ever Against Liquor.

Norman Wilde, Ph. D.,  
Teacher,

Minneapolis, Minn.

1. Am still opposed as strongly as ever.
4. No.

#### What a Banker Says.

Jordan Philip, Banker, Hudson, N. Y.

1. Yes. Decidedly opposed.
3. On account of slack work it is difficult to say that savings have improved materially, but it is evident that many women and children are better cared for.
4. From personal observation, it is not as prevalent.
5. "Old Timers" are having a difficult time in getting accustomed to new conditions, but there is great improvement even among them.

#### Great Forward Step in Civilization.

University of the Philippines, Office of the President,  
Manila, P. I.

*Editor Manufacturers Record:*

I am more fully persuaded than ever that the enactment of the 18th Amendment was the greatest forward step any nation has ever taken in the civilization process.

GUY PORTER BENTON, President.

#### A MANUFACTURER FOLLOWS THE PLAN OF THE RAILROADS TO LESSEN ACCIDENTS AND INCREASE EFFICIENCY.

THE success of the railroads in improving the efficiency of train handling and lessening accidents by their rigid enforcement of their rules against drinking by their trainmen, is likely to be followed by all classes of employes.

The Ohio Pail Company of Middlefield, Ohio, has taken a decided stand in this matter in its refusal to employ any man who drinks. Its position is fully stated in a letter to the *American Issue*, and confirmed by a telegram to the MANUFACTURERS RECORD in which this company said:

"Our seventy employes signed the paper with two exceptions. One who is of a peculiar religious creed would not sign, quoting the Bible at length to support his stand. We would not oppose a man for his sincere religious belief and he is still working. The other was the father of one of the gang and he quit."

The paper in question was a notice sent to each employe and is herewith reproduced:

"To Whom It May Concern: The members of this company are endeavoring with all their might to uphold the Constitution of the United States. In this endeavor, strange to say, our lives and property are daily being threatened by a gang of law-breaking desperadoes, five of whom at present being out on heavy bonds for their appearance in court with charges carrying penitentiary sentences.

"The man who makes, carries or drinks bootleg hooch is an enemy and a traitor to his country and a menace to the people of this community.

"This company will not carry water on both shoulders in this clean-up. It will not put its time and money into a campaign to make this community a better place in which to live, to make it safe for women and children to walk the streets, and at the same time supply money through its payrolls for men to buy this devilish stuff or money to protect the men in this hellish business.

"This company gives notice effective May 1, 1922, that it will no longer employ men who are patrons of bootleggers or in sympathy with such law-breaking.

"If you are a drinker, or if you are in sympathy with this traffic and expect to follow this degrading life you are requested to call for your time and to quit our employ on or before May 1.

"We would like to have every man who is in our employ and who subscribes to this proposition call in the office and let us have his name so that we may know who is standing for right and who they are, and we hope for their sake that they are few, who stand on the other side. This order means business and will be enforced to the letter.

"Yours for a Clean Town and less traitors to our great country."

The Ohio Pail Company.

Many other employes will doubtless take this stand on economic grounds, even if there were no moral issue involved.

## BIT OF PERSONAL HISTORY ON LAWLESSNESS OF LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

By RICHARD H. EDMONDS.

THE lawlessness of the liquor traffic, and all associated with it at the present time, is in no way different from the lawlessness which has always made the liquor traffic a curse to every city and section in which it has had a chance to operate. Opponents of Prohibition are trying to prove that the lawlessness of today is merely an outcome of our National Prohibition Amendment. The writer may therefore, be pardoned for a bit of personal history which shows that the lawlessness of the present is only in keeping with the lawlessness of the past.

Nearly a third of a century ago William H. Edmonds, a brother of the writer, who was jointly interested with him in the ownership and management of the MANUFACTURERS RECORD, spent a year in Anniston, Ala., on account of health. Desiring to be actively engaged in work while enjoying the benefit of that climate, he owned and edited during his stay there a daily paper, which had been in existence for several years, named the HOT BLAST, its name being taken from the method used in the production of iron.

Anniston had been established by an iron-making concern. In its early days, Prohibition was strictly maintained. Later on when the town was thrown open to the public it came to be known as the "model city" of the South for the beauty of its surroundings, the care with which it had been planned, and the excellent management given to its municipal affairs. But as the town grew the bootleg elements then rampant in Alabama undertook to break down all Prohibition laws. This element got control of the police force and the conditions became so desperate that the leading men of the community organized a Law and Order Society with a view to driving out the entire whisky element.

William H. Edmonds was one of the gentlest, most kind-hearted men that ever lived, but his courage, moral and physical, matched his gentleness. Where the right was involved he knew not fear. He made the HOT BLAST a vigorous and aggressive exponent of the demand for the maintenance of law and order, for the ridding of the community of the bootleggers, and for a reorganization of the police system in order to get rid of men on the police force who were notorious drunkards and apparently constantly working in connivance with the bootleggers.

He was warned that if he did not stop this fight against the liquor traffic he would be killed, and other men connected with the paper received the same warning. He immediately published an editorial that he was entirely responsible for the management of the paper and for everything which appeared in it; that his employes should not be held responsible for his acts, but that if there was any killing to be done he was the one to be shot and not the men who were following his instructions; though every man on the paper, from reporters to printers, enthusiastically stood by him.

A few days after this editorial appeared three policemen jumped on him while he was crossing an open lot, beat him up rather badly so that a gash in his head had to be sewed up. When he left the doctor's office he went straight to his own office and wrote a still stronger editorial demanding the enforcement of law and order. The town was seething with bitterness between the decent, law abiding element of the community and the bootlegger element with its combination of police activity.

Within a few days after he was badly beaten up by the police, three of the bootlegger element entered his office at the midday hour, when all the printers and the office force were out at lunch, seeking to catch him alone. Walking back to his private office, which was on the second floor, they demanded a retraction of his charges against the boot-

legger element. Naturally he refused, and as he turned away from the men to his desk one of them fired at his heart, but missing that, shattered his left arm and cut an artery, the hemorrhage from which came very near ending his life. As he turned around to face his would be murderer a pistol was held directly in front of his face, but a few inches away, and the trigger pulled, but by some providential circumstance the cartridge failed to explode, and that unexploded cartridge has been kept in the family ever since.

In the office, merely as visitors and known by the bootleggers to have no connection with the paper, was a man from the East who was in the town for his health and had simply casually dropped in, and also a small boy sitting in the room, likewise not employed by the paper. The bootleggers thinking that they had killed my brother, and wanting to make sure that there were no witnesses, turned their pistols on the man and the boy. The man's jaw was broken and he lingered, as I remember it, for several months, dying later on from the effect of the wound. The shot aimed at the little boy grazed the spinal cord in the back of his neck, and he too, I think, eventually died as a result of the shot.

The people in the business community aroused by the shooting, rushed to the building and captured the three bootleggers as they tried to escape. There was an instant cry that they should be lynched, but my brother, at that time in danger of death, begged his friends to prevent a lynching and urged that the law be allowed to take its course. When after two or three hours the doctors had succeeded in staunching the flow of blood and he had rallied sufficient strength, he dictated another editorial denouncing lawlessness and insisting that the community must rid itself of the bootlegger element.

The three men who committed the crime of murdering two and seeking to murder a third man, through the power of the liquor interests were able to get out on low bail and have their trial postponed from one term to another, and the years passed on and none of these men were ever brought to trial. This was the influence which the liquor traffic had in the politics of that State at that time, and this murderous effort to kill an editor and his visitor because he dared to stand up for the enforcement of law and order, is typical of the spirit which has always prevailed wherever the accursed liquor traffic holds sway.

The bootlegger today is no different, whatever, from the bootlegger of thirty years ago. He is a criminal at heart and hesitates not at murder if he thinks murder will help him in carrying on his accursed traffic. While the bullet of the murderer did not produce instant death, as the murderer had hoped in my brother's case, it was probably a contributing cause to his early death many years ago. He was a martyr to his sense of duty. He could have ignored the lawlessness of the liquor element and published his paper without attempting to make a definite, determined fight in behalf of law and order, but he chose the better way—the way in which a man chooses deliberately from the highest sense of Christianity, with moral courage that cannot be weakened, to stand for the right even though it may mean death to himself.

In every part of this country the same lawless, murderous spirit is abroad which was in Anniston at that time. But as the Anniston people cleaned out the liquor traffic and laid the foundation for the splendid progress of that city since, so the people of this country must clean out the nation from the accursed power of the most accursed influence for evil which the world knows. The violator of law, however high or low may be his estate socially or financially, however great may be his influence with politicians or with the police, must be made to pay the penalty for his crime; or else civilization will go down in ruin.

[From Baltimore American.]

# The Case For Prohibition.

MR. RICHARD H. EDMONDS REPLIES TO THE ADDRESS OF MR. MACHEN.

To the Editor of the American:

The recent address of Mr. A. W. Machen at the City Club against Prohibition, basing his argument on what he claimed to be Scriptural grounds, brought to my mind a book written in 1857, by Dr. A. T. Bledsoe, a professor at the University of Virginia and after the war editor of the Southern Review published in Baltimore, one of the most brilliant writers of his day, in behalf of the maintenance of slavery in the South, in which he based his line of argument also on Scriptural grounds. Dr. Bledsoe's argument, from the Biblical standpoint, in behalf of slavery was as brilliant as that of Mr. Machen's in favor of the liquor traffic was vacuous. Dr. Bledsoe was a profound reasoner, a scholar of great ability, a deep student of human history and of the Bible. With what might have seemed to some in those days almost unanswerable logic he advanced the thought that the Bible not only approved but commanded human slavery, and therefore he argued that the maintenance of slavery in the South not only had Divine authority but Divine command, and that slaveholders were in duty bound to maintain that institution. On this line of argument Dr. Bledsoe was far more logical and far more brilliant in his presentation of the whole situation than was Mr. Machen in his argument against the Prohibition laws of the country on the alleged ground that they violated the teachings and the example of Christ. I imagine, however, that if Dr. Bledsoe could return to the world today he would feel as heartily ashamed that he had ever used the Bible as his text in behalf of the maintenance of slavery as I believe Mr. Machen and all others who today try to defend any branch of the liquor traffic on alleged Scriptural teachings will be in the years to come, when they realize that the liquor traffic is a greater curse, viewed from every standpoint, than was human slavery. Slavery as it existed in the South had some redeeming qualities. It took fresh from barbarism millions of slaves; it civilized them, it evangelized hundreds of thousands and made sincere, honest, God-fearing Christians of many of them; but no man today would dare to lift his voice in defense of slavery. On the other hand, the liquor traffic has not one redeeming argument in its behalf. Through the ages the liquor traffic has been rotten in all of its manipulations of the politics of towns, cities, states and national governments. It has sent to dishonored graves millions of men, and brought woe and misery, starvation and suffering and shame to tens of millions of women and children. The money which should have gone to the support of wives and children went into the saloon—the hot-bed of vice and the open door to a hell of rotteness in public and private life.

Mr. Machen most unwisely quoted a line credited to Luther, though reputable authorities do not believe that Luther ever wrote it, which said:

“Who loves not wine, women and song”—

It was extremely unfortunate that a man professing to be a servant of God should, in behalf of wine-drinking, have shocked the sensibilities of every pure-minded man and woman by quoting a line which for years has been the accepted characterization of a wild and wicked life of dissipation. These words, “Wine, women and song,” are universally recognized as standing for the things which represent human degradation of fast men and fast women. How amazing the unwisdom of using them in defense of the liquor traffic in connection with the effort to prove that Christ, if He were alive today, would uphold the arguments advanced by Mr. Machen. I have never read a statement from a professed Christian, or even from a man who made no profes-

sion of Christianity, which to me seemed so directly a sacriligious use of the teachings of our Lord. It is amazing that the teachings of Christ should have been used for the purpose of upholding the liquor traffic and of seeking to bring about the repeal of the laws which, after half a century of active agitation pro and con throughout this country, were written into the Constitution of the United States and adopted and ratified by 46 states. The whole life and example of Christ was of sacrifice; sacrifice of individual preferences and desires in order that we might serve our fellow-men and thus save them from evil. The whole theory of the advocates of the repeal of our Prohibition laws is based on the claim of so-called “personal liberty” and the right of self-indulgence, regardless of the injury that may thus be done to others. Stanley Schmidt, a Towson High School boy, in his graduation essay of a few days ago, rightly stated the whole case when he said:

The anti-prohibitionists think only of themselves, while the prohibitionists are striving to mold the future, in which the welfare of the country and its citizens is concerned.

That Mr. Machen should be willing to stand before a public gathering and in the name of Christ advocate the repeal of a law which, by the testimony of tens of thousands, indeed of millions, is saving men and women from drunkenness, shocked the deeper sentiment of every serious-minded man, whether he profess to be a follower of Christ or not. As Mr. Machen sought to base his argument upon the Bible, let me quote a few verses from that sacred Book found in the eighth chapter of Corinthians, in which the divinely inspired writer said:

But take heed lest by any means this liberty of yours becomes a stumbling block to them that are weak.

For if any man see thee which hast knowledge sit at meat in the idol's temple shall not the conscience of him which is weak be emboldened to eat those things which are offered to idols?

And through thy knowledge shall the weak brother perish, for whom Christ died?

But when ye sin so against the brethren and wound their weak conscience, ye sin against Christ.

Wherefore, if meat make my brother to offend, I will eat no flesh while the world standeth, lest I make my brother to offend.

Within the last few weeks I have received letters from several hundred leading manufacturers throughout the country, from the presidents of a large number of colleges and universities, and noted surgeons and physicians, as to the results of Prohibition, and 98.5 per cent, of these letters favored Prohibition in some form and 85.5 per cent overwhelmingly favored the present prohibition laws and their rigid enforcement. Men like Judge Gary of the Steel Corporation, George M. Verity, president of the American Rolling Mill Company; Henry M. Leland of the Lincoln Motor Car Company, E. N. Foss, president of the Sturtevant Company and former Governor of Massachusetts, and others of equal standing have written in the strongest possible commendation of the splendid results which have come from Prohibition. And Mr. Warren S. Stone, grand chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, who knows the whole railroad labor situation, wrote:

The longer I live, and the more I see of it, the more bitterly I am opposed to the entire question of the manufacture and sale of liquor, because I look upon it as the basis and foundation of 90 per cent of the crime and criminals we have in the country today.

He reports also that he finds a marked improvement in the number of men who are saving their money and buying homes, and in the improvement in the home life of the workers due

to the fact that the women and children have more food, more clothes and better care in every way; and he adds:

I can truthfully say that drunkenness has decreased at least 75 per cent among the workers.

Few men in this country are in a better position to speak in behalf of the millions of railroad workers than Mr. Stone.

Today I received a letter from Mr. S. E. Simonson, Lnxora, Ark., in which he reports that he has several hundred people engaged in agriculture, and referring to Prohibition he said:

The change is as different as from night unto day. Before national Prohibition came into effect I seriously considered that it was impossible to continue my development of agricultural operations on a large scale. It certainly was very unprofitable, there was so much waste of time and money caused by a large percentage of drunkenness among those with whom I had to deal. I think this trouble has been reduced fully 95 per cent and where formerly most of my men were uncertain and unreliable I now have less than 1 per cent of such trouble. My labor and tenants are far more industrious, better satisfied and more prosperous generally, as well as better fed, better clothed and better housed since the advent of national Prohibition.

President Beatty of the Austin Manufacturing Company, after telling of the evil conditions before Prohibition and the betterment since, writes:

Thank God that is past and thank God there is just as much likelihood of Prohibition being abolished in this country or of the return of intoxicating liquors by having them declared non-intoxicating, as of the restoration of slavery.

Mr. A. B. Farquhar of York, Pa., one of the greatest manufacturers of the country, known to thousands of Baltimoreans personally, writes:

The drinking of alcohol is an unmitigated curse—next to war the greatest curse that afflicts mankind.

Mr. B. B. Comer, former Governor of Alabama and afterwards United States Senator, now employing about 2500 hands in cotton mills, writes:

The danger to the Eighteenth Amendment, to our Prohibition laws, to this greatest predicate ever laid for human advancement, is not in the wildcatter, the booze flivver, the booze runner, not the man who makes money from whisky-selling, but it is in that supposedly higher class of our citizenship who think they cannot do without their gin ricky, their cocktail, their "here's at you," and the animal exhilaration that comes around the table or in a party when their tongues are loosened, from that class of people who from the very facts in the case will suffer from the greatest consequences from this wide-spread lawlessness which they alone make possible.

President Wilbur of Stanford University, California, writes in favor of Prohibition and closes his letter as follows:

The general effect upon the welfare of the United States has been immeasurable. The effect upon the youth of the next generation will make the benefits of Prohibition even more evident than they are today.

The president of the Gulf States Steel Company, Birmingham, reports a decrease of 75 per cent in accidents as the result of Prohibition. Dr. Haven Emerson, former Commissioner of Health of New York City, now lecturer at Columbia and Cornell Universities, says:

Nothing since the application of modern bacteriology to the control of communicable diseases will have so powerful an effect in reducing the incidence of disease and the general death rate as Prohibition.

President Leland of the Lincoln Motor Company, Detroit, reports a great improvement in the betterment of the conditions of labor in that city and says:

Prohibition has certainly made for contentment and prosperity among employes in industry. And he adds:

I find in Detroit no great sentiment in opposition to the Volstead act except what may fairly be traced to the propaganda of the distillers. The most disappointing feature is the polished lawlessness of our so-called "better classes." The salvation of our country is assured because the great mass of common people obey this as other laws because it is the law of the land.

These brief extracts from half a dozen or so out of some four or five hundred letters could be extended without limit,

showing how educators, bankers, manufacturers, physicians and others bear testimony to the enormous benefits which have been brought about by Prohibition. Many of them lay special emphasis upon the fact that women and children are better fed, better clothed, better housed, and know as they never knew before the comforts of a real home, because the money which formerly, went into saloons is now spent on making homes for them.

Perhaps the greatest danger which faces our country is not that of Bolshevism, rampant as it is, and which boldly proclaims "To hell with churches, synagogues and all governments," but the disregard of law, not by the so-called lawless element of the country, but by men of supposed respectability who violate the law, and who in doing this use their utmost power to bring about a criminality which will break down all law. In a recent address President Harding, appealing to men of this kind to recognize their responsibility to safeguard our land from destruction, said:

If people who are known as leaders, as directing influences, as respected and respectable members of society in their respective communities become known for their defiance of some part of the code of law, then they need not be astonished if presently they find that their example is followed by others; with the result that presently the law in general becomes looked upon as a set of irksome and unreasonable restraints upon the liberty of the individual. Every law involves more or less of this element of restraint; nearly every individual will find some part of the code that to him seems an unreasonable inhibition upon his personal freedom of action. Our only safety will be in inculcating an attitude of respect for the law as on the whole the best expression that has been given to the social aspiration and moral purpose of the community.

Bearing on the question of Prohibition, permit me to quote a statement recently made by President Harding and its publication authorized by him, as the expression of his views upon Prohibition. It is as follows:

In every community men and women have had an opportunity now to know what Prohibition means. They know that debts are more promptly paid; that men take home the wages that once were wasted in saloons; that families are better clothed and fed, and more money finds its way into the savings banks. The liquor traffic was destructive of much that was most precious in American life. In the face of so much evidence on that point what conscientious man would want to let his own selfish desires influence him to vote to bring it back? In another generation I believe that liquor will have disappeared not merely from our politics, but from our memories.

Contrast these two splendid statements of President Harding and reports from hundreds of great business leaders, of which I have quoted only a few, with Mr. Machen's alleged arguments, and one will be surprised at the weakness and vacuity of his statements.

Oscar Wilde, the brilliant genius, who, because of dissipation and moral rottenness, died forsaken, disgraced and alone, said:

"I threw the pearl of my soul into a cup of wine."

How many millions have followed his example because of following the doctrines proclaimed by Mr. Machen and those who adopt his line of reasoning.

RICHARD H. EDMONDS.

Baltimore, June 3.

MANY BUSINESS MEN ARE BUYING FROM 10 TO  
100 COPIES EACH OF THIS PAMPHLET TO  
GIVE TO EMPLOYEES AND OTHERS.

SINGLE COPIES 50c

PRICE FOR BULK ORDERS: 50 COPIES 40c EACH;  
100 COPIES 35c EACH; 1000 OR MORE 30c PER COPY.



OFFICE OF  
FEDERAL PROHIBITION COMMISSIONER

Pro-ROM.

## TREASURY DEPARTMENT

BUREAU OF INTERNAL REVENUE

WASHINGTON

June 13, 1922.

Hon. Richard H. Edmonds, Editor,  
Manufacturers Record,  
Baltimore, Maryland.

My dear Sir:

Permit me to congratulate you on the recent issue of THE MANUFACTURERS RECORD entitled, "The Prohibition Question Viewed From the Economic and Moral Standpoint." It is my opinion that the publication of these unanswerable arguments, based on absolute truth, has been of inestimable value in shaping public sentiment toward this most important question from an economic as well as a moral viewpoint. This issue is worthy of commendation for more than its high literary merit. The splendid moral tone and vision of America's Future makes me feel that you have performed a patriotic duty of great value to the nation. From all over the country we are receiving results from this issue; the large number of favorable editorials which have appeared based upon it have been of great assistance to me in my earnest efforts to enforce the law. Surely it has helped as much as any article, or articles, to give the peoples of the world the right conception of Prohibition.

As a newspaper man it is most gratifying to me to find members of my own fraternity taking such a patriotic and helpful attitude on the question of enforcing the Prohibition Act.

Sincerely yours,

  
R. A. Hayes,  
Prohibition Commissioner.

F.



**THE AMERICAN ROLLING MILL CO.****MIDDLETOWN, OHIO****GEORGE M. VERITY**  
PRESIDENT

June 10, 1922

Mr. Richard H. Edmonds  
Editor, Manufacturers Record  
Baltimore, Maryland

Dear Mr. Edmonds:

I wish to congratulate you on the pamphlet which Manufacturers Record has just brought out on "The Prohibition Question" as viewed from the economic and moral standpoint, covering the answers which you received to your questionnaire sent to men in all walks of life throughout the country.

The practical answers which you have received from professional and business men giving account of their actual observation and experience in connection with this great movement are unquestionably of very great benefit, as they will tend to clear the atmosphere which has been much clouded by propaganda intended to belittle the result of this great movement.

There has unquestionably been much cause for doubt in the minds of many people as regards the real result of the so-called prohibition law, as there have been many unexpected and regrettable reactions.

The imposing collection of statements and experiences which you have published is worth the reading of every business man. We, ourselves, are so impressed with it that we are sending for five hundred copies for general distribution. No doubt other business men will want to do the same thing.

I again congratulate you on your good work.

With kind regards, I remain

Yours very truly

President

## *Exponent of America*

As the Exponent of America the MANUFACTURERS RECORD is more broadly discussing the great economic questions of the day which relate not alone to the welfare of the country, but which touch on the business interests of the world, than any other publication in America.

Nowhere else can the business man find so broad a treatment, absolutely unbiased by partisanship, of all the great questions of labor, of business development, of finance and of the problems which relate directly to the welfare of the entire country.

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## *Manufacturers Record*

*Exponent of America*

BALTIMORE, MD.

# The COUNTRY EDITOR

Vol. I No. 3

NEW YORK, N. Y.

January, 1923

## Dr. ELIOT *Favors the* STRIKE

IT is error in high places, not the heresy of the masses, that endangers the race. The latter perhaps may be corrected through the medium of education. There is a way out, a straw to grasp at, and we are free to hope that enlightenment will correct the misapprehensions of ignorance and eventually make clear to the masses the imperishable verities.

But in the presence of the former we stand dumb and despairing. For error that develops in the pursuit of knowledge, that exists notwithstanding the advantages of the fullest information, is an appalling, a fatal disease. If with knowledge we cannot win wisdom, what hope is there for us? We are, like the Christian without charity, as sounding brass and tinkling cymbals.

Perhaps, however, we may be unduly pessimistic. It is doubtless too much to expect that our savants, at least, should be free from error. Indeed, future generations may look upon our present day leaders of thought with much the same indulgence as we of to-day contemplate those high authorities who some centuries ago refused to believe that the earth was not flat.

Now if one were asked to name the leading savant, the most distinguished educator of our country and generation, one would naturally think of Charles W. Eliot, a man whom one would least expect to fall into serious error.

### *Dr. Eliot Mistakes the Strike*

So we are surprised to read in his recent article in the New York Times the statement that for three generations labor has fought its way to better pay and better conditions of family life by means of the strike and that the strike was the only effective means of resisting oppression of labor by capital.

How has the strike bettered conditions of family life? Neither Dr. Eliot nor any lesser or greater authority can dispute the fact that the strike has increased the cost of production.

This has been accomplished by enforced idleness during the strike, by increasing the cost of labor and by shortening the hours of work.

Let us consider these three factors in the increased cost of production.

There are constantly large numbers of men on strike. They are non-productive. During their period of idleness, and if we disregard the changing personnel of the strike, the period may be considered continuous; they are worse than useless to our economic machine, more useless, indeed, than the most useless inanimate object, for the striker, in addition to being unproductive, continues to be a consumer. Not only is the world poorer by what he fails to produce; it is poorer also by what he consumes. He is a two-edged sword. He cuts both ways.

The greater the quantity of goods that are produced, the lower will be the cost of living and the easier will be the struggle for existence. And he that produces most is entitled to consume most.

### *Factors of the Strike.*

The second factor, created by the strike in the increased

cost of production and therefore in the increased cost of living, is the higher price of labor. And this factor is aggravated by another inevitable consequence of increased compensation to the laborer, namely, a deterioration in the quality of the work. No competent observer surely will be blind to the inferiority of the present craftsman as compared with his prototype of fifty or even thirty years ago; and this inferiority, this unmistakable retrogression, is the direct result of the strike and the labor union, which have destroyed competition among the workmen, have destroyed the incentive to superior workmanship by destroying the reward which in former days it received.

The third factor, created by the strike—the shortening of the hours of work—by diminishing production, has increased the price of the product. Much, of course, has been said to the effect that shorter hours tended to increase the efficiency and volume of production. A strange fallacy!

If a man will produce more in eight hours than in nine, he must produce more in seven hours than in eight, more in six than in seven, and eventually if he didn't work at all he would produce more than he would produce in nine hours' work.

I wonder what the future generations will do, how they will express themselves, when they read some of the things that are solemnly written, and, indeed, are sincerely believed by those who solemnly write them. Will they split their sides laughing or will they simply ignore us as a generation of simpletons whose doings and writings it would be a waste of time seriously to consider?

### *Facing Stern Facts.*

Dr. Eliot would probably undertake to establish the fact that the laborer's wages increased faster than the cost of living was increased by the increased wages, and that in this way the conditions of family life have been bettered.

But how can this be? The manufacturer must make a profit on the cost of labor as well as on the cost of the raw product. The jobber, the middleman and the retailer all add another profit. By the time the article, having completed its course through the channels of distribution, reaches the consumer (in which class the laborer is comprised) the price of the element of labor in it has perhaps been doubled. Even in the most elementary raw product, the element of labor, by the time the product reaches the factory, is one of the chief price-controlling factors. How much more, therefore, does it control the price of the manufactured product!

The surest way to increase the cost of living and aggravate the struggle for existence is to raise the price of labor. Every advance in its price, every shortening of its hours, makes the necessaries of life harder to get, places them more out of the reach of the poor.

To say, therefore, that the strike, by raising the price of labor, has bettered the conditions of life is a statement that no economic fact will support. The conditions of life have been bettered in spite of and not because of the strike, and the proof of this lies in the fact that in those countries.

[Continued on page 28

*It is well that mind-reading be not too extensively applied, or else what splendid reputations would shortly be demolished!*